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DEDICATION.

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

THE OUTLOOK.

WE thank all our friends most heartily for the splendid welcome which they have accorded to the first number of VOTES FOR WOMEN, and we take its success as a happy augury, not merely for the paper, but for the whole movement of which it is the mouthpiece. Mr. David Wilson's cover cartoon has come in for special commendation, and we are told that the flag points the way to speedy victory. It is our intention that the paper shall be not merely a record of the events in the suffrage agitation, but also the means by which the leaders and pioneers in thought shall convey their ideas to the public.

Messages of Encouragement.

We propose to give each month words of encouragement to women by leading men and women of to-day. Through all those which we are able to print in the present issue will be found ringing a note, not merely of hope, but of certain assurance of victory. Mr. Zangwill, whose message is full of condensed thought, tells us that our work, being in harmony with all the laws of human evolution, cannot fail of its glorious consummation. Mona Caird asks why it is that when women are concerned people say, "Why make such a fuss about a mere vote?" but when it is a question of men, it is recognised that the vote is the safeguard of their dearest

rights and liberties. She answers by replying herself that, under present conditions, women have no rights or liberties to safeguard. Beatrice Harraden sends greetings of renewed sympathy and admiration to the bearers of the banner. There are also messages over the honoured names of Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy, the veteran of the suffrage movement, and Mrs. Cobden Unwin.

The Reason for Woman's Demand.

We are also favoured by an article from the pen of Miss Evelyn Sharp, who is so well known for her fascinating stories for children. She shows how necessary it is for women to have the vote because of the very children for whom they care, and who form such an intimate part of their being. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence describes the unjust position in which women are placed under the law, owing to their voteless condition, while Miss Sylvia Pankhurst carries the story of the suffrage movement up to the decision of the Courts adverse to the claim of the women in 1868.

The Anti-Suffragist.

Another article to which we would draw special attention is that written by Miss Mary E. Gawthorpe (who, we are glad to say, is rapidly on the road to recovery from her recent operation) in reviewing Mrs. Harold Gorst's article on "The Sphere of Woman." She brings out in a remarkably clear manner the true position of the anti-suffragist woman. In the early days of the militant agitation opponents said that the leaders of our campaign were masculine women, and the cry was taken up by the public throughout the country. Pictures of women with short hair, billycock hats, and other articles of masculine attire, were paraded as another argument against giving women the vote. It is only recently that this conception has been negatived by personal contact of the public with nearly all the leaders of the movement. It is now known that this description was totally without foundation, in fact. The suffragette is essentially a feminine woman, with the full feminine grace and charm, and with the full feminine courtesy of manner.

The "Masculine" Woman.

But to the anti-suffragist she is still masculine, and Miss Gawthorpe's article reveals the meaning of this term of reproach. To the anti-suffragist any woman becomes masculine who seeks a wider outlook than the merely personal. She only sees two types of feminine women—the first, the woman who uses her personal charm for her own selfish ends—that woman she thinks of as bad; the second, who uses her personal charm for the advancement of some man related to her as father or husband or son, and on the altar of whose personal ambition she is prepared to sacrifice all the noblest ideals that life holds. This woman the anti-suffragist conceives of as the typically good woman. The false idealism of this picture is ruthlessly unmasked in the able and scathing article which Miss Gawthorpe has written.

The Movement in October.

During October two great united demonstrations have been held by the combined suffrage societies. The first

was the procession through the streets of Edinburgh on Saturday, October 5, and the demonstration in the Synod Hall later in the day, attended by several thousand people. The second came at the conclusion of the Conference of Women Workers in Manchester, and was held in the Free Trade Hall, the audience carrying a suffrage resolution with great enthusiasm. The Women's Social and Political Union has also conducted a striking campaign in various other parts of the country, particulars of which will be found in Miss Christabel Pankhurst's descriptive article on page 21.

Mr. Dickinson's Position.

Among the speakers in Manchester at the combined demonstration was Mr. W. H. Dickinson, M.P., who openly criticised his own Bill of March 8 (the one enfranchising women on the same terms as men) as undemocratic, and unworthy of support. Women must not be taken in with talk of this character. Their demand for the simple abolition of the sex bar is so evidently the correct method of dealing with the problem that they will do well to distrust any attempt to find a different solution. The question of extending the franchise on class lines is quite independent of the collateral extension to the sex hitherto excluded, and any man who tries to muddle up the issues or to introduce a different franchise for women from that which is, or may be, granted to men is no friend of women. We are far from suggesting that Mr. Dickinson himself is not perfectly sincere in the position which he is taking up, but we believe that he is being misled by others who have not the same singleness of purpose, and so long as he follows their lead women must hold aloof from supporting him.

An Unimpeachable Source.

Lest we be charged with undue suspicion in taking this line, we quote, in furtherance of our view, from a source which cannot be charged with a bias against the Liberal Government. In a leading article, on October 26, the *Manchester Guardian* says:—

Women simply ask that they shall be allowed to vote on the same terms as men. This is the principle which was embodied in Mr. Dickinson's Bill of last session [March 8], and it was certainly a surprise to the meeting yesterday, and not a pleasant one, when he proceeded to disclaim it, and to plead for something quite different because he thinks it more "democratic." We can conceive some women present who should say: "Be hanged to your democracy. We ask for justice, and by justice we understand equal treatment for our sex." Mr. Dickinson has, of course, a perfect right to his opinion, and he no doubt felt it his duty to express it; but he will get no support from the women who are working hardest for the suffrage, though he may get a good deal from nominal friends of the movement who see quite clearly that the awkwardness of the present demand lies in its moderation, and that the bigger you can make it the longer you may put it off.

Women have been led down blind alleys before by nominal friends of their movement; they must be wary to-day lest they be decoyed by similar devices away from the straight track.

Opposing the Government.

With the commencement of the Government's autumn campaign on the "Constitutional issue," the Women's

Social and Political Union has seen its opportunity to press forward the claims of women, and to point out that before considering the unrepresentative character of the House of Lords, the Government must put the House of Commons in order in the matter of representation.

Militant Tactics Again.

The meetings of Mr. Sydney Buxton in Poplar on October 25 and of Mr. Harcourt in the Rossendale Valley on October 28 were attended by a large number of local women, and the speakers, who are known to be strong opponents of woman's suffrage, were not allowed a hearing. All politicians realise that these are perfectly legitimate tactics; the only question is one of expediency. And as to that, if any proof were needed of their necessity, it is to be found in the terms in which the Press referred to the incident. Several of them spoke of it as the "revival" of the Women's Social and Political Union, which, according to their account, had been dormant during the past six months, in which it conducted eight vigorous by-election campaigns, held 3,000 public meetings, and sold 80,000 publications! So long as men choose to regard as negligible that which is not actively hostile, a movement which is fighting for the weak must be sufficiently aggressive to command respect and win its way.

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.).

How to Obtain Votes for Women.

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. If they adopt the last course they should fill up the form which will be found accompanying this number of the paper. The subscription for the year for all the issues and supplements is 7s. 4d., inclusive of postage; for the twelve monthly issues only, 4s. A free sample of the first weekly supplement will be sent to any address on receipt of a post-card by the Publisher, *Votes for Women*, 4, Clement's-inn, W.C.

* The Supplements to the present November number will accordingly be issued on November 6, November 13, and November 20, and the December number will be ready on November 27.

MESSAGES OF ENCOURAGEMENT TO WOMEN.

Old entrenched positions cannot be carried at a rush, and every woman who joins your union must labour steadily at sapping and undermining. The work cannot be always showy. But if it will often have the monotony of the treadmill, it will be free from the real torture of that infernal mechanism. The essence of the penitentiary treadmill is that the prisoner works without result. The power generated by the prisoner's labour is not utilised. It is, in fact, the torture of Tantalus. But the treadmill which your women workers must tread resembles rather the Chinese treadmill, every step on which helps to pump water into irrigating ditches. They may go to work, therefore, in the full confidence that every step counts: It is the tragedy of much of our human labour to spend itself without result, to be so ill-directed that it leads to nothing. But the work of your union, being in harmony with all the laws of human evolution, cannot fail of its glorious consummation. If, as Coleridge says:—

Work without hope draws nectar in a sieve,

then work with more than hope—with absolute assurance—must offer a great store of sweetness to your faithful labourers.

Israel Zangwill.

May I express the hope that the first number of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* will only be one of many numbers of that publication, and that it will be very widely read among all classes of women in this country. I gather it will be the organ of the National Women's Social and Political Union—a union which is doing such enormous educational work throughout the country in the cause of women's enfranchisement. I wish the union God-speed.

Jane Cobden Unwin.

"The greater the cause,
The greater the unbelief."

To those brave women who are facing the bitterest and stupidest opposition and ridicule for the sake of a great cause I should like to express once more my deep admiration and gratitude.

Our debt to them is beyond all calculation.

It is hard for anyone to face, day after day, and month after month, a hostile and contemptuous world, ready to misconstrue, to exaggerate, to vilify every word and every act. It needs nothing short of heroism for even the least sensitive to stand in such a relation to the public—that vast, pitiless Aggregate which seems to represent human nature at its meanest and worst.

But infinitely harder is it for a spirit quickened and awakened enough to see and feel the full import of the present subject condition of women, in all its bearings and in all its bitter results.

Moreover, for such a temperament the misunderstanding and alienation of friends, and the pain that they suffer, adds yet another bitter drop to the cup of sacrifice.

Great is the price that is paid, and great the prize at stake.

For it is not that under a representative Government the fact of having one vote among millions is such a dazzling privilege; it is that to be denied this, in spite of fulfilling all the prescribed conditions for its possession, is to suffer a grievous wrong.

An exclusion of this kind, be it noted, constitutes an injury to the excluded far greater than may be the benefits

of the privilege for each individual who is not under the ban—paradox as it may seem. The vote will not bring the millennium, but its denial to half the human race does bring bitter evil and tragedy. For the excluded become in that way a class apart, with a lower status, and they have to submit to a despotism, from which the male half of their compatriots have centuries ago freed themselves. And this subject state produces a thousand social wrongs and abuses, however just and chivalrous, in other respects, may be the political over-lords.

And that is what many quasi-friends of the movement fail to recognise when, admitting the logic of the woman's claim, they smile a superior smile at her determination to possess the franchise.

"Why make such a fuss about a mere vote?" they ask.

Alas! when women are in question, it is "a mere vote." When men are concerned, it becomes "the safeguard of their dearest rights and liberties."

Women, indeed, have no rights and liberties to safeguard, and the reason of this, of course, is that they have always been politically non-existent.

And this is what our present champions see so clearly, and that is why they have deemed it worth while to brave and suffer so much, in order to bestow upon their sex this great gift of liberty. They cannot rest while so cruel and obvious a wrong remains unredressed.

As regards questions of policy and of means, there are, and must ever be, differences of opinion; but there can be no difference of opinion as to the admiration and honour that is due to those devoted women and to those generous-hearted men who have stood shoulder to shoulder with them in this crisis.

Some day—not so far distant—when all the storm and stress has died away, this little band will be known by all for the noble spirits that they are, and the cause for which they have dared and suffered as one of the great causes of the world.

Mona Caird.

Before me on my table lies the first copy of your new journal—*VOTES FOR WOMEN*. I see a picture of Westminster below, and above a banner with a "strange device"—and yet not strange now, since it is being carried triumphantly in all the campaigns all over the country.

I wish to send my greetings of renewed sympathy and admiration to the bearers of this banner. You know my deep interest in this cause of women's suffrage. Believe me, if I had greater leisure, I should be found working more actively on its behalf. Meanwhile, I send hearty good wishes for the success of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, both as a magazine and a movement.

Beatrice Harraden.

We demand the Parliamentary franchise, and we demand it now, because we see in it our charter of liberty, our key of opportunity, our weapon of defence against legislative encroachments on our existing rights, and our weapon of offence against the host of evil and unjust laws still in force. We demand it in order thereby to destroy that injustice between the sexes which is the tap-root of all social and international injustice, and the chief hindrance to the upspringing of that nobler humanity, inspired by sympathetic justice, which shall create the nobler world yet to be.

Elizabeth C. Wolstenholme Elmy.

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE AND THE CHILD.

BY EVELYN SHARP.

SOMETIMES think that when the battle of the women suffragists is over, we shall be able to say, as was once said of a lesser battle, that it was won, if not in the playing fields of England—for playing fields are not open to all—at least in every place where children meet together. For the forces which combine to make a woman demand her enfranchisement, began, in most instances, to make themselves felt in her childhood, so that she is impelled later, by all her womanly instincts, to insist upon having a share in the legislation affecting children. That is why every woman, possessing that memory for her own childhood that gives her the power to understand children, is by nature a suffragette, whether she has discovered it or not.

It is now almost a matter of common knowledge that child labour prevails in this country to an extent that threatens to affect, not only the happiness and the health and the morale of the children themselves, but also the future of the race, the problem of unemployment, and the dignity and prestige of the nation. Children, working full hours in school, have to sacrifice their playtime, and sometimes their bedtime, to wage-earning in one form or another, until, as came to light in Cheshire the other day, it is no uncommon thing for a child under 13 to work 55 hours a week. We have, in addition, an army of half-timers, girls and boys of 12 and 13, who spend their mornings at school and their afternoons in the mine or the factory; and, beyond that, we have an army of boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 16 who may work ten hours a day in the factory. Acts of Parliament call the members of this latter group "young persons," but when I think what children girls and boys of 14 may be, I cannot help feeling that child labour reform might well include these, especially in the face of the latest mining returns, which show that last year 5,983 of the male workers underground were 13 and 14 years of age, and 39,224 of them were between 14 and 16.

The Voteless Have No Effective Voice.

I do not say, of course, that men are indifferent to these things, when they know of them, or that nothing is ever done to remedy them. But I do say this: (1) That child legislation lacks effectiveness, because the woman's point of view, being unsupported by political power, cannot be brought directly to bear upon it, and (2) that the voteless condition of women causes legislation affecting women and children to be constantly set aside in favour of more pressing business—more pressing business being, in Parliamentary language, those Bills affecting the interests of the male voter. To illustrate the first point, I may mention the Employment of Children Act, which, being permissive, instead of compulsory, leaves the regulation of child labour mainly in the hands of the local councils, whose by-laws have to be approved by the Home Secretary. For want of sufficient factory inspectors—another woman's matter which is discussed perfunctorily by a half-empty House once a year, when the Home Secretary lays before it that strongest argument in favour of woman's suffrage, the Chief Factory Inspector's report—these by-laws, even when framed, are continually evaded, as a visit to Bethnal Green, a centre of sweated home industries, will prove to anyone. With regard to the second point, I myself heard it stated at a meeting, by a member of Parliament, that the Wages Board Bill, which, being aimed directly at sweating, will affect far more women than

men, gets hung up in Parliament because there is not sufficient public opinion at the back of it to force it into prominence. Similarly, a Bill framed to amend the Act of 1897, dealing with the adoption of illegitimate children, is brought in year after year, but never gets any further, because not enough male voters are interested in it. Yet this is a measure dealing directly with one of the causes of infantile mortality. Why are these things possible in a humane and civilised country? Because the public opinion that would demand the consideration of such Bills as these is that of the voteless half of the population.

Many objectors could be found to say that the woman's vote will be unable to rectify these things. But that is not proved by an examination of the records of those countries where women have votes. In Australia, where there are juvenile criminal courts, the protection of children and young girls leaves little to be desired. In New Zealand, the Infant Life Protection Act has regulated the adoption of children, and prevented baby-farming. In any country or State where women have political power we find them using it for the benefit of children. To say that it is impossible to compare an old with a new country is to beg the question. Conditions may vary, but woman's nature remains the same; and if we find her making the care of children the principal plank in her political platform in a new country, we shall find her doing the same thing in the old country.

The Indirect Value of the Vote.

I have left myself little space for what I consider almost more important than the probable direct effect of the woman's vote—the indirect effect. Certainly, the indirect effect of our voteless condition is felt both in the luxurious nursery and in the tenement. As long as the law of the land gives the legal ownership of the child to the parent who married its mother, and not to the parent who bore it, we cannot wonder that in every grade of society the tendency among children and adults alike is to depreciate the value of the girl child. The son of the rich man, who looks down with pitying patronage upon his sister, because she is not a boy, grows up to look down with pitying patronage upon his mother, because she is not a man. The son of the poor man, accustomed to seeing his sister kept in the home as a drudge after school hours, grows up to look upon his wife as a drudge, created for his convenience. That is why a mother knows that when her son grows up she will lose him; she never loses her daughter in the same way, even if she marries and goes away. The moral effect of laws, which thus legalise the disability of sex, is to lower the standard of manliness among boys and womanliness among girls. How can a girl grow up with a high standard of motherhood—how can she think it a fine thing to prepare herself to bring children into the world when she began life by wishing, as so many little girls of every degree wish passionately all through their childhood, that she had been born a boy? If the mothers of the future are to save the race, then the mothers of the present must be given their freedom. If the sufferings of children, on which I have barely touched in this article, are to be wiped off the nation's slate, then the women who—not because they are wiser or more humane than men, but just because they are women—are more capable than men of grappling with the problem, must be given the political power that alone can make their intervention effectual.

WHAT THE VOTE MEANS TO THE WOMAN AS WIFE.

BY EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE. I.—WOMEN'S STATUS IN THE 19th CENTURY.*

THE air of England is too pure for a slave to breathe in" was said in "the spacious times of great Elizabeth." Yet it was not until two centuries later that, whilst George III. was King, it was finally established in the celebrated case of the negro Somerset that "a slave the instant he lands in England becomes a free man, and will be protected by the law in the enjoyment of his person and property."

From the date of that judgment the right in this land of ours of a human being to personal freedom has never been questioned, except in the case of the English wife.

Few women who have good husbands have ever realised the degree of servitude which the law allows the worst husbands to enforce upon their wives; and, forgetful of the fact that the law exists for the evil and not for the good, many women think there is nothing amiss.

Yet until quite recently a woman who refused to surrender her will and her person absolutely to her husband could be seized and imprisoned until forced into submission.

A wife in contempt of court (a lady of good family in Suffolk) was imprisoned in Ipswich Gaol for disobeying a decree for the restitution of conjugal rights. At the end of a year and ten months she became in want of the common necessities of life, and was reduced to the gaol allowance of bread and water; she suffered from rheumatism and other maladies, which were aggravated by the miseries of her imprisonment, and, after many years of suffering, died in prison, for she never went back to her husband.

It was not until the year 1884 (the year, be it remembered, of the great woman suffrage agitation, when women would have got the vote but for the direct opposition and interposition of the Liberal Premier) that Lord Selborne introduced the Matrimonial Causes Act, which put an end to the punishment by imprisonment of the husband or wife who refused to obey the decree of the Court for the restitution of conjugal rights.

Women failed in that year to get the vote by their agitation on purely constitutional lines, but one or two isolated grievances affecting women were dealt with at that time, just as women obtained certain restricted facilities under the Local Government Act a few months ago as a by-product of the present agitation for the vote.

The Right to Imprison a Wife.

But even after that Act had been passed in 1884 men held that a husband still possessed the right of imprisoning or punishing his own wife if she refused submission to his will and pleasure. This claim was disputed in a test case in 1891—the famous Clitheroe case. The facts were as follows:—

Mrs. Jackson, a lady living at Clitheroe, having refused to surrender herself to her husband, was taken by him, and imprisoned in his own house. He locked her up, blocked up the windows, refused all admittance to her friends, and kept her in confinement.

Fortunately, this lady possessed friends powerful

*I gladly acknowledge my indebtedness to Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy for much of the information contained in this article. This veteran of the Suffrage movement completed last month the forty-second year of her Parliamentary and political work for the emancipation of her own sex. She was instrumental in the passing of the Married Women's Property Act in 1882, and the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1884, to which I refer, and has been identified with every concession for women that has been wrung from the male legislators of this country during that time.

enough and rich enough to apply to the Court for a writ of habeas corpus, and the case was tried by Mr. Justice Cave and Mr. Justice Jeune, who refused the writ. Mr. Justice Cave, as reported by the *Times*, declared that "the husband had *prima facie* a right to regain possession of his wife," whilst Mr. Justice Jeune affirmed that, "though generally the forcible detention of a subject by another is *prima facie* illegal, yet, when the relation is that of husband and wife, the detention is not illegal."

Fortunately, the legal decision was not allowed to rest there. Had it done so, the position to-day (some 16 years later) would be that, though by the Act of 1884 a woman could not be imprisoned in Government gaols for refusing to surrender herself to her legal master, he could himself assume the rôle of judge, police, and gaoler, and turn his house into her prison.

Had Mrs. Jackson been poor and friendless, this would still be the law for all women to-day as interpreted by the judges, Mr. Justice Cave and Mr. Justice Jeune. For, in the absence of all political rights, there was no way in which the women of the country so deeply concerned in this legal decision could make their indignation felt as, for instance, the working men of the country made their indignation felt at the last General Election over the legal decision affecting the status of their trade unions. It is strange to think by what accidents the fate of women is decided.

Justice After a Costly Appeal.

Only a costly appeal to the Higher Court could serve to release Mrs. Jackson, and incidentally to free all women from a degrading position of personal servitude. That appeal was made. The result was that the Lord Chancellor ordered the lady to be restored to liberty, the other judges concurring.

This judgment of the Lord Chancellor and judges created an immense sensation and great protest throughout the country. Magistrates threatened that they would no longer make separation orders, or otherwise interfere for the protection of married women. The Press of the day predicted the disruption of society. Questions were asked in Parliament. There were in Clitheroe itself disgraceful demonstrations on the part of the populace, who were manifestly of the opinion that it was a sacred prerogative of the husband to seize and imprison his wife. The country was surprised and angry.

It was some time before the magistrates were willing to apply this judgment to similar cases, of which there came a plentiful crop. There was a case just afterwards of a working woman named Warden, who fled from the illusage of her husband to her parents' home down the street. The man broke into the house where she had taken refuge, seized her, and dragged her home by force. An action for common assault and damage to the parents' property was brought against him. A Mr. J. Carrington, for the defence, pleaded that the defendant used "no more violence than was necessary to take her (the wife) home." The charge of assault was dismissed, but the defendant had to pay damage for breaking the door. The right of the husband to act as a police force was thus tacitly admitted, despite the judgment of the Clitheroe case, which was quoted in the course of the trial.

I shall continue this article next month, giving the actual legal status of the married woman as it is to-day, and showing, by actual fact, the glaring wrongs and injustices under which any section of the community rests which is not represented in the Legislature of the country.

BACK-STAIRS INFLUENCE.

BY MARY E. GAWTHORPE.

IN a recent number of a well-known daily newspaper, Mrs. Harold Gorst writes on the question "How women can make their husbands succeed." Not more candid than the title are the opening sentences, "From the fuss which is being made about woman's suffrage, one would suppose that women are deprived of any share and influence in managing the affairs of the world. As a matter of fact, not only is a great deal of the wire-pulling behind the scenes done by active-minded women, but it is open to every married member of the sex to help make or mar a man's career."

On the first irritated impulse the "Votes-for-Women" enthusiast is tempted to read no further; but victory does not lie that way. It is well to get to know all you can of the opponent's point of view, for prejudices are as truly things of reality as convictions on the part of those who hold them.

In that pregnant introduction, so promising as it is of all that follows, we have an intelligent lady who is attempting to delude herself with the idea that women are only asking for votes, because, presumably, they have been unsuccessful in getting hold of the management of a portion of the world's affairs, or because, unlike little Jack Horner, they have not "pulled out a plum." Note the delicate suggestion that "wire-pulling" goes on even now. This would be humorous were it not plainly intended as a mere statement of fact. Of course, "wire-pulling" goes on now; we, at any rate, have never blinked the possibility. Indeed, it is just because of it that self-respecting women Suffragists say they would rather enjoy the definite, if circumscribed, liberty of exercising the vote, than the uncertain, varying, dangerously unlimited power (which, after all, is only for the few) which comes of "back-stairs influence."

"Why," said a man interrupter once at one of our meetings, "we shall be having petticoat government next!" "You've got it now, my friend," I was able to reply, "and it's not of the right kind, so far as the welfare of the whole is concerned, but perhaps you didn't know it." And why not of the right kind? Mrs. Gorst herself supplies the answer. She says, "it is open to every married member of the sex to help make or mar a man's career," meaning that the man's career is to be a matter of personal issues, rather than of the faithful carrying out of principle. The unmarried women are, as usual in these cases, left quite out of the running; nor is it soothingly suggested that for them perhaps a vote might come in useful in lieu of other things. Still, this is only in accordance with the general old-fashioned scheme in which such a trifle as the million or so of "superfluous" women has no place.

Frank Heresy.

Let us now proceed to Mrs. Gorst's second point:—"Nor does the husband's success necessarily depend upon his own intrinsic merit," she says. Surely this is frank heresy; even the rankest Suffragette could not have expressed the sentiment in more delicately caustic style. And, on top of this, "a moderately clever woman," she avers, can bring about a brilliant career for "even the average normal uninspired plodder." Though here again at first sight there seems to be evidenced a distinct predilection on the part of the writer to the habit known as "laughing up one's sleeve," yet a closer inspection of the context would seem to prove that the lady is deeply in earnest in what she says. Otherwise this is dangerous ground, even for one not interested in the suffrage. She ought not, certainly, to give the position away like that; to put it down in black and white that "average uninspired plodders" really do exist! We more often find, from the gentleman who asks us why we haven't had a woman Shakespeare, to the one who quotes St. Paul, that there seems to be a remarkable unanimity of feeling on one point at any rate: that by belonging to the sex which Shakespeare graced, for just once, you are entitled to bathe at will in his reflected glory.

It is too bad of Mrs. Gorst to upset this theory; as a matter of fact, she ignores the clever man altogether. Either she believes he doesn't exist, or that he may be safely trusted to look after himself.

And then, having got the material ready—the "moderately clever woman" and the "plodder," how is the transforming process to take place? How shall the chrysalis "plodder"

develop into the gorgeous butterfly called "a success"? By the simplest of methods! The woman, tersely, "must use her natural weapons" (this looks like a suggestion of sex war), and then, most delightful of prescriptions, she is to "boast about him in a subtle and inoffensive way until people begin to think there must be something in him, and he ultimately acquires a general reputation for ability." In the characteristic outspokenness of a very entertaining article we reach high-water mark here.

Concluding, Mrs. Gorst says, after speaking of business combinations, "No combination can be made more irresistible than the subtlety and personal influence of woman allied to the skill and industry of specialised man."

The Success of the Husband.

Now, what does it all mean? We certainly must admit that these women who successfully accomplish all of which Mrs. Gorst speaks are, with their specialised husbands, equally "skilled" and "industrious"; but with this difference: that in the case of the woman we seem to recognise that dangerous type among us, the over-specialised and over-sexed woman. More often than not it has been to her that one may trace, directly or indirectly, the indifference to, and even betrayal of, the woman's cause in the past. The "success of the husband" has been the prime factor in the lives of many wives of members of Parliament; rather than run any risk of that success being affected in any way, not to say jeopardised, they have persistently placed its attainment before their womanhood, thus subordinating right-dealing to personal ambition.

Needless to point out, Mrs. Gorst does not prescribe for the really average woman; the representative member of the largest married body of all—the working man's wife. The word success means a very different thing for her than in these other cases. No question of the right use of womanly arts with her, or of the discovery of "natural weapons" and the advantageous use of them, or of the promptings of the spur of unsatisfied ambition—with her to be successful is to "make both ends meet," or, if exceptionally lucky, to have a little over; and the husband is indeed a success who can say on Saturday that there is still work for him on Monday.

Mrs. Gorst's theory is an eclectic one, in which the terms are the exceptional woman (she would certainly have to be more than moderately clever), and the average man; and the symbols are—"Power" and "Influence." We have met them before: the trail of the serpent is over them all.

To the enlightened woman suffragist of to-day the whole is a frank exposition of "place aux dames," according to the gospel of the reactionary.

Often one is forcibly reminded of Marie Corelli's "Woman or Suffragette," which, as a specimen of opposition propaganda, is generally regarded as being incomprehensible in direction as it is futile in effect, and in which the authoress claims that she can any day "influence" fifty votes or so—"why should she trouble about one?"

Essentially Cruel.

In the end, when brought to the touchstone of real human helpfulness, all such theories of success, whether they emanate from the brain of a Miss Corelli, or a Mrs. Gorst, fail utterly and ignobly, because they are, in a word, cruel. They are primitively selfish, and are surrounded by all the memories of the time, now happily on the wane, when woman recognised in woman a sort of natural rival; and when the proof of her superiority over other women was her power to "make a man or mar him"; to bring about his success, or, as she sometimes did, compass his ruin.

The growing sense of comradeship between women bears within itself the cure for such atavistic tendencies. They will refuse to countenance that success which is built on the successful routing of other women from the sphere of action, or which is gained at the expense of the careers of those other women's husbands. Women are asking for a "fair field and no favour," and for "fair play all round" in the political life of to-day. They must be prepared to apply the same principles to the personal and social life of themselves and others.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

The Heart of Women.

NEVER in all the ages of human history has the secret hidden in the heart of women been revealed to the world. "Schliesmann may uncover one Troy after another, six separate cities deep, and never come the nearer to what Helen thought. All that is not silence is the voice of man." The train of thought suggested in the essay from the pen of Miss Elizabeth Robins' "Woman's Secret" is well worth following. "If I were a man, and cared to know the world I lived in," she says, "I think it would make me a shade uneasy—the weight of that silence of half the world."

Once more, as I read this essay, I was back in imagination, in the presence of the greatest human work of art in all the world—back in the warm moon-flooded amber sand of the Egyptian desert, filled with a pulse-arresting fear which is fascination and rapture. There in the vast solitude, thrilled with the vitality and mystery of the great Sphinx-form which has baffled all the knowledge and lore of men, there falls upon the spirit the weight of the silence which dwells in the soul of the world's great Maternity.

Elizabeth Robins has brought back this word from a source of wisdom of which few men know the existence. Most men will not understand it. They will say, "There is no secret." But women, who have "the silent substance of life" within them, will understand, and will realise that they are one with the writer as they are one with the forces of birth and life and death.

* * * *

Women, too, will understand the underlying significances of Miss Robins' new novel THE CONVERT (Methuen and Co., 6s.). Nothing in that book is more significant than the fact that when Vida Levering, the central character, begins to speak to Lord Borrodale, her friend and comrade, or to Geoffrey Stonar, her former lover, from the depths of her womanhood, she realises at once that she is talking a foreign language to them. There is no suggestion of any resentment in the recognition of this fact. It belongs to the region of the inevitable.

It is a generally accepted maxim which slips glibly off every tongue that a novel or a picture with a purpose cannot be a work of art. It is criticism with which I profoundly disagree. Without going into this discussion, let me say that I am impressed with "The Convert" as a piece of very wonderful art. I am astonished at the craftsmanship of it. Miss Robins is, of course, a playwright and an actress as well as a novelist. She naturally throws her subject into dramatic form. Her characters reveal themselves in conversation and action. There is next to no verbal description, next to no narration of incident. Her characters are not painted. They live, move, and speak and act before one's eyes. Added to this dramatic instinct there is a very vivid historic imagination and insight, which puts a wonderful perspective behind the characters and the situations of her drama.

The most remarkable thing about her Trafalgar Square and Hyde Park meetings is that, while she seizes upon and emphasises all that is most crude and most belittling and most ineffective in the early movement, yet—this is the masterpiece of art—yet she forces home somehow the realisation that these despised, forlorn creatures, on the plinth or in the cart, the butt of ridicule for the lowest and least accountable of the whole population, are the centre point of a new and higher circle of evolution. In one of the very rare passages of introspection, the writer puts this conception into actual words, otherwise one might almost wonder if her art were fully conscious or mainly subconscious in this matter. Vida Levering, in a state of puzzled wonderment, in Trafalgar Square lifts a look

above the haggard group up there between the guardian lions, beyond even the last reach of the tall monument, to the cloudless sky of June. Was the great shaft itself playing a part in the impression? Was it there, not at all for memory of some battle long ago, but just to mark on the fair bright page of

* On sale at the offices of the N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's-inn.
Price 6d. net.

afternoon a huge surprise? What lesser account than just this Titanic exclamation point could fitly punctuate the record of so strange a portent!—women confronting the populace of the mightiest city in the world—pleading in her most public place their right to a voice in her affairs.

Again and again in some subtle wonderful way the author reveals the vistas of history stretching back into the past, or away into the future, seizing *here and now* the historic significance of trivial-seeming things, that is only due to dawn upon human recognition long after the events which she portrays have receded into the past.

E. P. L.

Woman's Suffrage.

A BOOK essentially valuable as a man's contribution to the subject comes from the pen of Arnold Harris Mathew, and forms one of the Social Problems Series (T. C. and E. C. Jack, 1s. net). The author, with his singularly clear and concise style, deals with the subject in all its bearings, and makes out a complete case.

He traces the evolution of the woman from the "small, wasp-waisted, narrow-shouldered type, with her vacant, soulless, simpering face," the woman supposed to be admired by men a century ago, to the woman of to-day—"tall, firm, well-developed, yet graceful, with a free and open carriage, able to walk, cycle, swim, skate, and play a good game of tennis, hockey, or cricket." The comparison is a telling one, and he would be a bold man indeed who would say to the modern woman, "Thus far hast thou come, thou shalt go no farther!"

Against this modern woman Mr. Mathew sets the modern man—none too favourable a picture, but true of many an average man who passes as a superior being. He unmasks some of the insolent sort of talk on the subject of women which any man who has mixed with his fellows will recognise as in no way exaggerated.

Mr. Mathew has some valuable chapters on woman's industrial position at the present day, and indicates very clearly the need there is for change, and how the women's vote will help to bring about better things for men, as well as for women.

But the most entertaining parts of the volume are his sallies of wit at the expense of the opponents of woman's enfranchisement, whether they belong to his own sex or to the ranks of the women anti-suffragists. His special satire is reserved for Marie Corelli. "We have," he says, "in the following passage an indication of the reason why Marie Corelli can dispense with the suffrage:—'Charm, grace of manner, easy eloquence, and exquisite restraint are all, or should be all, essentials of the feminine endowment, and these are conspicuously lacking in the suffragette's composition.' Look on this picture and on that. Compare the character of the suffragist with that exquisite restraint which the very name of Marie Corelli inevitably suggests."

Again, he says:—"Another reason why Miss Corelli objects to the vote is found in these lines:—'In fact, as a means of temporary flirtation and evanescent love-making, destined to end with the end of the election, women's suffrage could hardly be surpassed. Perhaps this, after all, is the real object of the impetuous movement! Who knows?' But, according to Miss Corelli, the chief arts by which woman must retain her present noble possession are all of them of a similar nature: 'The clever woman sits at home, and, like a meadow spider, spreads a pretty web of rose and gold spangled with diamond dew. Flies, or men, tumble in by scores, and she holds them all prisoners at her pleasure with a golden strand as fine as a hair. Nature gave her, at her birth, the "right" to do this, and if she does it well, she will always have her web full.'

"So that, whichever way we turn, we find Marie Corelli obsessed by the idea of fascinating women inveigling helpless men into their toils."

A chapter on methods in which Mr. Mathew heartily supports the militant agitation concludes a very interesting volume.

F. W. P. L.

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VOTES FOR WOMEN.

November, 1907.

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

THE HOUSE UPON THE SAND.

TWENTY years ago the Liberal party was false to its principles when at the personal dictate of its leader it broke faith with women. To-day it can repeat or retrieve that blunder.

The Liberal Government has itself chosen the Constitutional issue as the battle ground. It has stated that it is prepared to stand or fall on the doctrine of representation. But it cannot play fast and loose with its principles; it cannot at the same time deny representation to women and base its whole claim for support on the theory that it has a mandate from the people. To so juggle with phrases is to turn principles into catch-words and vital truths into conscious hypocrisy.

The Liberal party can make its choice. It can, if it will, see the women's movement for what it really is—a great, burning enthusiasm of the women of the country of all classes and of all political creeds kindled into flame by the spark of their leaders' devotion. It can come forward to-day and undertake in the session of 1908 to enfranchise women, so that after the next General Election the House of Commons shall be in reality the people's House representative of both elements of the nation.

Or in defiance of demonstrable fact, it can hold it to be an agitation of a few fanatics supported by inveterate opponents of Liberalism and sustained by Tory gold, and of no political significance. But this blindness will not save it from the condemnation of history nor from

its immediate defeat at the hands of the people of the country.

For the tide of woman's determination is rising; one by one the petty obstacles which opponents have put in her way are being washed aside with ever increasing ease.

The members of the Liberal Government, with their backs turned to the on-coming sea, are building a castle in the sand; only when an advance wave more venture-some than the rest wets the hem of their garment do they blame it for its rudeness, and bid it back to the ocean from which it came.

But there is yet time for them to recognise the truth.

They can yet turn, and with a statesman's eye they can, if they will, take in the full extent of the great tide which is coming in; they can build their house upon a rock; in its construction they can summon to their aid not one element alone which of itself crumbles away, but earth and air and fire and water, and build therewith a permanent structure which shall weather the storms of adversity and survive the test of time.

But if not, if they continue building their house upon the sand, in the belief that it will hide them from the on-coming tide, and that its treacherous walls will ward off the resistless waves of the sea, they will wait too long; they will wait till the tide is at its flood, and they and their castle will be overwhelmed together, and not a vestige will remain.

A PUBLIC MEETING

WILL BE HELD IN THE

QUEEN'S HALL,

ON

Monday, Nov. 11th, at 8 p.m.

TO DEMAND THE

Enfranchisement of Women

Chairman: Mrs. PANKHURST.

Speakers:

Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

Miss ANNIE KENNEY.

Miss MARY E. GAWTHORPE.

Mrs. MARTEL.

Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

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THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN.

BY CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

AS the paper goes to press I learn that there is to be a by-election at West Hull. With the opening of the contest we shall be at once in the field. Mrs. Pankhurst will be in charge, and will have the co-operation of Miss Annie Kenney, Mrs. Martel, and a large band of voluntary workers. Some small modification of the items of our programme outlined below may be found necessary in consequence. We shall, as usual, offer strong resistance to the return of the Government nominee.

During October the winter campaign of the National Women's Social and Political Union was successfully started in several important centres, and November bids fair to be a record for big meetings. The programme of the principal events of the month, as far as at present arranged, are given on page 19.

Our week's campaign in Scotland was singularly successful. At all the big meetings our resolution calling upon the Government to give women the vote next session was carried by enormous majorities; in a few cases three or four hands being held up against, and in the others no opponents being found.

In Aberdeen the chair was taken by the senior member of Parliament for the borough, who showed every kindness to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and myself, and presented a cheque for a hundred guineas to the National Women's Social and Political Union on our departure.

In Dunfermline, the constituency of the Prime Minister, the chairman of the local Liberal party, Mr. Robertson, presided at our meeting, and the vote of thanks at the conclusion was moved by Dr. Bell, a leading Conservative of the town.

In Dundee and in Glasgow we had crowded audiences, and the great day in Edinburgh put the finishing touch upon the week's campaign. We had beautiful weather for the procession, and we were told that there had never been such a turn out in the city before. The streets were lined with people, and at all the squares there were large crowds gathered together, so that we longed to stop and hold open-air meetings. It was reckoned that the number of people taking part in the procession was between 3,000 and 4,000, but there cannot have been less than 100,000 altogether who came out to look on. In the evening the Synod Hall was crowded, and an overflow meeting had to take place in a smaller hall. In addition to the resolution asking for the vote next session, a further one calling upon all those present to put their enthusiasm into practical effect was carried with acclamation.

The London campaign was opened by an "At Home" given by the members of the Committee in the Portman Rooms on October 12. Some 700 guests were present, and by their enthusiasm gave evidence of their intention of doing good work throughout the winter.

Birmingham, Bristol, Nottingham, Southampton, and various towns in Yorkshire have also been vigorously canvassed by other organisers, and in each place meetings have been held every day.

Outlook for November.

Everything points to a most successful meeting in the Queen's Hall, London, on Monday, November 11, when the chair will be taken by Mrs. Pankhurst, at 8 p.m., and the speakers will include Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Mary E. Gawthorpe, Mrs. Martel, and myself. A large number of tickets have already been sold, but as we are anxious that there shall not be a single vacant seat on that occasion I hope that everyone

who can will come themselves to the meeting and bring friends. Tickets should be obtained beforehand; they are on sale at 4, Clements Inn and also at the Box Office, Queen's Hall, price 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d. Mrs. Drummond will be glad to have the names of any women willing to act as stewards or literature sellers on that occasion.

We have engaged the Caxton Hall, Westminster, for February 11, 12, and 13, for the purpose of a three-days' gathering of women. This assembly will be attended by women from all parts of London and the provinces, and will discuss means of obtaining immediate enfranchisement. In the event of women's suffrage not being mentioned in the King's Speech, a strong demand will be made for the amendment of the Government programme.

Supporters are urged to bring their friends to the "At Homes" at Clements Inn which are now held twice a week, Monday afternoon, from 4 to 6, and Thursday evening, from 8 to 10; they will then be brought into contact with the leaders and learn something of the movement. New faces as well as old are always welcome.

The National Committee are organising two campaigns, one in South St. Pancras and the other in the Romford division of Essex.

The electorate of Romford numbers about 50,000, the Government majority at the last election being over 8,000. Preparations for a public meeting are on foot in Wanstead, and similar meetings will be held in all parts of the constituency. Mrs. Drummond will be pleased to hear from those who are prepared to help either in St. Pancras or Romford.

Scotland.

An active campaign is in prospect for Scotland this autumn. Encouraged by our reception in October, when new and widespread interest was aroused, we intend to do everything in our power to deepen the impression already made. Mrs. Pankhurst will be in Stirling and Edinburgh at the beginning of November. She will return to Scotland later in the month, and will remain there for some weeks for the purpose of visiting the constituencies of Cabinet Ministers and other important centres. Miss Helen Fraser and Miss Isabel Seymour will speak at a meeting in the Town Hall, Inverness, on November 18. The Provost and his wife are interested in the movement, and have kindly promised to do everything in their power to make the meeting a success. Later on a second large meeting will be held in the town.

Mrs. Macdonald, who has already taken an active part in the London movement, has placed a house at our disposal in Aberdeen for two years. This will contribute very much to the efficiency of the work in that part of Scotland. Miss Una Dugdale is undertaking a campaign in Arbroath.

The West of England.

Fresh ground is being broken up in the West of England by Miss Annie Kenney who, with the assistance of Miss Aeta Lamb and Miss Dorothy Pethick, has charge of organising the great meeting in the Victoria Rooms, Clifton, on the eighth of this month, which will be addressed by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Annie Kenney, and myself. There are signs that the town is already more favourably disposed to our agitation and the assistance of Miss Priestman, one of the pioneers of the Suffrage movement, has been invaluable. After the big meeting Miss Lamb will continue to make her headquarters in Bristol for the next few weeks, and will work in various West of England centres.

The North of England.

Mrs. Martel will spend the early part of November in Yorkshire, and later will visit Northumberland and Durham. There will be meetings in South Shields, Sunderland, Newcastle, Gateshead, Darlington, and other important towns.

Active work is proceeding in all the principal towns in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Miss Adela Pankhurst represents the National Committee there, and co-operating with her are the local unions. Large demonstrations have been arranged in Brighouse, Keighley, Leeds, and Huddersfield.

We have arranged that Mrs. Baines, Mrs. Leigh, and others shall carry on a special mission during the coming months amongst the women in the factory towns of Lancashire.

Midlands.

Birmingham, we believe, is about to become one of the strongholds of our movement. Father Adderley is giving us his support, and arranged a meeting for the discussion of our question. Miss Nell Kenney is everywhere favourably received, and has had many invitations to speak to religious and other societies, and is making active preparations for the meeting in the Town Hall on November 20, which is to be addressed by Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Petrick Lawrence, and Mrs. Martel, with myself in the chair. Miss Nell Kenney, making Birmingham her headquarters, later on will visit Wolverhampton, Walsall, Coventry, Nuneaton, and other towns.

We have recently begun to work in Nottingham, and the fact that a large number of women are employed in the lace-making industry makes it a very suitable field. Miss Elsa Gye is representing the Union. The first meeting was held on the occasion of the Women's Suffrage Conference, held by the Women's Liberal Federation. The audience was sympathetic, and good reports appeared in the local Press. At the Conference of Liberal Women, the proposal that they should abstain from supporting Liberal candidates at bye-elections until the franchise is granted was defeated, but it met with a certain amount of support. The idea of a political strike has at last obtained root in the minds of some Liberal women, and it is certain to spread rapidly.

We are to hold a meeting in the Mechanics' Hall on December 2, at which we hope several Liberal women will be present. Each Sunday until the time of the big demonstration an open-air meeting will be held in the Market Place, addressed by one of our London speakers. Miss New is to speak at the first of these.

The Leicester members are organising a demonstration in the Shoe Trade Hall on November 14, at which Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and myself will be the speakers.

Derby and Northampton are two other Midland towns that we intend to visit in the near future.

The South Coast.

Mrs. Baines is in Southampton, preparing for a meeting on November 6, to be held in the Royal Victoria Rooms, which will be addressed by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Baines, and myself. Progress was somewhat slow at first, but she has now found many friends, and we hope to found a strong movement in the town.

Brighton is another South Coast town in which a good deal of work is being done. The local Union is arranging a large meeting for December 5, at which Mrs. Martel will be the chief speaker.

Opposition to the Liberal Government.

A number of London members attended Mr. Sidney Buxton's meeting in Poplar on October 25, for the purpose of protesting against the neglect of the Government to grant the vote to women. Mr. Buxton, who must know that as soon as the Government concedes our claim these protests will cease, complained of our action, and (in de-

fiance of historical fact) appealed to the women to "behave decorously, like men." Equally absurd was his charge against the Union that young girls were deputed to make the protest, for none of the Suffragists present were under 25. Rather different from the unfair reports of a few months ago were the Press accounts of this occurrence. The *Westminster Gazette* went so far as to admit that these methods will be justified if they prove successful. We have here a sign that our militant action is soon to evoke sympathy instead of condemnation. The Prime Minister himself had admitted the necessity of such tactics by saying that the way to succeed was to agitate and to pester people. Mr. Lloyd George, too, has directed that those who do not bring pressure to bear on the Government will be left out.

Mr. Harcourt in Rossendale.

For some weeks past the Rossendale Valley has been the scene of operations of the N.W.S.P.U., meetings having been held by Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Annie Kenney in various parts of the constituency for which Mr. Harcourt is member.

On Monday, October 28, a deputation consisting of Mrs. Pankhurst and women representing Manchester, Liverpool, Rochdale, Blackburn, Birmingham, Haslingden, Rawtenstall, and Bacup, waited on Mr. Harcourt to lay before him their views on Woman's Suffrage, and to hear the intentions of the Government, and to ask him whether he would now withdraw his opposition. His reply was to the effect that his own opinion was unchanged, and that he did not consider the Government were likely to be in a position to take the action desired. Mrs. Pankhurst declared that this uncompromising refusal exposed the sham character of the Government's attitude to Constitutional Reform, and that Mr. Harcourt evidently was not fit to represent a constituency where the majority of the wage-earners were women.

In the evening a meeting addressed by Mr. Harcourt in the constituency was broken up by a large number of women, who protested against his attitude on Woman Suffrage. His remarks upon the House of Lords were not listened to, and a vote of confidence, moved by a member of the audience and put from the chair, was entirely disregarded. A large number of men supported Mrs. Pankhurst, who at the close of the meeting held addressed the crowd amid cheers from a wagon outside the hall.

The women's suffrage movement has arrived at a critical point. The life of the Government is running out—next Session may be the last—so that if we are to have the vote before the General Election, there is no time to lose.

Further, as a consequence of the Government's campaign against the House of Lords, the whole constitutional issue has been brought uppermost, so that women's suffrage may be made to stand in the direct line of political progress.

When reform of the House of Lords is in the air, the question of reforming the House of Commons cannot be set aside. This is the moment for us to insist that the first constitutional change must be that of admitting women to the franchise, so that the House of Commons may henceforth represent the people as a whole, and not the men alone.

Our demand is the vote next Session. But women will ask: Can we get it? We can, but only on one condition. The Government will give us the vote next Session if, but only if, during the next few months we succeed in seriously interfering with their progress and with their schemes. We must deliberately and of set purpose apply ourselves to this task. We understand, as the suffragists of earlier days did not understand, how to get the vote. We have but to make up our minds to pay the price, and the vote is ours.

WOMEN IN OTHER LANDS.

IN Sweden the Suffrage question is very much alive. Everywhere there, as in this country, meetings are being held; every review and newspaper contains articles on Woman Suffrage. The women in Sweden, inspired and encouraged by the victory of their sisters in Norway, are pressing their demand with insistence, and it looks as though Sweden may be the next country in Europe to follow in the line of justice and civilisation.

Italy.

One has heard no more of the petition for Women's Suffrage which was so favourably discussed in the Italian Parliament on February 25, 1907, and then sent to the archives for investigation; but another petition on more democratic lines is being circulated for signatures by the "Unione Femminile Nazionale" of Milan, and will be sent to the Camera when it next sits, in November. The terms of this petition are as follows:—

Recognised that it is contrary to nature; that while the constitution of the family needs the united energies of men and women yet to the latter is denied all co-operation in the constitution of social order;

Recognised that it is unjust to impose on the woman, orders and laws, in the formation of which she is forbidden to participate, while to a community of interests should correspond a relative equality of rights;

Recognised that it is iniquitous that while the woman co-operates by professional and industrial work to social prosperity, and for that (and also as employee of the State and commune), pays taxes, she has no recognised right of control by means of participation in administrative life;

Recognised that the concourse of the intelligence, sentiment (mind), experience, and activity of women would be an efficacious factor in the protection (care) of maternity and infancy, in the rational and useful ordering of education, and for the propaganda of the principles of brotherhood and peace between the nations;

Recognised that it is unjust and injurious that the administrative and political vote should constitute a sex monopoly;

The undersigned claim for women, the recognition of the administrative and political vote with eligibility.

Women will look forward with interest to the treatment which this second petition receives at the hands of the Italian Parliament.

Votes for Dutch Women.

A paragraph appeared recently in one of the daily papers, stating that the Government of Holland was about to bring in a Bill giving "universal suffrage and votes for women" (a curious and significant phrase upon which there is no need to comment) to Dutch citizens. What does it mean? Is Holland going at once to follow the lead given by Finland and Norway in Europe, and are Dutch women really on the eve of enfranchisement? No, not exactly. For our sisters in Holland the time has not yet come for waving the flag, only for taking the battlefield in real earnest, inspired by the sense of a great opportunity and a new hope.

The law which expressly shut out women from the franchise in the Netherlands was framed and passed in 1887. Then came a period of repressive legislation against Holland's defenceless unenfranchised female citizens. "Royal Decrees" were issued prohibiting married women from working in post and telegraph offices, and greatly hampering them in earning their livelihood as teachers in public schools.

One disability after another had to be suffered by women, until in 1905 Dr. Kuyper, the reactionary Prime Minister, and his colleagues who were responsible for these repressive laws, were overthrown in the general election. This overthrow was brought about by a coalition of the Progressive forces on the understanding that a project for the entire revision of the Constitution should be brought forward by the incoming Ministry. And its

first action was the appointment of a *State Commission*, similar in scope to what we call in this country a *Royal Commission*, for the revision of the Constitution. The Dutch Woman Suffrage Association formed a committee to formulate the demands of the women in this respect, and on May 3 the President, Dr. Aletta Jacobs, and another delegate obtained a personal interview, and presented a memorial to the Queen of Holland. The next day these two ladies were granted an interview with the Prime Minister, who promised to take the women's claims into serious consideration when the revision of the Constitution was being discussed.

The State Commission, by a majority of six to one, has advised the Government to include votes for women in the new Constitution. In accordance with this advice, the revised Constitution, which has been drafted now by the present Cabinet, commended by the State Council, and submitted to the States General on October 12 last, proposes to give to women full citizen rights, the right to vote, and the right to be voted for. Both the suffrage and the eligibility for representation in Parliament are secured to women in this draft Constitution. Unless a new ministerial crisis should intervene, this draft Constitution will be discussed in 1909.

It remains to be seen whether the political parties in the State will endorse the clause dealing with the citizen rights of women. Suffragettes will say: It depends on the will and determination of the women themselves. If it is felt that the Dutch women are prepared to submit to exclusion, they will be told, in all probability, "that the justice of their claim is *irrefutable*, but the present time is the wrong time to press it." They will be told to exercise a little patience. We hope that our sisters in Holland have too much spirit to accept tamely any such advice. If they want their freedom they may have to fight for it. Then let them fight and win freedom for themselves and for the generations unborn.

Victoria (Australia).

The Women's Suffrage Committee of Victoria are working hard to bring the question before the electors of that country; they have just issued an "Appeal to the Men of Victoria," of which I have received a copy. The appeal points out that—

1. Victoria was the first Australian Colony to have an organised Woman Suffrage movement. The Victorian Parliament was the first in Australia to deal with Woman Suffrage.

2. The women of Victoria vote for School Boards, Municipal Councils, and the Federal Parliament, and they are the only women in the Commonwealth who do not possess the State Suffrage.

3. Woman suffrage has been a leading question at six general elections; two-thirds of the candidates returned at these elections have been pledged to the reform; a Woman Suffrage measure has been before the Legislative Assembly 17 times in 15 years.

Not only so, but on 15 out of the 17 occasions it has been carried. Opposition, however, has been engineered in the Upper House, and in consequence the Bill has never become law.

The attack, therefore, is being directed now on this Chamber, and with every prospect of success, particularly in view of the forthcoming Australian Exhibition of Women's Work, when every branch of women's industry will be in the minds of everyone. In a personal letter Vida Goldstein, the hon. secretary of the Victorian movement, writes:—"I love to read of the splendid work the W.S.P.U. is doing. Its tactics are magnificent. To see such definite evidences of progress as have been secured by the W.S.P.U. after so many years of marking time makes us feel years younger." So is the woman's cause one throughout the whole world.

E. P. L.

THE MOVEMENT IN LONDON AND THE PROVINCES.

Notes of Meetings and Announcements and other Contributions for this page should be posted to The Editor, "Votes for Women," 4, Clements Inn, W.C., so as to arrive not later than Saturday morning in each week to be in time for insertion in the following number.

The Bristol Campaign.

ACTIVE preparations are being made for the big meeting in Bristol on November 8, in the Victoria Rooms, Clifton. Miss Lamb and Miss Pethick and I have been at work for some time on preliminaries.

Outdoor meetings have been held every day, midday and evening. October 19 we addressed 800 people in the Horse Fair. When we had concluded our story we asked them if they did not think that in blaming the Suffragettes for "unruly methods" they had been blaming the wrong people, and that the real offenders were the Liberal Government. One man in the crowd said: "We did blame you, Miss, but we were all wrong."

Everything is going on very well, and I am glad that the West of England, hitherto untouched, is now being reached by our movement, which is needed in every part of the country before next Session. I must say the Bristol women have responded to every appeal we have made for them to come and help in drawing the Bristolians together on November 8 to hear our case. Surely Bristol women will not be behind their men for working for political emancipation. Their forefathers were men who faced all for the vote. Let the women in Bristol do likewise. ANNIE KENNEY.

The Eastern Counties.

Mrs. Martel has begun a campaign in Ipswich, where the Government gained their first victory at the General Election. During this, her second visit to the town, Mrs. Martel held seven public meetings. These were very well attended, and most orderly. There was a good sale of literature, and the collections were sufficient in amount entirely to defray the expenses of the meetings. A number of electors have promised to communicate with members of the Cabinet expressing their desire that the vote should be granted to women. Several local women are continuing the work, and a representative of the National Committee will very soon be in Ipswich again.

Birmingham Report.

The arrangements for the Town Hall meeting on November 20 go on apace. We have already a few hundred tickets out for sale, and workers are turning out splendidly.

A series of drawing-room, open-air, and factory gate meetings, besides addresses to be given in different religious societies, co-operative guilds, &c., are being arranged for November, but dates are not yet fixed.

The local committee are beginning a visiting campaign among their own members, and I am visiting most of the influential people in Birmingham and surrounding districts.

Our meetings are run on strictly economical lines. The outdoor meetings are being advertised by chalking the pavements or ringing the bell, and the audiences so far have been orderly and sympathetic.

There is a good month's work before us, and I trust that all in Birmingham who have the women's cause at heart will rally round us and help to make this meeting on November 20 an unparalleled success. All sympathisers and supporters in Birmingham and outside districts are invited to assist us by selling tickets and otherwise making the meeting known by acting as stewards or literature sellers on the 20th, or by arranging drawing-room or other local meetings for some of us to address. They should send in their names as soon as possible to me to 22, Belgrave-road, Edgbaston, Birmingham. NELL KENNEY.

Yorkshire Report.

The weather here in Yorkshire has been too bad for any open-air meetings at any time of the day, and owing to a mistake on the part of the managers of the Philosophical Hall, the demonstration at which Mrs. Pankhurst is to speak has been postponed to November 16.

Mrs. Martel is visiting Keighley on October 30, and Brighouse on November 4, and I am spending the time till then canvassing. Very good results have come from this work, as both in Keighley and Brighouse Liberal women are beginning to be supremely dissatisfied with the action of the Government.

On Wednesday night, October 23, Dr. Macnamara spoke in Bradford, and six Yorkshire women—Mrs. Goodison, Mrs. Knoblough, Miss Finin, Miss Titterton, Miss Priestman, and myself attended to get a question answered by him as Secretary of the Local Government Board. At first he gave an evasive answer, but, after some argument and a great uproar in the hall, I got the following reply to a question framed in the usual way.

It may not please you, but I cannot say that the Government will introduce a measure to enfranchise women whilst in power.

Dr. Macnamara's whole manner whilst speaking on the subject was most offensive, causing a laugh amongst the most ignorant men in the hall. The papers here omit the main point of his reply. ADELA PANKHURST.

Bowes Park W.S.P.U.

The Bowes Park Women's Social and Political Union have decided to hold monthly "At Homes," and have engaged the Unity Hall, Wood Green, for this purpose. The first "At Home" is to be held on the second Wednesday in November, subsequent "At Homes" will be held on the first Wednesday in the month.

Brixton and Streatham W.S.P.U.

The Brixton branch held an open-air meeting at Angel-road, Brixton, on Thursday, October 24. Speaker, Miss Feek. Mrs. Tanner in the chair. The meeting was a fairly large one, men being strongly represented.

Miss Feek said it was now generally agreed that there should be no taxation without representation. If women were deemed capable of voting intelligently at County and Borough Council elections, was it not right that they should have a voice in the management of the affairs of the nation? They were told that if they kept quiet they would get the vote in good time, but 70 years ago women were told exactly the same thing. They wanted the franchise so as to be able to bring about needful reforms in their country, not merely for the sake of being allowed to put a cross on a voting paper.

Chelsea W.S.P.U.

Open-air meetings have been held during the month of October in Cale-street, Chelsea Green, at 7.30, and will be continued, weather permitting, during November.

A well-attended drawing-room meeting was held on Tuesday, 15th inst., at Trafalgar Studios, when Mrs. Pethick Lawrence delivered a forcible address. Two other drawing-room meetings have been arranged; one, on November 9, will be held at the house of Mrs. Monck-Mason, 93, Oakley-street, Chelsea, and the other will take place at Mrs. Clifton's house, 28, Margaretta-street. The exact date for the latter has yet to be settled.

Harrow Road W.S.P.U.

Meetings have been held on Wednesday evenings during October. On October 23 Mrs. Arndcliffe Sennett explained how unfair the laws of England were to women. Referring to the slums, she said that the personal work of women in attempting to make conditions better was useless without the power of the vote to help to alter the laws.

I have to acknowledge, with thanks, several parcels from friends for our rummage sale on November 4. May I beg of others to follow their example, and send them to me at 252, Harrow-road?

An indoor meeting is to take place at Norman Hall, Harrow-road, on Wednesday, November 6, 8 p.m., when Dr. Helen Jones will speak. L. C. CULLEN.

Kensington W.S.P.U.

The efforts of our workers have been devoted to preparing for our public meeting on October 24, which is described elsewhere. Now that is over, they will be free to turn their attention to canvassing. The committee has long felt that a systematic canvass of residents was necessary to increase our knowledge of the district, to prepare for an election, and to train our workers. We have in our ranks some members who have gained much experience in working in elections, and with their assistance we hope to begin next week. Mrs. Morrison has consented to take charge of the work and direct our efforts. LOUISE M. EATES, Hon. Secretary.

Manchester W.S.P.U.

On Thursday afternoon, October 24, an "At Home" was held in the Memorial Hall, Albert-square, Manchester. The "At Home" was given by the members and friends of the union. The Lady Mayoress of Salford presided.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence laid stress on the need of the vote for women on equal terms with those by which it was granted to men. The question was no mere political reform, but one that permeated the ethics of national life. Women knew the value of human life: this was a question that reached down to the very founts of being.

Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy said that during the 42 years she had been working for the movement she had seen the male electorate increase from seven hundred thousand to over seven millions, and with every increase of the male electorate it had been more and more difficult to get any attention paid to matters vitally affecting women. Now she regarded victory as certain. MARGARET DUNCAN.

SCOTTISH NOTES.

MISS MUNRO'S question at Dunfermline to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, asking him to suggest new methods of propaganda to Suffragists, was a clever one—and elicited a response that was eminently satisfactory to us.

We are having quite a shoal of Cabinet Ministers' meetings up here in the North, and we hope to have questions asked at all of them. Miss Munro, who has conducted a splendid summer and autumn open-air series of meetings, is now being booked up by the various societies, and is going to speak soon to the Women's Co-operative Guild at Lochgelly, and the Young Scots' Society at Dunfermline. Dumbarton W.S.P.U. is preparing for winter work, and Mrs. Craig is arranging for speakers to come to their meetings throughout the winter.

Miss Mary Phillips and myself went to Motherwell on October 24 to a meeting arranged for us there. Mr. Moffat was in the chair, and after Miss Phillips and I had spoken we made an appeal for members, of which we got several. We have arranged to hold later on a meeting in the Town Hall.

On October 25 we had our "At Home" in Langside Halls, Glasgow, which was a very great success. We had an unexpected helper in Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, who had come here the day before, who came out to the "At Home," and gave us a bright and enthusiastic speech. Mrs. J. D. Pearce was chairwoman, and I also spoke. The music and refreshment arrangements were splendid, and the committee have every reason to feel quite pleased with their first effort in this direction, which they assure me, is only the beginning of a series of "At Homes" of this kind. They have the names of ten new members, and we feel sure the southern branch, which has increased its membership every week since its beginning, is going to be soon a very large branch. We are also hoping to start soon a new branch at Hillhead, for which we have now quite a large number of members.

Miss Dugdale, who had such a splendid meeting at Aboyne last week, at which Mrs. Bryant, our literature secretary in Aberdeen, also spoke, is arranging a meeting at Arbroath about the middle of November, at which I am going to speak, and we hope to work up that district also.

I went recently to the University Settlement to speak on the ethical side of the woman's movement. On October 31 I expect to speak at the Cathart Parliamentary Association, where the Liberal Government is bringing in Dr. Pankhurst's Bill to enfranchise women.

I have two debates fixed for November, a meeting at Lenzie, at Stirling, &c., and when Mrs. Pankhurst comes down to Edinburgh on 8th to speak to the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation I hope to arrange several "At Homes" and meetings for her. HELEN FRASER.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £20,000 FUND

October 1 to 29, 1907.

Table listing contributions to the £20,000 fund, including names and amounts in pounds, shillings, and pence. Total amount listed as £2,940 0 0.

THE NEW GAME—"SUFFRAGETTE."

THE Kensington Committee is responsible for the invention of a new card game, called Suffragette. Although it may be recommended as a novel form of propaganda, let it not be thought that there is no fun in it. The sense of humour which lends so much force to the enthusiasm of the W.S.P.U. is very obvious here, too. Suffragette may be played as a round game, or in sides—Suffragists *v.* Anti-Suffragists—its object being to gain the highest number of votes by making up the cards into sets, each set being worth so many votes, and finally to secure the Bill. The names of the sets are very suggestive—Piercrust Principles, The Career of the Suffragettes, Broken Promises, The Sensational Press, &c. Many portraits of well-known Suffragists, including those of our own Suffragettes, illustrate the game, as well as pen and ink sketches. As examples of the kind of question and answer by which the game is carried on we may quote the following:—

1. What happened behind the Grille in April, 1906? Someone said "Votes for Women," and Parliament had hysterics.
2. When does Mr. Lloyd George vote for Women Suffrage? When there is no chance of their getting it.
3. Do women want the vote? No, they sign suffrage petitions for fun.
4. What has the woman's vote done in New Zealand? Granted old-age pensions instead of talking about them.
5. Who was the earliest suffragette? Boadicea, and the House of Commons smiles upon her statue.

The game is on sale by the literature department of the W.S.P.U., and it is to be hoped that members will purchase this shillingworth of propaganda, and give Suffragette, instead of Bridge, parties this winter.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE DEMONSTRATION IN MANCHESTER.

A DEMONSTRATION in favour of Women's Suffrage was held on Friday evening, October 25, in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester. The societies represented were the North of England Society for Women's Suffrage, the Women's Social and Political Union, the Lancashire and Cheshire Union of Women's Liberal Associations, the Women's Trade Union Council, and the Manchester, Salford, and District Branch of the National Union of Women Workers.

Miss Margaret Ashton struck the key-note of the meeting, when she said that the Reform for which the Demonstration was held had "passed the debating stage; it had reached the fighting stage." Mrs. Henry Fawcett then moved the following resolution:—

That this meeting expresses its strong dissatisfaction at the failure of the Government either to introduce the Bill for the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women on the same terms as to men, or to give any pledge that they will deal with the question; and urges the Government no longer to delay granting to women the protection of the vote which is as necessary to them as to men, and which, as taxpayers and citizens, they earnestly demand.

Mrs. Henry Fawcett drew attention to various significant facts in the progress of the Suffrage agitation, and brought the movement up to date with the statement that "this year had been the greatest year the women's suffrage movement had known."

Mr. Dickinson, M.P., seconded the resolution. He pointed out how the enfranchisement of women was the logical outcome of the modern principles of national government—"the people—all the people." He then proceeded to criticise the Bill which he had himself introduced in the spring, saying that a measure which would only enfranchise two millions of women out of ten millions was not a democratic measure. And as a matter of tactics, it was undesirable to alienate the democratic section of the Liberal party.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence defended the tactics of the movement. She quoted the oft-heard statement: "We quite believe in women's suffrage, but we feel that the cause is being put back by these extremists." But the methods of the extremists had done one thing at least. Two or three years ago the guns of the opponents of women's suffrage were directed against the main proposition that women should be included in the Constitution of the country. By their methods these extremists had drawn the fire upon themselves. When the smoke of the battle cleared away they would see that a great victory had been won, because a great many other battalions were out making good use of their opportunity. If they did not like the methods employed they must find for themselves other powerful methods of bringing pressure to bear.

"The Cause," said Mrs. Lawrence, in conclusion, "is too serious to be trifled with. It is not a mere political reform we were asking for, but a moral and spiritual reform, bound up with the finest issues of our civilisation, and affecting not only half the human race of to-day, but the children of the generations yet to come."

Canon Hicks, in supporting the resolution, said, though he was an advocate for peace he was glad that women were militant in this cause. "Such things had to be. Great causes had to be fought for."

Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Phillip Snowden, Mr. W. Crossley, and the Hon. B. Russell also supported the resolution, which was carried with one dissentient. M. S. DUNCAN.

Meeting in Kensington.

OCTOBER 24 inst. was a field day for the Kensington branch of the W.S.P.U. Local members had worked with a will, with the result that a large and enthusiastic audience were present to hear Mrs. Pankhurst in the Kensington Town Hall. Mrs. Pankhurst, on rising, received a most encouraging reception from all present.

The speaker first dealt with the origin and growth of the W.S.P.U., told the story of the interruption to Sir Edward Grey's first meeting in Manchester, and also demonstrated the value and success of the bye-election policy of the Union. Mrs. Pankhurst specially referred to the encouragement received from Mr. Lloyd George's recent promises to the Welsh electors, and also to the Premier's advice at Dunfermline "to pester politicians till they got what they wanted." The speaker reminded her listeners that when there came a rush of Cabinet Ministers to the country, they must be made to understand that women were asking for justice.

Mrs. Pankhurst's speech had a telling effect upon the audience. Only one slight protest was made. Several pertinent questions were asked, and answered with that swiftness and ease which has made Mrs. Pankhurst famous as a platform speaker.

FROM THE PRESS.

Echoes of the German Conference.

I had hardly arrived at Frankfort when there fell upon my ears the words "Frauen-Stimmrecht!" At table in my pension near the Palmengarten appeared an animated party of German women's righters, and before many days were over I was listening to Miss Kenney and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence in the beautiful Saalbau. There is then, indeed, nothing new under the sun; unless it be that here one of the English agitators makes her speeches in German and with a marked success.

I have asked one of the German ladies working for the Frauen-Stimmrecht, and staying at my pension, what she had to say of the congress of women in Frankfort, and particularly of the English delegates. Her opinion was both enthusiastic and discriminating. She who spoke English (Miss Kenney) had impressed her as a woman of "much temperament," who had suffered in her time as a working woman herself, and who had discovered, as so many are now doing in Germany, that for the bettering of the condition of such women the power of the vote is needed. The other, who spoke in German (Mrs. Pethick Lawrence) had left behind her the impression of a highly-cultivated woman. In her speech, indeed, she made use from time to time of expressions more learned than the ladies of Germany are accustomed to hear from foreigners. Exalted sentiment and courage to step, for the sake of her sex, beyond the limits assigned by convention to the action of women were recognised in her speeches, and a note of distinction characterised the part she took in the women's deliberations. As for the meetings generally, which would have been inconceivable in Germany only a few years ago, they have been a source of indescribable satisfaction to my fellow-pensionnaire.

(From the *Daily Chronicle*, October 4.)

Suffragist Revival.

"I think women ought to go on agitating, holding meetings, and pestering people as much as they can, as all other men and women who are interested in public questions have to do."—Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, at Dunfermline.

"C.-B.'s" advice is now the watchword of the suffragists. A formidable body of that party invaded Mr. Sydney Buxton's meeting at Poplar last night, and accepted the Premier's advice to agitate. It was Mr. Buxton's birthday.

The method of the suffragists, headed by Mrs. Drummond, was to get up, one at a time, and put questions to Mr. Buxton. After this conduct had been followed by two or three women, and all efforts to persuade them to keep quiet had failed, it was decided by the stewards that the only course to be adopted was to eject them.

At length there was a lull in the uproar, and Mr. Buxton took the occasion to express himself strongly on the methods of the association in employing girls and young women for such a purpose.—*The Daily Dispatch*, October 26.

[Inquiry elicits the fact that none of the women who took part in this demonstration were under 25 years of age.—ED. VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

A girls' cavalry corps has recently been formed in Islington, and the occasion of their first public parade—when the girls looked decidedly smart in military coats and skirts—resulted in a full page of capital illustrations on the front cover of the "Daily Mirror" on October 22.

A Polish lady, Mlle. Mitopolsky, has just been admitted to the French Bar. The intention of this lady lawyer is to place her legal knowledge more especially at the disposal of those whose poverty would be a bar to their getting justice.