

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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THE RISING FLOOD.



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

THE OUTLOOK.

It is now almost universally admitted that the Cabinet is approaching a crisis on the question of Woman Suffrage. The reform which at one time was held to be of secondary interest is now recognised to be not merely equal in rank to the foremost questions of the day but superior to them in importance. And it is being predicted on all hands that unless the Cabinet handle this question in a way acceptable to the people of this country they will come to disaster.

A Rumour About Mr. Lloyd George.

In our last issue we drew the attention of our readers to the highly unsatisfactory statement of Sir Edward

Grey with regard to the application of the Referendum to Woman Suffrage, and warned them that in this he might be tentatively expressing the view of the Cabinet. After we had gone to press a rumour was circulated that Mr. Lloyd George was also favourably disposed to the Referendum proposal, and that he had indicated that he was weakening in his advocacy of Woman Suffrage. This rumour was based on a speech by Miss Powell, of Godalming, who said she had the information from a member of the executive of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies at a committee meeting.

Mr. Lloyd George says "Silly Twaddle."

Mr. Lloyd George, in an interview with a Press representative, described the statement as "silly twaddle"; and the National Union published an official denial in which it described the rumour as totally incorrect. Mrs. Fawcett, speaking at Richmond on Saturday, referred to Mr. Lloyd George's description of the Referendum as "a costly method of denying justice," and his specific repudiation in November last of the suggestion that it might be applied to Woman Suffrage when he had said:—

The Referendum, which the Liberal Party has repudiated for other questions, would be doubly unfair for Women's Suffrage. I cannot see how any Liberal statesman who opposed so strenuously the application of the Referendum for some questions could with any show of fairness or decency extend it to Women's Suffrage."

Mrs. Fawcett added that in an interview with Mr. Lloyd George a few days ago he had given her leave to make any use she pleased of this declaration. She

proceeded to indicate Mr. Winston Churchill as the Cabinet Minister who had been promulgating the idea of the Referendum, and to denounce his tactics.

Other Rumours.

Nevertheless, the incident has added to the tension which exists, and rumours of all kinds are afloat. The rumour that the Manhood Suffrage Bill would be dropped and a Plural Voting Bill substituted in its place, to which we referred a fortnight ago, has been resuscitated in a circumstantial manner by the Parliamentary Correspondent of the Times, who states that the original announcement of a Manhood Suffrage Bill was "as much a surprise to Mr. Asquith's colleagues as to the country," and adds:—

To proceed with such a Bill this Session might fatally overload the Government's programme. In these circumstances it is by no means improbable that the Government may fall back on the Plural Voting Bill, which would effect what Liberals consider to be the most pressing reform. In such case the pledge to the Woman Suffragists would be fulfilled on the Conciliation Bill an alternative which has always been kept open.

As one reason for taking this course he suggests that it might be held to be out of order to graft a Woman Suffrage amendment in Committee on a Reform Bill which in its original form applied only to men. Another rumour to which the Weekly Dispatch and other papers have given credence is that Mr. Asquith is shortly to resign and that Mr. Lloyd George will become Prime Minister.

The Cabinet Meeting.

All doubts are likely soon to be set at rest. A Cabinet Council is announced for to-day and, either then or according to the Daily Telegraph at a further Cabinet meeting on Tuesday next, Cabinet Ministers will have to make up their minds definitely as to the

course they intend to pursue. In our leading article this week Miss Christabel Pankhurst discusses the situation and the alternative methods by which the Cabinet may try to meet the crisis. To-morrow (Saturday) afternoon Mr. Lloyd George is to address a hastily summoned meeting at the City Liberal Club, and we expect a pronouncement from him on the situation.

The Labour Party Rejects Manhood Suffrage.

An important step was taken on Friday last by the Labour Party in conference at Birmingham, when a resolution was carried demanding Adult Suffrage for all men and women, and definitely rejecting Manhood Suffrage. The precise terms of the resolution were as follows:—

"That this Conference, in harmony with its previous decisions, is of the opinion that the enfranchisement of all adult men and women should be included in the Reform Bill to be introduced by the Government in the coming Session of Parliament. It further requests the Labour Party in Parliament to make it clear that no Bill can be acceptable to the Labour and Socialist movement which does not include women."

There was no difference of opinion expressed on the principle of Adult Suffrage, but the miners' representatives demurred to the categoric refusal of Manhood Suffrage contained in the second half of the resolution; nevertheless, after a spirited speech by Miss Mary MacArthur (Mrs. Anderson), the resolution was carried on a card vote by 919,000 to 686,000. A special meeting to demand Adult Suffrage is being held in the Albert Hall, on Tuesday, February 13, at 8 o'clock, by the Labour Party, the I.L.P. and the Fabian Society. Particulars are given on page 280.

Mr. Harcourt's "Reasons."

Mr. Harcourt cannot be congratulated either upon the novelty or the logicity of his objections to Woman Suffrage which he unfolded to the deputation which waited on him on Friday last. He thought it would "dry them from the sphere in which they shine, from duties which they adorn, from duties which can adequately be performed by none but themselves." Women possessed charm and emotion, but these qualities, though great assets, were "not conducive to sound political judgment." There were also "physical and physiological circumstances in their lives more fitted for discussion in the consulting-room than on the platform, circumstances which unfit them at times for public duty or judgment." It is hardly surprising that there were cries of "rot" from the working women of the deputation who know what it is to have to perform daily an eight, nine, or ten hours' day, and whose judgment is being hourly called into requisition. The one public duty which they are asked to be allowed to perform is to express an opinion once in every three or four years as to which of two candidates is most fitted to represent their views in Parliament.

A Great Popular Gathering!

Five dukes, fifteen earls, five viscounts, forty-four barons, seven Cabinet Ministers, thirty members of Parliament, and one woman are advertised to sit on the platform at the great Albert Hall meeting on February 28, to demonstrate why women do not want the vote! In order to make the gathering still more impressive it has been decided that no one (man or woman) shall be admitted who is not already a member of the Anti-Suffrage Society; and even these stalwarts are to come pledged not to interrupt the proceedings. No doubt there will be a resolution, which, with the assistance of the dukes, earls, &c., and a packed audience, will be carried. We wonder if it will then be proclaimed as the voice of a free people!

Mr. McKenna at the Queen's Hall.

A very effective protest was made on Thursday last week at Mr. McKenna's meeting in the Queen's Hall against his opposition to Woman Suffrage and the continued refusal of the Government, of which he is a responsible Minister, to include it in their programme of reform. For the first half-hour he endeavoured in vain to get a hearing; each time that he started to speak he found himself confronted with interrogations on Woman Suffrage. As usual on these occasions, by far the greatest part of the noise came from members of the audience friendly to Mr. McKenna, who shouted and gesticulated and urged on the stewards. The behaviour of the latter was marked by exceptional brutality, as is shown by the special report we print from an onlooker on page 280. The fact was also noted in several of the daily papers. The extraordinary courage of the men and women who for the faith that is in them are prepared to face such an ordeal is above all mere words of praise. It fills us with a sense of elation at the triumph of the human spirit over mere material things.

Cherchez les Femmes.

We are indebted to the courtesy of the *Post* and *Gazette* for the amusing cartoon, by Ralph Cleaver, which appears on the front page of this issue. In its issue of Tuesday last under the title "Cherchez les Femmes" the same paper published a leading article in which it criticised the attitude of the Government saying:—

"There are at least three sections in the Ministry; and the attitude of every one of them means a profound injury to public interests, no matter what view we may take of the Suffrage question itself."

"We do not attempt to apportion the blame between the 'who-beggers,' the 'little piglets,' and the new 'cat-jumpers' in the Cabinet. Their respective manoeuvres are equally mischievous and discreditable, and public life, on the whole, has hardly seen a less pleasing spectacle."

On Wednesday, the *Standard* in a leading article discussed the application of the referendum to woman suffrage and said:—

"We see no reason why Unionists should be in a hurry to assist in extracting Ministers from the mudslide they have made. Most Unionists believe in the referendum on certain questions, and in the abstract it may be said that the admission of women to the franchise would be one of those questions. But with what sense of consistency or of common honesty can Liberals advocate the introduction of this machinery after their attitude towards it during the debates on the Parliament Bill?"

The *Standard's* political notes published in the "Woman's Page" have also contained many points of interest.

The Cheapness of Women's Lives.

The following extract is from a recent issue of the *Glasgow Evening News*:—

ABERDEEN, Saturday.—Francis Anderson (61), coach-painter, Forbes Street, pleading guilty, was to-day sentenced at Aberdeen to two months' imprisonment for having pulled his wife backwards downstairs whereby her skull was fractured. She died in the Royal Infirmary. Sheriff Laing, after reading the evidence, said he was satisfied there was no intent to do any serious bodily harm.

The sentence was reckoned from the date the prisoner was first committed for trial, so that he had only two or three more weeks to serve. We wonder what would have been the sentence on a woman who had acted in this way to a man not strong enough to resist her. Yet men, according to the anti-suffragists, can be relied on to protect women!

Items of Interest.

The opposition of the Government to Woman Suffrage cost the Liberal candidate many votes in Carmarthen, and his majority was reduced in all by 951. In East Edinburgh it is also likely to prove injurious to the Liberal, owing to the vigorous campaign of the W.S.P.U.

A special notice with regard to the welcome to the released prisoners will be found on page 275.

Owing to lack of space we are unable to give an account of the London meetings in the London Pavilion and Steinway Hall. The Contribution List is held over until next week.

SIR ROBERT PEEL AND CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.

In 1813: "I protest against the principle of this Bill, because it confers upon those who admit an external jurisdiction the right of legislating in all matters connected with the Church of England. . . . If the Protestants exceeded the Roman Catholics in number I should have much less objection. But it is impossible to consider that the Catholics so greatly preponderate without feeling alarm at the consequences of such unlimited concession."

In 1817: "Do you mean to give them that fair proportion of political power to which their numbers, wealth, talents, and education will entitle them? If you do, can you believe that they will, or can, remain contented with the limits which you assign to them?"

In 1823: "With what variation from principle can I at any time be charged? From the earliest period of my political life—caring nothing for the opinion of my friends, caring nothing for the opinion of the people—I have uniformly and undeviatingly opposed the concessions to the Catholics. . . . For my own part, I protest that I would rather submit to eternal exclusion from office (and perhaps I should consider that no very great sacrifice) than consent to hold power by the compromise, or anything approaching to the compromise, of an opinion."

In 1828: "As the hon. baronet (Sir F. Burdett) has expressed a hope that the present Administration will take up this question next session, and introduce some measure for its settlement; lest any misconception should go abroad respecting my sentiments, I am anxious to say a word upon this point for myself, and for myself alone. Under the constitution of the present Government, each individual member of it is at liberty to entertain and support his own opinions regarding this question. Conceiving, then, that it is only necessary for me to state my own individual opinion on the subject, I refer the hon. baronet and the House to the declarations which I have repeatedly made respecting it, when, speaking as an individual member of the Government, and to those opinions I still adhere, and I conceive that, in saying so, I have said enough to satisfy the House that my sentiments upon the question remain unaltered."

So spoke the Tory Minister in June, 1828. In February, 1829, he introduced a Bill for the emancipation of the Catholics.

In 1829: "According to my heart and conscience I believe that the time is come when less danger is to be apprehended to the general interests of the Empire, and to the spiritual and temporal welfare of the Protestant establishment, in attempting to adjust the Catholic question than in allowing it to remain any longer in its present state. . . . I have for years attempted to maintain the exclusion of Roman Catholics from Parliament and the high offices of the State. I do not think it was an unnatural or unreasonable struggle. I resign it in consequence of the conviction that it can be no longer advantageously maintained, from believing that there are not adequate materials or sufficient instruments for its effectual and permanent continuance. I yield, therefore, to a moral necessity which I cannot control, unwilling to push resistance to a point which might endanger the establishment that I wish to defend."

IMPORTANT NOTICE



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AUNT CAROLINE AND THE CONSTABLE.

By Ward Muir.

Aunt Caroline, at the age of sixty-five, was—as her irreverent nephew, Claud, expressed it—a sportsman. Round in shape, her one obtrusive angle was her nose—an odd, inquisitive, pointed nose, which, as it were, prodded its path through life, sniffing the phenomena of the universe as though to test their validity by their colour. Aunt Caroline, truth to tell, was a trifle shortsighted, and from her lips issued, when she spoke, a small, piping voice, far too meek in tone to express her very positive opinions.

When Claud fell in love with a suffragette, these positive opinions were enunciated by Aunt Caroline pretty sharply. Aunt Caroline couldn't endure suffragettes. She had never met any; but she had read of them in the papers. Even when confronted with Louisa, Claud's fiancée, she was unable to modify her views, though Louisa (like so many of the alleged desperates) was obviously one of the gentlest of maidens. "I must talk to Louisa," said Aunt Caroline. Louisa, Aunt Caroline implied, had only to be talked to, and she would alter her principles.

Unfortunately Louisa, before Aunt Caroline could have the "talk," was put in prison for obstructing the police.

Louisa, one gathered from Aunt Caroline's newspaper, had taken part in a riot outside the House and had knocked down about a dozen sergeants before she was carried off, struggling, scratching, biting, and screaming to Cannon Row. It was dreadful. Now, at last, Claud would give up his suffragette—so Aunt Caroline surmised. A girl who could engage in a vulgar hand-to-hand scrimmage with police constables! But, somehow, Claud seemed unshaken in his love for Louisa. He admitted that there had been a disturbance in Parliament Square; he admitted that Louisa was now languishing in Holloway (alas, there was no evading this circumstance, and Claud was far from happy concerning it); but, having privately interviewed certain of the constables concerned, he did not admit the struggling, scratching, biting, and screaming.

"The police have their orders," said Claud, "and no doubt must carry them out. If you saw those constables, Aunt Caroline, you would understand that for a girl of Louisa's size and strength to hurt even the little finger of one of them is literally impossible." "She knocked down several," Aunt Caroline insisted. "Poor fellows! They could not retaliate, for fear of injuring her."

Claud grinned. "You had better go and see the next affray, aunt,—then you'll believe. Another deputation is to take place this afternoon, and there may be further arrests."

"Dreadful!" groaned Aunt Caroline. "Someone ought to speak to them and show them their foolishness. I have a good mind to try, myself. A few hints from an old woman, who understands her sex."

Aunt Caroline pondered. "My grey hairs might give them pause—" "The police are not being treated fairly by these women," said Aunt Caroline. "My grey hairs—" But Claud, who was busy, could not wait to hear a disquisition on the soothing influence of grey hairs.

That afternoon a rotund, black-robed, bonneted figure, armed with an umbrella, pecked and butted a course into the crowd in Parliament Square. Aunt Caroline, anti-suffragist, had decided to interfere in these outrageous goings-on; she was determined to utter a timely word of counsel and restraint to these Menad suffragettes, and to put a stop, once for all, to the ill-treatment of the police.

The crowd was only moderately dense, for the demonstration had not been advertised. At its centre a double cordon of constables were ushering the deputation towards the House—on a fruitless mission. The onlookers consisted mainly of idle lads who had assembled in the hope of "ragging." Through this outlying fringe Aunt Caroline had no great difficulty in burrowing; and presently she found herself close to the kernel of the imbroglio.

The deputation had now reached a blank wall of police, and were being informed that they could be allowed to advance no further. A parley was proceeding, a parley suddenly interrupted by a more or less amicable scuffle.

Aunt Caroline was scandalised. Never before had she seen anybody—least of all a lady—in contact with, and defying, the guardians of law and order. Behold, these ladies, having been commanded to depart, were not departing! They were declining to depart! Although an inspector was firmly telling them to depart!

It was a sight that perplexed and appalled Aunt Caroline. Here, indeed, was an opportunity for wise counsel. She would remonstrate with these rebels, remind them of their womanhood, ask them what their brothers and husbands would think if they saw such un feminine conduct—

She uplifted her small, piping voice, indignant with emotion.

"Ladies, I beseech you—"

There followed something about grey hairs, but it was drowned in the swelling hubbub of the altercation and the facetious sarcasms of the "ragging" lads.

Aunt Caroline's spirit was considerable. She was not going to be shouted down. She must go forward and stop the brawl by her presence. She was beginning strangely to feel elated.

"Let me pass, if you please!" she called to the policemen, whose broad backs were barring her progress.

"Let me pass, if you please!" Her treble rose more imperatively.

No response.

Aunt Caroline was annoyed. Nose foremost she tried to worm her way between that pair of stalwart, blue-clad backs. "I must speak to these ladies! Let me pass, if you please!"

The backs resisted her. One of them positively gave her a push.

Aunt Caroline pushed too, in retaliation. Her face was red; there was a notable light in her eyes. "I will not be treated like this!" Her accents were more and more shrill. "Kindly let me pass! I insist!" She butted thrustingly between the backs, and, on a sudden, squeezed through and burst forth, with an almost audible plop, on the other side.

Instantly she felt both her arms seized.

"Now then, lady!" Two officially gruff voices uttered the phrase simultaneously. "None of that!" Aunt Caroline squirmed, and faced her captors. "What do you mean!" She bobbed and writhed, but could not budge another inch. The two policemen were immovable—and ignominy on ignominy—both were smiling.

"We've got our orders. No suffragettes are to be allowed any further for'ard than this," said one of them. "Now will you go back, lady?"

"I'm not a suffragette!" squeaked Aunt Caroline. "Then what are you doing here?" came the wrathful retort. "You go away and—"

"I will not go away!" Aunt Caroline, though she would have denied it, was in a furious rage. She tried to wrench herself loose. "This is disgusting! Let go!"

Almost at the same moment one of the policeman did, in fact, let go; for immediately behind him a dispute had arisen between two argumentative members of the crowd, and his attention was in demand. With one arm free Aunt Caroline rebounded somewhat violently against the constable who still held her.

"This won't do," quoth he, tartly. "You must come along of me, lady." And, with extraordinary skill and appalling strength, he marched her, on the instant, through an opening in the mob.

Aunt Caroline made an effort to brandish her umbrella. "This is abominable! I protest! What have I done?" The words burst from her in stufpled gasps. "Obstructing the police!" the voice informed her, grimly. "We can't have ladies fighting in the public streets and trying to knock us down when we prevent 'em. You Suffragettes—" "Suffragette, indeed! Trying to knock you down! Brute! Brute, I say! You tried to knock me down! A big, strong, hulking ruffian to molest an old woman with grey hairs! I'll—I'll have you prosecuted!"

They had reached the outskirts of the crowd. A smaller, detached group of sniggering loafers followed them down a side street towards the station. The episode was diverting. And the old lady had grit—she was making quite a game struggle for liberty. A taxi appeared, from nowhere in particular, and hovered along the kerb beside the policeman and his charge. The taxi-driver hoped that the old lady would insist on being taken to the lock-up in a cab, to avoid publicity. But such a procedure did not occur to Aunt Caroline.

"I am ashamed of the police-force," she was assuring her captor, fiercely; "brutes—that's what you are!"

The constable testily propelled her onward in a wavering line.

Aunt Caroline, in one of her gyrations, caught sight of the laitering train of spectators.

"Rescue!" she piped. "Will no one rescue me from this villain? You call yourselves men, and you can look on at an outrage like this—"

And lo, out of the group, a figure darted forward, and with the science of a tackling footballer seized the constable round the lower limbs.

The rescuer was Claud.

The constable tottered. Aunt Caroline tottered. Claud tottered. There was a moment when the trio seemed to promettee on one foot. They spun, they reeled. And a joyous cry of entertained appreciation arose up from the onlooking lads.

In ten seconds the whole thing was over. Perforce the constable loosed his hold on Aunt Caroline and gripped Claud instead. Claud wound his leg round the constable's, and the latter tripped. A shove from Aunt Caroline sent him bowling. The old lady pitilessly added a lunge from her now broken umbrella. Then

she made a dash for the taxi, which had drawn up by the kerb, grabbed its door open, and precipitated herself into it, banging the door behind her. The driver, without hesitation, put on full speed.

Aunt Caroline, leaning from the window with her bonnet awry, beheld her nephew Claud swiftly wriggle free from the policeman, and make off at sprinting speed in the reverse direction. And so utterly demoralised was the old lady that—we have this on the authority of one of the loafers—she was last seen, as the taxi whizzed round a distant corner, leaning far out of the window and vociferating an exhausted but triumphant "Hooray!"

But really the constable, rising in a dishevelled condition from the pavement, and madly blowing his whistle, was an uncommonly gratifying spectacle.

As a matter of fact, Aunt Caroline fled the following morning to the Riviera. Her first idea had been the Argentine, "where," as she opined, "there is none of that tyrannous extradition," but Claud dissuaded her. He admitted that there would be "the deuce to pay" if the police traced either of them. They had committed an assault—

"He assaulted *us*, indeed!" cried Aunt Caroline. "The brute!"

"According to your paper this morning, we knocked him down," remarked Claud.

"These journalists always say that," she retorted. "Then," he ventured, "you grant that Louisa may not have been so much in the wrong after all?"

"I am convinced that the police are treating us women barbarically," cried Aunt Caroline. "When I get a vote I shall use it to abolish this scandal!"

Claud heartily agreed. And when he and his aunt had been a month at Cannes they were joined by Louisa, fresh from Holloway, and Aunt Caroline received her as one who has escaped from Siberia.

At the wedding, Aunt Caroline, to the horror of all, affronted the rainbow by wearing a dress in the Suffragette colours.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Mr. Mansell Moulin to Speak on Monday.
At the London Pavilion, Focally Circus, on Monday next, February 5, at 3.15, the principal speaker will be Mr. Mansell Moulin, the distinguished surgeon, who has been for some time past an active supporter of the W.S.P.U., and who it will be remembered, gave valuable evidence of the danger of forcible feeding in the trial of the case of Mrs. Mary Leigh. Mr. Mansell Moulin is the Vice-President of the College of Surgeons. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will be in the Chair, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst will also speak. The meeting is free. At the free meeting at the Steinway Hall on Thursday evening, February 8, Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Naylor will be the speakers.

Welcome to the Prisoners.
The W.S.P.U. will hold a special dinner at the Connaught Rooms, on Friday, February 16, at 7.15, in honour of the two-month prisoners. Tickets, 6s., to be had from the Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C. (If vegetarian please state in applying).

In order to meet a desire on behalf of members unable to be present at the dinner itself, a special arrangement has been made to seat a few additional friends after the dinner, to be present at the speeches. Tickets from the Ticket Secretary, price 1s. each. It is specially hoped, however, that as many friends as possible will be present at the dinner itself, so that a hearty welcome will be given to the prisoners.

The Albert Hall.
Members are requested to apply as early as possible to the Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C., for tickets for the Albert Hall meeting on March 23. The prices are as follows:—Amphitheatre, 2s. 6d.; Arena, 1s.; Lower Orchestra, 2s.; Balcony, 1s. and 6d.; Upper Orchestra, 6d. All numbered and reserved. Boxes, £1 10s., £1 1s., and 12s. 6d.

What has the Vote done in New Zealand?
Lady Stout's valuable articles on New Zealand are shortly to be published by the Woman's Press in pamphlet form, price 1d.

THE NEXT PROTEST.

"We have come to a stage when sympathy is no longer of any use. If Woman Suffrage is not in the King's Speech, we have to make it absolutely impossible for the Government to touch the question of franchise. If we have made a mistake in the past, it is that we have not been militant enough."—*Mrs. Pankhurst, at the London Pavilion, Monday, January 29.*

I have a small boy of seven, and it would be an altogether intolerable situation—in fourteen years' time—for him to have a vote, by virtue of his sex alone, while I with twenty-four years' superior experience of life should be considered unfit to have one, although, being a widow, I have the responsibility of his up-bringing.—*(From a Volunteer.)*

Will you kindly put my name down for the next militant protest? I realise how very critical the present time is, and I feel I would like to take some little part in this great fight for freedom.—*(From a Volunteer.)*

Names of other volunteers should be sent to Miss Christabel Pankhurst, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

MR. HARCOURT SEES A W.S.P.U. DEPUTATION.

Mr. Harcourt met a deputation of the W.S.P.U. in his constituency (Rossendale Valley) at the Waterloo Liberal Club on Friday last.

The deputation was headed by Miss Annie Kenney and Mrs. Baines, and local lady supporters included Mrs. Ashworth, Mrs. Kay, Mrs. Dearden, Miss Haig, Mrs. Gaskell, Miss Lord, B.A., and Miss Hoyle.

Miss Kenney said she wished to confine herself to asking a few questions. She realised that Mr. Harcourt as a Cabinet Minister was responsible not only to his constituents, but also to the whole country.

A Political Catechism. Her first question was: If the Prime Minister had promised to bow to the will of the majority of the House of Commons why should he not be equally ready to bow to the will of the majority of the Cabinet, and why should he not be prepared to make it a Government measure after the favourable vote in the Cabinet?

Mr. Harcourt in his reply to the deputation, said: I am afraid I must disappoint Miss Kenney on some of the questions, because they apply not to myself, but to other people, for whom I have neither the right nor the power to speak, but on other questions I should like to make a few observations.

Mr. Partington and the Waves. The first reason for the objection of anyone to the enfranchisement of women was ignorance, the second was prejudice, and the third was selfishness.

A Prominent Liberal Woman. The next speaker said the last time she met Mr. Monks was when she was elected to serve on the first committee of the Liberal Association.

Miss Kenney: All Anti-Suffragists are so. Mr. Harcourt: I am an Anti-Suffragist, and therefore I must adopt the adjectives. I have been promised both drowning and downfall, both no doubt pleasant in their way.

Would He Give Mrs. Harcourt a Vote?

Mr. Harcourt: I am only trying to answer your request that I should state my reasons for my belief. There are many matters, if you have to decide, matters like peace, war, and diplomacy, and still more serious in my opinion, that of compulsory service or conscription, which they might enact though they would not be liable to do themselves.

Physiological Reasons. Mr. Harcourt: I believe that for women to become part of the political machine is bad for themselves and bad for the country.

Mr. Harcourt: We are supposed to be the mother country and to lead the others.

EAST EDINBURGH. Polling To-day.

CANDIDATES. Mr. A. M. Anderson, Mr. J. John Gordon Jameson, W.S.P.U. Organiser—Miss Burns.

Mr. Harcourt: I think we all agree that if all women had the vote there would be government by a majority of women.

An Argument for their Grandmothers. The deputation expressed great disappointment at the reply.

MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE IN SCOTLAND. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence concluded on Saturday last an exceedingly successful tour in Scotland, where there is a very vigorous movement radiating from the two main centres, Edinburgh and Glasgow.

Mr. Harcourt: You are quite right in fighting. Mrs. Baines: We are indignant at your unsatisfactory reply, Mr. Harcourt.

Mr. Harcourt left without saying more.

THE BY-ELECTIONS. CARMARTHEN.

Mr. W. Lewellyn Williams (Lib.) 3,836; Mr. H. C. Bond (C.) 2,555; Mr. Frank George Vivian (Ind. L.) 143.

“Kick the Liberals out.” Much interest was shown in the wagonette, and it occurred in the wagonette was driving round Llanelly. Two of the occupants got out and went into the Parish Hall to fetch some things which had been left there after a meeting.

Mr. Harcourt: I believe that for women to become part of the political machine is bad for themselves and bad for the country.

EAST EDINBURGH. Polling To-day.

CANDIDATES. Mr. A. M. Anderson, Mr. J. John Gordon Jameson, W.S.P.U. Organiser—Miss Burns.

Mr. Harcourt: I think we all agree that if all women had the vote there would be government by a majority of women.

An Argument for their Grandmothers. The deputation expressed great disappointment at the reply.

MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE IN SCOTLAND. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence concluded on Saturday last an exceedingly successful tour in Scotland, where there is a very vigorous movement radiating from the two main centres, Edinburgh and Glasgow.

Mr. Harcourt: You are quite right in fighting. Mrs. Baines: We are indignant at your unsatisfactory reply, Mr. Harcourt.

Mr. Harcourt left without saying more.

DICKINS & JONES' SALE

COMMENCES MONDAY NEXT, February 5th.

Everything Reduced in Price.



Black Taffetas Coat, re-produced from a new Paris Model, Pailings and Cuffs of Buck and White Velvet, Lined with Silk. Smartly Cut Coat and Skirt, in light Spring Tweeds. Made in our own workrooms. Sale price 4 gns. To measure 7/6 extra.

SLEEP IN "JAEGER!"

Doctors advise the JAEGER Cashmere (Pure Wool) Sheets for Invalids. We also recommend them to those who are well.

Soft, smooth, light, porous, they are the acme of Comfort and Protection. Cool in Summer because pervious to heat and perspiration; warm in Winter because a slow heat-conductor.

Protection from chill in all weathers, day and night. Every kind of Pure Wool Garment for Men, Ladies, and Children. Beauty and quality at moderate prices.

ILLUSTRATED PRICE LIST AND PATTERNS POST FREE.

126 Regent St., W. 102 Kensington St., S.W., 456 Strand, W.C. 115 Victoria St., S.W., 30 Sloane St., S.W. 85 & 86 Cheapside, E.C.

JAEGER PURE WOOL.

THE FOLLY OF THE CENSOR.

It is certain that the respectable and conventional persons who are behind the Censor in his campaign against ideas, are doomed to a very speedy disappointment.

The little play "The Coronation," which was so successfully performed on Sunday last to an audience brought together by invitation, illustrates very plainly this general truth, for though by censoring it the authorities gave a great deal of trouble to the producers and put them to considerable expense, so far as the ideas of the play are concerned an enormous advertisement was obtained.

Criticism of the play has been directed firstly on the lines that it is aimed at our present Royalty. This can be answered by showing how widely the incidents of the story prevent this interpretation.

It would be very bad art if in order to teach some theoretic lesson authors were expected to put into the mouths of their characters sentiments and words which they could not possibly utter.

"THE ASS IN THE LION'S SKIN." Much of the plot of "Fire 'n' the Flint" hinges on one of the chief characters, a weak man and an incompetent writer, passing (at first involuntarily and later on intentionally) as the author of a celebrated book by another writer.

"Which of us has not come across, again and again, in real life, the exact counterpart of "Lady Balm" in her ostrich-like attitude, and repeating practically her very words?

THE BREATH OF THE DESERT. A story of love, so strong and overpowering as to tend to disaster, but overcome and transmuted into the finer essence that is not of this earth, is "The Breath of the Desert," by Mrs. H. Clayton East (Duckworth, 6s.). Its setting in the glowing East lends it a special force and charm.

A HOME TRUTH. "The Untipped Strong" is a novel which those who abstain from flesh-eating on humanitarian principles will welcome. The author describes how the heroine, to entertain and instruct a party of her friends, gave a cinematograph representation in her drawing-room of a slaughter-house scene.

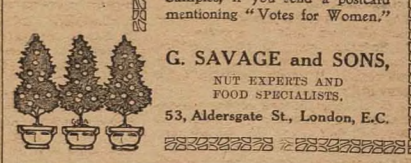
35 Excellent Non-Flesh Recipes,

most of them having Flaked Nuts as a basis.

Would you not like to have the Booklet containing these?

It is a Booklet which not only gives simple sensible recipes, but abounds in practical suggestions and useful information, and it explains how you can obtain convenient supplies of all the purer types of food-stuffs carriage paid to your door.

FREE, together with one or two Free Samples, if you send a postcard mentioning "Votes for Women."

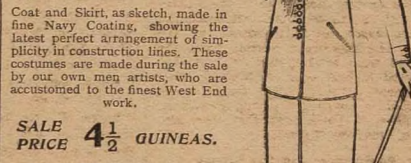


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A WOMAN'S HAIR

Is her crowning Beauty and the climax of all that goes to make her Lovely, Radiant, and Magnetic, tending down irregularities and giving shape and poise to the Head.

ROWLAND'S MACASSAR OIL

Improves the texture and promotes the growth of the HAIR, nourishes and INVIGORATES it. Its regular use ensures a WEALTH OF SOFT SILKY HAIR, which when dressed in that style of coiffure which best suits the possessor, becomes her greatest Personal Asset.

Articles and News contributed for insertion in VOTES FOR WOMEN should be sent to The Editors, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C., at the earliest possible date, and in no case later than the first Monday morning prior to the publication of the paper.

WOMEN WRITERS' SUFFRAGE LEAGUE. GRAND MATINEE. NEW PRINCES THEATRE, SHAFTESBURY AVENUE, FEBRUARY 9, at 2.30. (New Oxford Street End.)

"EDITH," A Comedy by Elizabeth Baker, author of "Chains," Miss Louisa Ashwell as Edith.

TRAFALGAR SQUARE SCENE from "Votes for Women," by Elizabeth Robins.

Lilian Braithwaite as Vida Levanin, Agnes Thomas as a Working Woman.

GRAND PAGEANT OF SHAKESPEARE'S HEROINES. Marion Terry as Portia.

Tickets from the Ticket Secretary, W.W.S.L., 85, Berners Street, W. Office Hours, 11 till 4.

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST SCIENTIST, LEEDS. A LECTURE ON CHRISTIAN SCIENCE. WILL BE GIVEN IN THE TOWN HALL, LEEDS, ON SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1912, at 3 p.m.

SINGING. Ecole France-Italiennne. Voice Production (bel canto); Opera, Oratorio, Ballet Singing; Lessons in elocution given by Madame Mathilde Marchesi, Paris, and Signor Juliani, Milan.

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PERFECTION IN SERGE. THE REAL NAVY SERGE, AS SUPPLIED TO THE ADMIRALTY, IS IMPERVIOUS TO WET OR DAMP, UNFAFFECTED BY SEA WATER, UNSHRINKABLE, AND WILL RETAIN ITS COLOUR IN ANY CLIMATE.

OPPOSITE THE BRITISH MUSEUM. THACKERAY HOTEL, Great Russell Street, London.

VOTES FOR WOMEN. 4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1912.

WHAT WILL THE CABINET DO?

The first Cabinet meeting of the New Year is expected to take place to-day (Friday), when it is probable that Ministers will come to a decision on the Woman Suffrage crisis.

It is generally anticipated that Ministers will not take the step fatal to their Party of allowing Woman Suffrage to be submitted to a Referendum.

As Mr. Asquith himself said, in condemnation of the Ministers who, during the last Unionist Administration, promoted conflicting policies on the Fiscal Question:

The greatest and most urgent problem which Ministers will have to decide at the Cabinet meeting is how they may extricate themselves from their suffrage difficulty.

While declaring that his personal convictions on the question remained unchanged, he justified his action in a remarkable and never-to-be-forgotten speech from which we take some extracts:-

To withdraw the Manhood Suffrage Bill in favour of a Plural Voting Bill (also framed for the benefit of men only), leaving women to depend upon the torpedoed Conciliation Bill, would be, especially as far as Mr. Lloyd George is concerned, a breach of faith—as may be seen by recalling the following words, spoken by him to the Suffragist deputation which he and the Prime Minister received at Downing Street on November 17.

Don't you commit yourselves too readily to the statement that this is a trick upon Woman Suffrage. If you find next year, as a result of this trick, that several millions of women have been added in a Bill to the franchise, that this Bill has been sent to the House of Lords by the Government, and that the Government stand by that Bill whatever the Lords do, then those who have committed themselves to that ill-conditioned suggestion will look very foolish.

The promise held out in these words will be broken by throwing us back upon the torpedoed Conciliation Bill, and the only way in which Mr. Lloyd George can fulfil it is by insisting upon the introduction and passage of a Government measure for the enfranchisement of women.

The second method of securing unity in their ranks which the Government will discuss is that of the resignation of either the Suffragist or the Anti-Suffragist section of the Cabinet.

But even if the resignation of either the Suffragist or the Anti-Suffragist Ministers should render the continuance of the Liberal Party in office impossible, women could hardly be expected to be inconsolable at this self-sought destruction.

THE HOME SECRETARY AT BAY.

The following interesting account is from the eye-witness:- On arriving at Langham Place one found the position held by clusters and lines of constables innumerable as the stars in the milky way, and of the usual interesting diversity of aspect and girth.

At twenty-five minutes past eight the Home Secretary, to the strains of an exceedingly half-hearted "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow," forced a smile and began a sentence. Half a minute later—"I protest against the exclusion of women from this meeting."

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CABINET MINISTERS CONFRONTED WITH WOMAN SUFFRAGISTS.

Home Secretary Unable to Speak for Half an Hour. Brutal Behaviour of Stewards. No Pledge of Silence given by the Interjectors.

Mr. McKenna's meeting at the Queen's Hall on Friday last was the scene of a vigorous protest by Woman Suffragists. As soon as the Home Secretary rose to his feet a man in the audience made a reference to women, and at once the usual scenes of excitement prevailed in the meeting until he was violently ejected.

Under these circumstances it is really rather quaint to read in the Westminster Gazette that the audience "listened in perfect silence to every word that Mr. McKenna had for them"; later in the same account the interjections are specifically referred to, so that the precise interpretation of the phrase must be left to the sub-editor who penned it.

A Pledge of Silence Alleged.

Each time the Cabinet Minister essayed to speak a fresh interruption occurred from some other Suffragist righteously incensed at the previous doings of the Liberal stewards.

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Christabel Pankhurst.

(An account of Mr. Hobhouse's meeting at Gloucester and the extraordinary action of the stewards appears on page 280.)

