

# VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

VOL. VI. (New Series), No. 242.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1912.

Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free, 1 1/2d.)

## THE CONFIDENCE TRICK



Mr. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD: "Can't you trust me to see that he plays fair?"  
WOMAN: "Certainly not! I know you pretend to be independent, but you both really belong to the same gang."

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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

As we go to press we learn that Miss Gladys Evans, recently released from Mountjoy Prison, Dublin, at the point of death, has been re-arrested for failing to report herself to the police. Such a diabolical refinement of cruelty it would be impossible to surpass. Its only effect will be to rouse women to more vigorous and determined protest.

#### The W.S.P.U. and the Labour Party

The decision of the W.S.P.U. to fight the Labour Party and to treat its leaders on the same footing as the leaders of the Liberal Party, is the natural

and necessary outcome of the Labour scuttling on the question of Woman Suffrage. When Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was asked at the Albert Hall Suffrage meeting last spring whether he was prepared to turn out the Government on the question of Votes for Women, he gave an emphatic "Yes" as his reply. The meeting hurrahed, but those of us who knew our Ramsay MacDonald waited to see how he would keep his promise. Our suspicion has unfortunately proved only too well grounded. In spite of the Government's hostility to Woman Suffrage, the Labour Party continues to give the Government whole-hearted support, and even refuses to pledge itself as a party to vote against the third reading of the Reform Bill if women are excluded.

#### The Ridiculous Mouse

What they do promise is so ridiculously minute that it recalls the well-known fable of the mountains giving birth to the mouse. We are told that a Conference of the National Executive of the Labour Party and of the Parliamentary Labour Party met at the House of Commons to consider the suggestion that the Party should vote constantly and relentlessly against the Government on all questions for the failure to include women in their Franchise and Registration Bill:—

The Conference was of the opinion that the policy urged in the resolutions was not in harmony with the decisions of the annual conferences of the party, and, whilst recognising that the procedure rules of the House

often prevent votes being given solely on the merits of the issue to be decided, it determined to press for the inclusion of women in the Franchise and Registration Bill.

To press for the inclusion of women! We should have thought that the veriest tyro in political matters realised that there was no pressure in Parliament except votes, and that where these are pledged to be friendly in advance all the pressure of argument is absolutely valueless.

#### Mr. MacDonald on His Pledge

By the courtesy of Mr. Matzen we are able to reproduce (on page 59) Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's own interpretation of his pledge. He says:—

My statement at the Albert Hall was specific, and will be acted upon. It was that we shall support women's suffrage even if by our support of that we shall turn out the Government. That such a statement should be twisted by one-ideaed people into something quite different is a matter for them to reconcile either with their intelligence or their honesty, not for me to pay the least regard to. If we fail in our efforts it will not be through lack of energy on our part, but because of the criminal stupidity of those who profess to be supporting it.

This explanation shows that Mr. MacDonald is fast qualifying for a seat in a Liberal Cabinet, for it exhibits his power of giving an emphatic answer eliciting rounds of applause which can be interpreted so as to mean nothing at all. For how can your support ever eventuate in turning out a Government if it never expresses itself in adverse votes? As to his

letter to the Women's Labour League, it is so wholly humorous that it must be read in full; it will be found reproduced on page 59 of this issue.

A Real Friend

In striking contrast to the shuffling attitude of the leader of the Labour Party is the manly and straightforward attitude of Mr. George Lansbury, who has consistently and actively supported the women's cause, and who has been openly advocating the adoption by the Labour Party of the anti-Government policy in Parliament on this question.

The Editors to be "Sold Up"

The fight which the Editors of this paper are making against the Government in resisting payment of the costs of the Conspiracy prosecution, ordered to be paid by Mr. Pethick Lawrence, has now reached a further stage.

The Trial of Miss Craggs

The trial of Miss Helen Craggs took place last Saturday at the Oxford Assizes. The principal count in the indictment was that in which she was charged with attempting to enter the dwelling-house of Mr. Lewis Harcourt with intent to set it on fire.

A Woman of Noble Character

By this trial and sentence, "justice"—that artificial and inhuman piece of mechanism—is presumably satisfied. But what of the general public? Are they satisfied also? We cannot think that anyone who reads the account of the trial, still less anyone who was present in court or who has the privilege of knowing Miss Craggs personally, can feel there is any real satisfaction or finality in the position.

The Explanation

The public have a right to ask for the explanation and to receive an answer. There is evidently something wrong somewhere, something utterly and hideously wrong which has impelled women to do things from which, under all ordinary circumstances, they would recoil in horror.

The Case of Mrs. Leigh

At the Dublin City Commission on Tuesday last the announcement was made that the Government have no intention of withdrawing the charge preferred against Mrs. Mary Leigh of wounding Mr. Redmond with a hatchet, but that the case is again postponed—till December.

The Assaults on Women at Llanystumdwy

We are glad to learn from Mr. McKenna's statement in the House that in response to pressure the police have managed to identify some of the assailants at Llanystumdwy.

The White Slave Traffic

The public sense of responsibility, which the Suffrage agitation has done so much to rouse, is rapidly growing with regard to this abominable traffic; and this week, an International Conference is sitting on the subject in Brussels.

Items of Interest

A strongly-worded petition has been sent to Mr. Outhwaite, M.P., by the Women's Political Association of Victoria, Australia.

We reproduce on page 53 an abridged copy of the writ served on Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence by ninety-three firms whose windows were broken in March last.

ABOUT OURSELVES

Our readers will be interested to know that during the past week VOTES FOR WOMEN has found new quarters. On Saturday last premises were taken for the paper by Mr. Pethick Lawrence in 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, and the same afternoon all the departments of the paper—editorial, advertisement, and publishing—were transferred there.

Though there is still much to be done at the new premises before they are in full working order, and therefore we cannot yet invite our readers to a friendly visit of inspection, we shall be glad to see them on any matter of business, and all letters should from henceforth be sent to that address.

As a newspaper independent of all organisations, we feel that there is a special place for VOTES FOR WOMEN in the Suffrage Movement, and we believe that all those who have supported it in the past, when it belonged to the W.S.P.U., will continue actively to interest themselves on its behalf in the future.

How Readers Can Help

In particular we know that we can count upon the friendly assistance of paper-sellers in the streets, by whose devotion and courage the paper has been brought to its present position of importance.

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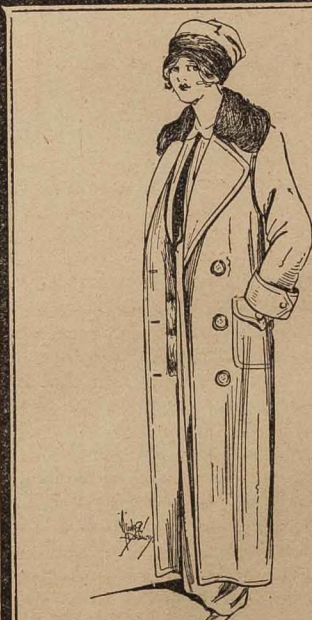


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HERBERT'S FOOT

By G. Colmore, author of "Suffragette Sally"

She had been very well brought up. She had pleasant manners and gentle ways; she spoke French quite prettily, read German, and when at school had taken a prize for mathematics.

Alice and Herbert lived happily together; they had two children, a boy and a girl; and all went smoothly for fifteen years. Alice read the paper every day, and during dinner discussed with her husband the affairs of the nation; that is to say that Herbert propounded his views and Alice listened to and inwardly digested them.

Now there had been going on within Alice something of the process which goes on in an egg when sat on by a hen. The egg, indeed, had been laid at her birth in the form of individuality, only it had never been hatched; but now a hen, bearing the form of a weekly paper, had taken to sitting on it, and month by month the egg became more and more of a chicken; to what extent Alice herself was not aware, because the shell was unbroken.

It was a tremendous crowd; of roughs, policemen, and women; swaying, struggling, shouting. Herbert had never been in Parliament Square when women had requested to see the Prime Minister, and he was quite surprised when he saw them knocked about and their hats torn off and their hair pulled down, for he had always been told that these things didn't really happen.

"Your mistress not down, Jane?" Jane came in from the hall. "No, Sir." "Go up and tell her that dinner—that I am waiting."

Jane departed and Herbert fumed. The soup would be cold. It was very inconsiderate—when she had plenty of time

Jane returned, flurried. The mistress was not in her room.

Not in her room? By—by George . . . Perhaps the drawing-room? No, the drawing-room was empty. Jane was a fool; Alice must be upstairs. Herbert, flushed and bewildered, hurried up to see. She might—his heart-beats quickened—she might have fainted and be lying helpless on the floor.

"Matter? Everything's the matter. Take away the soup. I want no dinner."

"But, sir—the mistress—is anything wrong with her?"

"Your mistress, Jane, has gone to perdition." He threw out his hands in despair. Jane, in sympathy, threw hers out also—forgetful that she held the soup tureen. But Herbert was in no mood to notice falling soup or broken china; he stamped up and down the room and vowed by all his gods that he would—that he would— But what was the good of putting his foot down? Where should he put it!—when he was left in the house alone, and Alice was in Parliament Square? His heart was broken, that was the one thing he was sure of; and then the gnawing pain in the shattered organ began to extend—downwards. After all, he must keep up his strength.

"Give me," he said, "just a spoonful or two of soup. I must eat something before I can decide what to do."

"I'm afraid, sir," said Jane, "that I—that it's soaking in."

"Soaking—?"

He looked at the kneeling Jane, and his soul found relief. "Damn women!" said he, and added, "Bring me a— a sandwich!"

"If you please, sir," answered Jane, "there's broiled steak to follow."

He had the broiled steak, and told himself that he had taken too much mustard with it, which was the reason why his eyes watered; and then, after a few mouthfuls of port, he set out for Parliament Square!

It was a tremendous crowd; of roughs, policemen, and women; swaying, struggling, shouting. Herbert had never been in Parliament Square when women had requested to see the Prime Minister, and he was quite surprised when he saw them knocked about and their hats torn off and their hair pulled down, for he had always been told that these things didn't really happen. When he had seen two or three women thrown on the pavement and hit in the face and kicked on any part of the body that came handy, he quite forgot that he had come out to find Alice in order to put his foot down, in the desire that came over him to raise it up. He was bewildered, too, for he genuinely believed in the protection of women and the chivalry of men. But Alice must be found. Suppose she were to be dragged along like that woman with the bleeding face—! Suppose— Is that her? It's the colour of the hat she might have worn. No, thank God! no; thank God, it isn't Alice! But it's a woman, somebody else's wife, perhaps. "Leave go of her! Leave go, I tell you!" cried Herbert.

"Get out of the way!" said the constable, "or we'll take you, too, for obstruction." And the crowd jeered and yelled.

He sought her at last at Cannon Row. She had been there, but had been bailed out before he arrived; it was not known where she had gone.

His boy was at school; his girl was with her aunt; he had sometimes been away without Alice, but Alice had never been away without him; the house he went back to was very empty.

He saw her in Court the next morning; she had a cut on her forehead and her face was very pale.

He tried to catch her eye, but she did not look his way. When it came to her turn, he thought his heart would burst his waistcoat. The magistrate had been rough—too rough, he thought—with the other prisoners; it would be different with Alice. The others—well, they might be hussies, though he was obliged to own they didn't all look it; but Alice was a lady, as gentle a woman as— Good God! what a way to treat her! A woman, his wife, to give her the lie direct, to take a policeman's word against the word of the most truthful woman in the world!

"A week. Next case."

She had been hurt, she was humiliated, she was to go to prison; and in his heart was the knowledge that he might have spared her, if not the whole, at least a part of it. For in that note she had left, she had told him that if he had only let her follow the right as she saw and felt it, she would never have taken so large a step without consulting him; it was because he had given her so short a length of rope that she had been obliged to cut the rope altogether. His heart and his foot were in desperate conflict; for he must maintain his position; and yet—it was true, those things she had said; women were treated differently—he had seen for himself—and she was Alice—he had cared for her since she was a child, with an affection that had ripened . . .

\* \* \* \* \*

He saw her for a moment outside, just before she got into the hideous vehicle. He wanted still to put his foot down, to tell her she had brought shame upon herself and upon him and upon their children; and instead, he found himself saying, in a most extraordinary voice: "Can you forgive me?"

What a smile she had! He had always loved her smile.

"In time, perhaps," she answered. "How long will it take you?"

The policeman's hand was on her arm, but as she went she called back to him, the smile still on her face, and in her eyes the queer look, half laughter and half love, that had haunted him at the time of his ripening affection: "Just the length of my sentence."

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**SERMONS TO MOTHERS**

Dr. Saleeby has taken it upon himself to write a whole book on Woman and Womanhood.\* As he hints repeatedly that it will not be palatable to advanced feminists, we are somewhat surprised to find that it is little more than an earnest plea for good motherhood, containing much that is excellent though little that is very new. We all desire girls to be healthy, to have a free choice of mate, to be loved and well cared for. All the conditions that he deprecates, marriage without love, the risk of disease, unwilling motherhood, the double burden of child-bearing and industrial work, are the conditions of a man-governed world which Woman Suffrage will be the first step towards remedying. Does Dr. Saleeby, in his eloquent plea for the race and his regret that Suffragists do not put eugenics before the vote, not realise that the first thing women will do with their power will be to change the conditions that make life intolerable for so many of their sisters? And when he reproaches the "brilliant young lady" whose name has been so prominent in the fight for the vote because she resented the idea of new legislation for women whilst the Suffrage was withheld, does he pause for a moment to think how he would like the passing of laws affecting medical men—or eugenicists—by a well-meaning Government which did not trouble to consult them?

We were not aware that prominent Suffragists discourage marriage and motherhood; it is because the Suffragists preach the same high ideals as are put forward in this book and will not take a second-best that they prefer the happiness of work to the unhappiness of a loveless marriage. If women do not now fly blindly to that estate, the reason can be found in the author's own words: "How many men would be willing to marry on the conditions with which marriage is offered to a woman—scarcely any men would marry, and men would very soon see to it that these conditions were utterly altered."

On the subject of motherhood, however, Dr. Saleeby has a real bee in his bonnet; it is a queen bee, and he shows her to us triumphantly as an example of supreme motherhood, breeding only, not working, and honoured for her destiny. But if we are to learn from the animal kingdom, we will produce the lady spider—she eats her husband. Would this not be a simple solution of the whole question?

Dr. Saleeby wants all girls educated for motherhood, their ideals restricted to this, their physical exertion carefully regulated, their natural inclination encouraged—and then, met with the fact that many of them will not be mothers, he finds a brilliant solution—they can be foster-mothers! He hints—though he never dares actually to say—that the work of unmarried women should be restricted to the two great "foster-mother" professions, nursing and teaching. All other work, presumably, is too intellectual, and would detract from the "factors" of motherliness.

We do not want it to be thought that we are in disagreement with Dr. Saleeby's fine plea for a perfect race. The truth is, we are a little tired of being preached at! Why was this book not called "Parents and Parenthood"? Almost everything applies to men as well; they should be taught from boyhood to be good fathers; over-exertion, physical and mental, are as injurious to them as to girls; and in order to develop in a boy the real love, pride, and tenderness towards his children that the author desires in a father, must we consider—when we get the vote—the desirability of restricting his occupations? No doubt many occupations undesirable for future fathers would occur to us if we set ourselves seriously to the problem!

We would say, with all respect, to Dr. Saleeby: "You leave woman alone; she will work out her own destiny once she has the power; and then she will see to it herself that there is good motherhood and fatherhood too."

Meantime, after a long series of books on Woman, we absolutely pine for one on Man: it must deal with the boy, the youth, the lover, the husband, and the father, and it must be written by a medical woman.

**BOOKS RECEIVED**

- "Henrietta Maria." By Henrietta Haynes. (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd. Price 10s. 6d. net.)
- "The Elected Mother." By Marion Thompson Davies. (London: Curtis Brown and Massey.)
- "Five Years' Struggle for Freedom." By Margaret Wynne Nevinston. (London: Women's Freedom League. Price 2d.)
- "Letters to a Prison." By Mrs. Fred Reynolds. (London: Chapman and Hall. Price 6s.)
- "Kensington Rhymes." By Compton Mackenzie. (London: Martin Secker. Price 5s. net.)
- "Perfect Health for Women and Children." By Elizabeth Sloan Chesser. (London: Methuen. Price 3s. 6d. net.)
- "The Mistress of Kingdoms." By Bridget MacLagan. (London: Duckworth and Co. Price 6s.)
- "Adnam's Orchard." By Sarah Grand. (London: William Heinemann. Price 6s.)
- "A Man's World." By Albert Edwards. (New York: Macmillan. Price 6s.)
- "Aspects of the Irish Question." By Sidney Brooks. (Dublin: Maunsell and Co. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

\* "Woman and Womanhood." Heinemann. 10s. net.

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In "Viyella," trimmed flannel embroidery ... 16/9



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**MEMOIRS OF A WOMAN WRITER**

Our only feeling of regret, on closing Miss Hill's delightful memoir of Fanny Burney,\* is that it extends over a limited portion of the career of the author of "Evelina." As Fanny Burney wrote of herself to an intimate friend, on being offered her appointment at the Court of George III., "I have always and uniformly had a horror of a life of attendance and dependence"; and there is no doubt that the years she spent as Second Keeper of the Robes to Queen Charlotte, though full of interesting experiences, meant a real loss to the world of letters, and greatly hindered the development of a woman who, leading the humbler life of freedom, might have attained real greatness. Not one of the letters quoted in the book as being written after she went to Court contains anything half so good as this mock heroic account of her first interview with the King, before she left home:—

My first thought was to faint away, as that was the thing that had always appeared to me the most delicate and interesting upon all tender occasions. But, notwithstanding I had resolved upon this plan, I could not put it in execution! Though the moment I stood before the King, I said to myself, "This is the time, now I'll swoon!" I could not do it! So I changed my purpose, and took a private resolution to only burst into tears. . . . But at the very instant that I was preparing myself for being seized with an affecting a blubbering as ever you saw in your life, I was taken as if in downright opposition with an inclination to simper!

And so on, through a page of delicious nonsense, in a letter to a sister. Indeed, remembering her sense of humour, which was strong enough to enable her to poke good-humoured fun at her tormentor and superior at Court, Mrs. Schwellenberg, we feel sure that Miss Burney must have written the following passage in her Diary almost with her tongue in her cheek, so improbable does it seem that, even at the end of the eighteenth century, a young woman should have seriously thought she was ill-treated by a young man, whom she did not love, because he engaged himself to someone else:—

So great, however, had been my incredulity, so unspeakable . . . was my astonishment, that I feel satisfied, if my heart had been engaged in this affair, if my affections had been touched beyond gratitude and esteem, the instantaneous effect of this sudden conviction would infallibly have been immediate death by an apoplectic stroke; and let me as I recount this most thankfully consider my almost wonderful preservation. . . . It is not him I have to thank that he has not broken my heart! It is Heaven alone I have to praise.

If this was really intended as a serious expression of feeling, Fanny Burney was a creature full of contradictions, for both her letters and her Diary reveal her as almost modern in her emancipation from the conventional view of friendship between men and women, and she counted Walpole, Burke, and many others among those with whom she had a strong intellectual affinity. Dr. Johnson, joining her name with those of Hannah More and Elizabeth Carter, said, "Three such women are not to be found"; an important admission from the man who, as Miss Hill reminds us, once declared that:—

"A man is in general better pleased when he has a good dinner upon his table than when his wife talks Greek"; but added, "My old friend, Mrs. Carter, could make a pudding as well as translate Epictetus."

The book covers a good deal of interesting ground, from an historical as well as domestic point of view; and Fanny Burney's impressions of the attempt upon the King's life, of the trial of Warren Hastings, of the King's insanity, and the political intrigues of the Prince of Wales, make excellent reading, very largely because they are to be gleaned from her correspondence, and are therefore quite free from affectation. Of Margaret Nicholson's attempt to stab the King, she writes (proving incidentally that it is apparently safer to attack a King than to interrupt a Cabinet Minister!):—

Had he not been endowed with very singular presence of mind . . . he had certainly been wounded at least . . . and he had the instantaneous humanity, in the midst of his first surprise and horror, to rescue the assassin from the enraged people, and to call to them to spare her, for he was safe. . . . For one awful moment, what a scene of domestic misery—what a rush of public calamity was impending!

It is interesting to find that human nature does not alter much, and that an unpopular King in any age may become a hero merely because he smiles in the face of an attack upon his life! Miss Burney's account of the great State Trial in Westminster Hall will go home to every militant Suffragist who has seen her own leaders standing in the dock, falsely accused by the Government of their day. Her description of the contrast between Burke's furious speech for the prosecution and the innocent appearance of the accused, contains the following epy passage:—

I think I never felt such indignation as when Burke, with Sheridan standing on one side and Fox on the other, said, "Vice incapacitates a man from all public duty; it withers the powers of his understanding, and makes the mind paralytic." I looked at his two neighbours, and saw that they were quite free from any symptom of palsy.

There are little gleams of humour all through Miss Hill's clever compilation. At one moment, we see Miss Burney taking the waters at Cheltenham, assuring a member of the Royal suite that:—

I suppose I might be the better for the excursion, according to the definition . . . by Mr. Walpole, who says, people go to those places well, and then return cured!

At another, we find her making tea for the Royal equestrian, or writing birthday verses to be presented by little Princess Amelia to her Royal father, and ending with the couplet:—

The little bearer begs a kiss  
From dear Papa for bringing this.

Finally, we wonder, having finished this study of a character that is full of strange contrasts, suggesting now a conventional Court lady, now a wild bird struggling to be free, now a keen observer of contemporary politics—whether Fanny Burney, had she lived to-day, would have been a fighting Suffragist? We think on the whole she would, and her portrait in the frontispiece supports this belief. And this reminds us, by the way, that the book is beautifully illustrated with reproductions of contemporary portraits and with sketches by Ellen G. Hill.



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## VOTES FOR WOMEN

4-7, RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1912.

### OUR POLICY

The struggle of women for their political liberty  
has now developed into a deadly hand to hand  
conflict with the Government in power. All the  
battalions of political opposition, intrigue, and  
betrayal are openly arrayed against us. A few  
months may see the reins and the whip by which the  
womanhood of the country is to be driven and  
coerced, placed in the hands of every irresponsible  
youth of twenty-one years of age. This shame and  
humiliation cannot be passively tolerated by women  
who have the blood of a free and proud race flowing  
in their veins. Only a craven horde of slaves could  
tamely submit to it.

VOTES FOR WOMEN sounds the alarm, and calls upon  
women to awake and realise the peril of the moment.  
We are no longer the mouthpiece of any Suffrage  
organisation. We stand outside all political parties,  
and outside all societies, but in close touch with the  
striving spirit of womanhood which is calling for  
release from age-old bondage and domination.

With criticism of vigorous and self-sacrificing  
action we have nothing whatever to do. That we  
leave to those who have no constructive ideals to offer,  
and no direct course of their own to pursue.  
Criticism of action is the pedlar's pack of the moral  
beggar—a mere excuse for indolence and irresolution.  
It is the cheapest way of justifying an easy existence.

Our criticism is directed upon the Government,  
which in their dealing with this great question of  
political justice and human liberty stand convicted  
of the betrayal of every principle of Liberalism and  
of every standard of public honour and righteous  
dealing. It is to them that the present condition of  
profound unrest amongst women is due. They have  
aroused in the hearts of all women worthy of the  
name relentless and undying revolt, by their dis-  
honourable repudiation of principle, by their shame-  
less and immoral intrigues, and by their callous and  
cruel methods of repression. Such action as they  
have taken during their present period of office, to  
say nothing of the treatment by politicians of the  
question of women's enfranchisement during the  
preceding forty years, would have driven men to blood-  
shed and revolution long ago. They challenged  
rebellion, and when they received the answer in its  
mildest and least provocative form, they cried out in  
the most cowardly and contemptible fashion, and  
they sent forth their agents of brute force to stamp  
it ruthlessly down.

Because they could not crush the spirit of women,  
they have maimed their bodies and have tortured  
them to the point of death. And now that they find  
their ignorance of human nature taken by surprise,  
now that they have failed to kill in women the soul  
of liberty that cannot die, they are prepared to work

every engine of persecution against those who have  
defied their authority.

Whatever action may be taken by the brave women  
in the forefront of the battle, whatever tragedy may  
ensue as the issue of this struggle, we put the blame  
on the right shoulders. For whatever act of despera-  
tion may be done, the Government are responsible.

It is not by action, but by inaction, that the great  
mass of women, trained by centuries of quiescence,  
have failed at this crisis. Women! this is our sin.  
This is our shame.

It is because of our failure in action that we are a  
subject race to-day.

The sins of omission are more deadly than the sins  
of commission. Bondage to fear of any kind is worse  
than penal servitude. Is it because living ideals have  
been debased by the prating of politicians that the  
great majority of people to-day are lost to any sense  
of reality? Are they so seared to the contact of life  
that they can talk with smooth and pious hypocrisy  
of the crime of breaking glass and think nothing of  
the crime of breaking human beings? Better that  
every pane of glass in the country should be broken  
than that one hundred thousand babies should die  
every year, and that the sacrifice of a hundred thou-  
sand mothers should go for nothing; or that girls  
should be sold and exported like bales of merchan-  
dise; or that little children should be outraged; or  
that the womanhood of the race should be held in  
subjection and dishonour.

With what a world of reproach in their tone could  
the thousand women who have passed through the  
iron gates of prison turn to their sisters and say:  
"We have piped unto you and you have not danced;  
we have mourned unto you, and you have not wept."  
They—the martyrs of liberty—have been criticised,  
reviled, and deserted by the mass of those for whom  
they suffered. Therefore does this Manhood Suffrage  
Bill, with its menace of utter humiliation and com-  
plete political subjection, overshadow the women of  
this country to-day.

If, when the banner of revolt was lifted six years  
ago, women had loyally flocked to the standard the  
vote would have been won from a Liberal Govern-  
ment under the leadership of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman.  
But instead of action, there was hesitation,  
timidity, counsels of patience, and paralysis of will.  
The propitious moment was allowed to slip and the  
leadership of the Liberal Party passed into the hands  
of that obstinate Anti-Suffragist, Mr. Asquith.

Yet, even so, if hundreds of women had braved the  
task of putting questions at public meetings to  
Cabinet Ministers, if thousands had backed up the  
gallant little deputations who faced assault and  
arrest in Parliament Square, neither Mr. Asquith  
nor his Government would have ventured to meet the  
demand of women for the vote with rigorous  
repression.

It was "Black Friday" that made the policy of  
stone throwing the only method by which women  
could protest against the introduction of the Man-  
hood Suffrage Bill without endangering both limbs  
and life. It was the unconscious, tacit desertion of  
the main body of the army that made the desperate  
fighting in the advance guard a dire necessity.

Last November, the introduction of the Manhood  
Suffrage Bill could have been resisted by the united  
body of Suffragists and the trickery of Mr. Asquith  
and Mr. Lloyd George could have been brought to  
nought. To-day the task is harder, and calls for  
great courage and great sacrifice.

A vigorous rally of all the Suffrage forces is  
urgently needed. It is not necessary for us to preach  
militancy to the Women's Social and Political  
Union. The leaders and the rank and file of that  
magnificent fighting force are equally determined to  
press the issue to a triumphant finish.

But we do preach militancy—vigorous and sus-  
tained militancy—to all those women who have  
hitherto thought that the victory was to be won by  
constitutional methods alone. Surely they have  
awakened at last from their dream of conquest by  
trustful confidence. Even at the eleventh hour they  
can save the situation by determined action.

We call upon every single woman in the ranks of  
the Woman's Movement to come out and fight, to  
adopt the essence of the militant creed by ceasing to  
approach politicians as supplicants entreating favour,  
and by demanding as upstanding women an imme-  
diate Government measure of enfranchisement as  
their right. Let them give the Government clearly  
to understand that in default of the payment of this  
long overdue debt, they will assert and maintain  
their claim by active and persistent opposition and  
by methods that are unpleasant and harassing, and  
that they will not hesitate if necessary for the vindica-  
tion of the fundamental principle of human liberty  
to use methods that are in open defiance of the law.

**Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.**

## "PUT NOT YOUR TRUST IN POLITICIANS"

A Speech by Mr. George Lansbury at the Albert Hall, October 17, 1912

Mrs. Pankhurst and friends,—I wonder if you  
will let me say just first of all that coming  
to this magnificent meeting to-night and being  
received in this manner rather takes, I was  
going to say, all the sting and go out of me,  
because I have the feeling that if there are any  
people in this hall who are really not the right  
people to stand upon this platform, it is those who  
are members of the House of Commons. After all,  
we have made no sacrifices. We have none of us done  
anything that can approach in any kind of way the  
tremendous and the heroic sacrifices that have been  
made by Mrs. Pankhurst, the Lawrences, and all the  
other women. I always have the feeling that English  
public meetings are altogether too generous to people  
like myself. The most that any politician ever does  
is to talk, and that is about the easiest thing that  
a man can do.

Now, in coming here to-night I have very divided  
feelings indeed. It is always difficult and it is  
always very critical when people one reveres and  
respects all at once separate, and although they carry  
on their work in their own way, the bond of union  
appears for the time being to be severed. I have, I  
think, a kind of affectionate regard for Mr. Pethick  
Lawrence and his wife, and I have exactly the same  
feeling for Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughter, and  
you will not expect that in this matter of policy a  
man like me, who is more or less an outsider, should  
really take a definite side so far as the women them-  
selves are concerned.

### I Refuse to Advise a Truce

Numbers of people have written to me and practi-  
cally told me that I ought not to come and speak at  
these meetings at all unless I advise the women,  
especially the militant women, to call a truce and  
not go on with their militancy. There is only one  
answer to them. It would be downright impudence  
and impertinence on my part to attempt in any kind  
of way to say what women under the present circum-  
stances ought or ought not to do. I always remember  
when I get such letters that certainly the people who  
write them left the Suffrage movement severely alone,  
except for pious meetings once a year or so, until six  
years ago. And the whole question, say what people  
may, has been brought into the region of what is  
called practical politics, because six years ago women  
threw what is known as "respectable conduct" to  
the winds, came out, and fought for the vote in a  
militant kind of way.

To-day we are face to face with a condition of  
things in regard to Parliament which I think is  
almost unparalleled in the history of our country;  
and I want to say that so far as my own conduct is  
concerned, now that our Party has decided definitely  
in one direction—that is, that they are going to hold  
their hand and hold up their decision as to what  
ultimately they will do, until later on—I am in  
honour bound to consult the men and women who  
returned me to the House of Commons nearly two  
years ago. And when that has taken place I think  
I shall be in a position, if not to take my place with  
the people who are actually fighting, at least to be  
free to do as I please either inside Parliament or  
outside Parliament. For my part, when the neces-  
sary time for consulting my people down where I  
live in Bow and Bromley has elapsed, I am going to  
take just this stand, that I cannot be a party, and  
will not be a party, to keeping in office either a  
Liberal Government or any other Government that  
refuses by any kind of subterfuge to see that justice  
is done to women during the present session of  
Parliament. Whatever may be the case with other  
parties, if there is one thing we, the Socialist and  
Labour Party, stand for, it is equality between the  
sexes in the eyes of the law. Other parties may  
have particular reasons for voting for women to have  
the franchise, but people who belong to the same  
political and social faith that I do come out and  
say we believe that men and women should be  
equally treated, that they should all be citizens, and  
that our business in life is to secure economic, social,  
and political freedom for men and women alike.  
And in the House of Commons, just now, the thing  
we are up against is this—it is true that you have  
a coalition Government, but it is also true that one  
part of that coalition at the present moment appears  
to have the power to determine the whole policy of  
the parties that make up the coalition. Now, I have  
been what many of you probably are not, a Home

Ruler, ever since I had anything to do with political  
life. I learned a good deal of my ideas of free-  
dom from working in the Home Rule movement a  
good many years ago, and I remember, too, this,  
and I learned this thoroughly, in regard to political  
offences, offences committed in the struggle for political  
emancipation, that Liberals always declared that  
people who committed those offences should never be  
treated as criminals in the ordinary sense. But  
to-day Home Rule has taken on another guise, and  
we are all very respectable, decent gentlemen in the  
House of Commons. All the old militant methods  
are forgotten, and everyone speaks quite kindly and  
respectfully of the other. But I think that we should  
face the fact that, if Ireland wants Home Rule, on  
this question of Votes for Women the eighty Irish  
Members have no right to cast their votes against us,  
irrespective of their Suffrage opinions, simply  
because they want to maintain their position as  
Home Rulers. I do not think it can be defended  
that those who are asking for the right to manage  
their own affairs in Ireland should also claim the  
right to use their votes merely to keep the Govern-  
ment in power and prevent your getting the Franchise  
during the present Session. The position that  
we are in is just this, that if the Irish Members were  
to abstain from doing this, and if our own Members  
of the Labour Party fought as tenaciously for this as  
many of them want to fight for other questions, there  
is no doubt that Votes for Women could be obtained,  
and obtained very quickly. But unless something is  
done, and done pretty quickly, to make the Irish  
Party understand the sort of indignation that will  
arise in this country if they want to dominate, not  
only their own affairs, but this question of Woman  
Suffrage, I believe they will reap exactly what they  
are sowing.

When people argue that the Amendments may get  
put through, you have to remember this—for every-  
one in the House of Commons knows there are  
maneuverings going on every hour of the day—that  
Governments have means of cajoling and persuading  
their supporters not to do the thing they want to do.  
If the word goes forth, as it did go forth on the Con-  
ciliation Bill, that it will be very bad for the prestige  
of the Government if the Prime Minister is defeated  
on this matter, then we know quite well what will  
happen.

It is said that the Labour Party, as a Party, ought  
not to have been circularised in the fashion that I  
circularised the rank and file. I sent that circular  
round with a definite set purpose. I wanted to dis-  
cover where our own people in this country and  
where our own people in the House of Commons were,  
because many people believed up to the other day  
that the Labour Party were pledged—it was the  
minimum they could be pledged to—to vote against  
the third reading of the Reform Bill if women were  
not included in the Bill. But we know now quite  
well that in this Hall, months ago, when people  
thought such a pledge was given, no such pledge was  
given. Language, of course, is understood by differ-  
ent people in different ways. I myself never thought  
the pledge had been given, but a good many other  
people in the hall thought it had been given, and  
cheered in a very rapturous manner. We now know  
where we are. I do not think, even if we were  
pledged to vote against the third reading, that is  
anything nearly definite enough. The real fact is,  
while you are leaving this matter to private members,  
by leaving them to bring in their amendments, you  
are leaving it to the power of the Government—not  
by putting their Whips on; there are heaps of other  
ways of getting at members—to compel their  
Members not to do the right thing. Therefore, I  
asked that the branches of the I.L.P. should pelt  
their members and pelt the Labour Party, pelt the  
Prime Minister, pelt all kinds of people, with resolu-  
tions saying what they want to be done; and I have  
faith, friends, that the rank and file of the Labour  
movement up and down the country will be behind  
you in your fight to get emancipation. They will be  
behind you because every workman knows quite well  
that the denial of the right of citizenship marks the  
inferiority of his wife in the eyes of the law as  
against any other man in the land. Therefore, I  
have not any sort of feeling but that the Labour  
movement generally will be behind the women in  
their demand that the Labour Party should not help  
to keep in power a Government that refuses to do this  
act of justice. (Loud cheers.)

### Eternal Disgrace

There is one other thing in that connection. A  
friend wrote to me the other day and said he did not  
think I ought to have said the Labour Party would  
be eternally disgraced if it did keep in power a  
Government that cheated women of the Franchise.  
Well, there are some things that men may do, some  
things that politicians may do, that are bad enough,  
but I want to say this about politics in this country.  
If we have come to the pass that men may promise  
at election times to do certain things, and then, when  
the time comes, find all kinds of reasons for not

doing it, then if that is going to be excused by  
public opinion, I do not think politics can be debased  
any more than that. I think we shall have reached  
the very lowest level, and I say quite unreservedly  
that if we do keep a Government in power who  
refuses to do this simple act of justice when we  
know that the majority of men in the House of  
Commons are pledged to do it, then those of us who  
keep the Government there are equally guilty with  
the Government for the betrayal of the women of  
the land.

You have been fighting this fight in the vigorous  
sort of manner with which you are all so well  
acquainted during the past six years. I do not think  
of you ought to be in the least degree depressed  
or dejected over the progress you have made.  
Despite Governments, despite Party discipline,  
despite all the trickery and all the manoeuvrings in  
the House of Commons, I believe your movement is  
stronger to-day than ever it has been before. It is  
quite true that you have irritated statesmen. It is  
quite true that many people have laughed and jeered  
at what they have been pleased to call the hysterical  
actions of militant women, but I believe, as I  
think it can be proved in the history of the world,  
that when a body of people determine that life itself  
is of no account as compared with the cause they  
are fighting for, then the common people in the long  
run rise up and respect and revere those people who  
help them to win. I travel about this country a good  
deal. I hardly spend a week-end in my own home.  
I speak to great meetings in all parts of the United  
Kingdom, and everywhere I go I can see the growing  
sense of responsibility on the part of men and women,  
and I can see growing up a tremendous regard and  
respect for the women who have been carrying on this  
campaign. There has been no movement worth the  
name that has ever been carried through without  
sacrifice of some kind or the other; and there are no  
people in the world that respond more to that, than  
the poor people who live in poor districts. Rich  
and well-to-do people are hardly able to understand  
what sacrifice really means, but the poor know what  
it means, and they can respect those who bear ills,  
who bear troubles, who face difficulties, when they  
are not called upon to do so. Believe me, friends,  
waken up the working-class women and you will win  
this fight very quickly. And I am certain when they  
hear the story of Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans, when  
they know that an English Government, that the  
English Lord Lieutenant of Ireland—the man who,  
with his wife, welcomed the Irish prisoners some  
years ago, William O'Brien amongst them, who  
went out into various parts of England protesting  
against the treatment of William O'Brien and other  
prisoners—when the common people understand that  
those same men have been treating two Englishwomen  
in the fashion that those two women were treated in  
a Dublin jail, they will throw this Government out.

### Faith in the Ordinary Man and Woman

Then there is another thing. I read the speeches,  
I read the articles in the newspapers, and it seems  
to me that the end of it is—Trust the politicians.  
Someone once said, "Put not your trust in princes."  
I would like to say to you, "Put not your trust in  
politicians." If princes are not to be trusted, I can  
assure you politicians are not, because in the House  
of Commons what both sides keep in mind is—the one,  
how to keep on the Treasury Bench, and the other,  
how to get on the Treasury Bench. Principle plays  
no part in the business at all. These people will only  
be moved by the power of public opinion outside the  
House of Commons. I have absolute faith in the  
ordinary man and the ordinary woman of our land.  
I want to go to them with the message that we are  
out, not for any Party, but for the entire nation.  
We are out, not for any sex, but to fight for the  
emancipation of women because we believe it will  
help to free men as much as it will help to free  
women. A great people can only be great when  
justice reigns throughout the land. You have heard  
what Mrs. Pankhurst said about the White Slave  
Traffic. Believe me, you can pass all the White  
Slave Traffic Bills you like, but the real thing to do  
about prostitution, about destitution, about every-  
thing that is wrong with men and women, is to  
remove the causes that lead to these things. I am  
proud to have had ever so tiny a hand in this  
tremendous agitation. I am proud to have lived to  
have had the privilege of standing on platforms and  
asking for justice for my wife, and if my mother  
were alive, for her, and for my daughters. And I  
am proud to be in the Suffrage Movement, because  
I believe it is the movement in the world. I want  
you to realise that on you is cast the tremendous  
responsibility of coming out and taking your places  
in the fight, because you want men and women to  
join hand in hand and destroy the hard economic  
conditions, the harsh political conditions, and bring  
about that kind of comradeship between men and  
women which will help us, as Blake said, "To build  
Jerusalem, In England's green and pleasant land."

# AT THE ROYAL ALBERT HALL

October 17, 1912

For the third time this year the Royal Albert Hall was the scene, last Thursday evening, of a mass meeting, held under the auspices of the Women's Social and Political Union. Every ticket was sold beforehand, and the whole of the lower orchestra was occupied by those members of the Union who have suffered imprisonment during 1912. Dressed in white and carrying silver pennons, these formed an effective background to the speakers; and before the proceedings opened they led the singing of the "March of the Women," which was conducted in person by the composer, Miss Ethel Smyth, Mrs. Doe. The grave announcement published that morning had produced a tense feeling among the audience which betrayed itself from time to time. The situation was clearly being discussed all over the Hall, and both before and after the meeting people formed themselves into groups, obviously for the same purpose. A sum of £3,600 was raised, and the resolution was passed with only three or four dissentients.

Mrs. Pankhurst, who took the chair, said: From all over the world come messages to this great meeting. Of those messages I have selected two. The first comes from the seat of war in the East to the seat of war in England—in this meeting. It is from our friend, Mr. Nevinston, and I think when he wrote it he had not only in mind the events of which he was a witness, but he had in mind the situation at home and the enemy with whom women have to deal in this war of ours. He says, "My thoughts are with you meeting. Forward against all Turks." The second message to this meeting comes from Paris from Christabel Pankhurst, who would be here did she not feel it her duty to be where she is. She says, "We must fight as never before, and give no quarter to the enemy."

### The Resolution

It is my duty from the Chair to move the following resolution, to which I and the speakers will speak:

That this meeting pledges itself to continue the militant agitation for Woman Suffrage, and to declare relentless opposition towards the Government and its allies until they abandon their anti-Suffrage policy and introduce a Government measure for the political enfranchisement of women.

Whenever I stand upon this platform in the Albert Hall I can never feel that I am speaking to an ordinary political meeting. It seems to me rather that I am assisting at a review, and to-night I feel more than ever that we are reviewing our forces. We are considering and measuring our strength; we are seeing where we stand, considering the force of the opposing army, and deciding how our campaign is to be pursued. One thing is essential to an army, and that thing is made up of twofold requirements. In an army you need unity of purpose. In an army you also need unity of policy. In the Women's Social and Political Union from its initiation until quite recently we have had complete unity of purpose, and we have had complete unity of policy. That unity of purpose is still the same. I cannot continue my speech without referring to a statement which has been published by the agreement of all parties concerned, in two suffrage papers to-day, in VOTES FOR WOMEN, which is so well known to you all, and in the new infant of the Women's Social and Political Union, which henceforth will be its official organ, *The Suffragette*. That statement, signed by the four persons—by Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, by my daughter, and by myself. When unity of policy is no longer there, then I say to-night, as I have always said, a movement is weakened, and so it is better that those who cannot agree, who cannot see eye to eye as to policy, should set themselves free, should part and should be free to continue their policy, as they see it, in their own way, unfettered by those with whom they can no longer agree. I give place to none in appreciation and gratitude to Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence for the invaluable services that they have rendered to the militant movement for Woman Suffrage, and I firmly believe that the women's movement will be strengthened by their being free to work for Woman Suffrage in the future as they think best, while we of the Women's Social and Political Union shall continue the

militant agitation initiated by my daughter and myself and a handful of women more than six years ago.

### The Labour Party

Now for the resolution. In that resolution we declare that we mean to continue the militant agitation for Woman Suffrage, and that we offer uncompromising opposition to the Government and its allies. That Government is kept in office by the coalition of three Parties. You have the Liberal Party, which is nominally the governing party, though they could not live another day if it were not for their coalition with the Nationalist Party and the Labour Party. So we say, not only to the Liberal Party, but also to the Nationalist Party and to the Labour Party, "So long as you keep in office an anti-Suffrage Government, you are parties to their guilt, and from henceforth we offer to you the same opposition which we give to the people whom you are keeping in power by your support." We have summoned the Labour Party to do justice to women. They, apparently, are not prepared to do that. Some of them tell us other things are more important than the liberty of women—than the liberty of working women. We say, "Then, gentlemen, we must teach you the value of your own principles, and until you are prepared to stand for the right of women to decide their lives and the laws under which they shall live, you, with Mr. Asquith and Co., are equally responsible for all that has happened and is happening to women in this struggle for emancipation."

### Criticisms of Militancy

There is a great deal of criticism, ladies and gentlemen, of this movement. It always seems to me, when the anti-Suffrage members of the Government criticise militancy in women, that it is very like beasts of prey reproaching the gentler animals who turn in desperate resistance when at the point of death. Criticism from gentlemen who do not hesitate to order armies to kill and slay their opponents, who do not hesitate to encourage Party mobs to attack critics in public meetings, who do not hesitate to send their hardy ringleaders, when I get letters from people who tell me they are ardent Suffragists, but who say they do not like the recent developments of the militant movement, and implore me to urge the members of our Union not to be reckless with regard to human life. Ladies and gentlemen, the only recklessness the militant Suffragists have shown about human life has been of their own lives, not of the lives of others, and I say here and now that it never has been, and it never will be, the policy of the Women's Social and Political Union recklessly to endanger human life. We leave that to the enemy. We leave that to men in their warfare. It is not the method of women. No, even from the point of view of policy, militancy affecting the security of human life would ever be out of place. There is something that Governments care far more for than they care for human life, and that is the security of property, and so it is through property we shall strike the enemy. From henceforward the women who agree with me will say, "We disregard your laws, gentlemen, we set the liberty and the dignity of women and the welfare of women above all such considerations, and we shall continue this war as we have done in the past, and what sacrifice of property, or injury to property, accrues will not be our fault; it will be the fault of that Government which admits the justice of our demands, but refuses to concede them without the evidence, so they have told us, without the evidence afforded to Governments of the past that those who asked for liberty were in earnest in their demands."

### Why Women are Militant

Why are we militant? The day after the outrages in Wales I met some of the women who had exposed themselves to the indecent violence of that mob which I signed by my name, because in addition to the facts reported in the newspapers—facts verified by photographs—in spite of the contradiction of Mr. Lloyd George, in addition to what found its place in the newspapers, those women suffered from assaults of a kind which it was impossible to print in a decent newspaper. There was one woman whom I saw the day after a woman with grown-up children, the mother of a son twenty-five years of age. She described to me the way in which she was assaulted. I said to her, "How could you bear it; it seems to me that is the hardest thing of all to bear?" And she said, "All the time I thought of the women who, day by day, and year by year, are suffering through the White Slave Traffic, and I said to myself, I will bear this, and even worse than this, to help to win power to put an end to that abominable slavery." Until by law we can establish an equal moral code for men and women, and until we can win the fair game for the vicious section of

the population, inside Parliament as well as out of it. Some people tell you that in order that you may be happy and protected lives it is necessary that women should be degraded. That is a lie. But even were it the horrible truth there are other things we women have to deal with. Even if we tolerated the degradation of grown women, can we tolerate the degradation of helpless little children? When I began this militant campaign I was a Poor Law Guardian, and it was my duty to go through a workhouse infirmary, and never shall I forget seeing a little girl of thirteen lying in bed playing with a doll, and when I asked what was her illness I was told she was on the eve of becoming a mother, and she was infected with a loathsome disease, and on the point of bringing, no doubt, a diseased child into the world. Was that enough to make me a Militant Suffragette? A little later, in a bye-election campaign against the Government candidate in Leeds, I had occasion to visit a Salvation Army hotel in that city, and in the matron's room there was a little child, eleven years of age—she did not look older than eight—and I said, how was it she was there? why was she not also playing with a doll? And they said to me, "We dare not let her play with other children; she has been on the streets for more than a year." These women in this meeting, are facts.

### A Great Mission

Now I say to the men in this meeting: Can you put an end to this horrible degradation of the race without our help? It is you who are responsible for the present state of things. True, you have inherited it. It is not the men of to-day who are directly responsible, but you are responsible so long as you refuse to women the right to help you to deal with evils which you are admittedly unable to cope with by yourselves. We must Suffragists, and our mission is the greatest mission the world has ever known. It is to free half the human race, and through that freedom to save the rest. Will you help us to do this? We are meeting. Well, then, if you will, put aside all craven fear, gird on your armour, be militant as we others are, each in your own way. Those of you who can express your militancy by facing Party mobs at Cabinet meetings, and refusing to leave without satisfaction, as we did in the early days—do so. Those of you who can express your militancy by facing Party mobs at Cabinet meetings, and refusing to leave without satisfaction, as we did in the early days—do so. Those of you who can express your militancy by joining us in our anti-Government boycotts, and refusing to meet contingents, and who can break windows—break them. Those of you who can still further attack the secret idol of property so as to make the Government realise that property is not inviolable, and that the Government is not inviolable, as was the Chartists of old—do so. And my last word is to the Government: I incite this meeting to rebellion. I say to the Government: You have not dared to take the leaders of Ulster for their incitement to rebellion, take me if you dare; but if you dare, I tell you this, that so long as those who incite to rebellion, and that destroy the security of human life in Ulster are at liberty you will not keep me in prison. So long as men rebels—and voters—are at liberty, we will not remain in prison. First Liberty, and then order. Although the vote is not yet won, we who are militants are free; we remember only the freedom of the spirit, and join in this magnificent rebellion of the working class, and the destruction of the property of the Government.

Mrs. Tuke, having formally seconded the resolution, Mrs. Pankhurst continued: What I have said has been said by a woman on behalf of women. Now I am going to call upon a splendid exception amongst men, Mr. George Lansbury, M.P.

(A full report of Mr. Lansbury's speech will be found on page 51.)

**A Business Statement**

At the conclusion of Mr. Lansbury's speech, Mrs. Pankhurst rose and said: Before I ask Mrs. Tuke to speak to you I want to say a few business words. During the months that the practical work of the Women's Social and Political Union has been in the hands of Mrs. Tuke, Miss Annie Kenney, and their colleagues, there have been two Albert Hall meetings. In those meetings the large sum of £10,000 was raised for this movement. In some of the newspapers to-day there appeared a statement that the assets of the Women's Social and Political Union amounted to £10,000. That is true; but those assets, that £10,000—are already appropriated. You know we have taken new premises in Kingsway. To make those premises secure for the work of the Union, a sum of £6,000 has been deposited in safe hands to cover the rent and other expenses for three years. A further sum of £2,000 will, in the course of the next two or three days, be placed in the hands of a trustee to secure Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence from any possible financial loss in connection with the Union's pro-

cesses and other activities. A sum of £2,000 remains for the expenses of the week by week, for the organisation, and to finance the organ of the Women's Social and Political Union, *The Suffragette*.

### Mrs. Tuke's Speech

Mrs. Tuke then rose and made a short speech, in the course of which she said: A few days ago I was reading a religious newspaper, containing, amongst other matter, a sermon by the Bishop of London, and the report of a speech delivered by him at a meeting recently held in support of the White Slave Bill. The text from which he preached struck me, as a Suffragette, as being extremely suggestive. It ran thus: "They that have turned the world upside down have come hither also."

### The Collection

Mrs. Pankhurst made a short appeal for funds, and promises were made up to the platform to the amount of £3,906. A box collection was also taken, which brought the total up to £3,600.

Miss Annie Kenney dealt especially with the second part of the resolution, saying: Now this means that at the next bye-election if a Labour representative seeks election with the exception of Mr. Lansbury the W.S.P.U. will be there, and we shall offer the same relentless opposition to the Labour men as we have hitherto shown to Liberal candidates. We are being told on all sides that the best way to tackle the Labour Party is inside the House of Commons. We have come to the conclusion that we have not only to fight them in the House of Commons, but we have also to prevent them being driven from office. To the objection of the Labour Leader that women would be no better off if a Conservative Government were returned to power, Miss Pankhurst's reply is that no Government could treat the question worse than the present one, and that the Liberal Party might possibly be better in Opposition than they are in power. "Even so," she said, "it is a step in the right direction."

This declaration of war on the part of the W.S.P.U. followed upon the refusal of the Parliamentary Labour Party to meet the National Executive of the Party in conference, in the House of Commons on Tuesday in last week to adopt the Anti-Government policy urged upon them in the resolution recently passed all over the country by Labour organisations. The resolution referred to is the one framed by Mr. Lansbury, and condemns the Government for introducing a Franchise Bill which the Government are trying to trick the advocates of the bill into accepting. The Government, which is guilty of such a policy, being kept in power by the bill of Labour votes, and, finally, calls upon the Labour members of Parliament to vote constantly and relentlessly against the Government from now onwards until they have either driven them from office or compelled them to introduce and carry a proposal giving votes to women on equal terms with men.

### MR. LAWRENCE'S LIABILITY

Misapprehension has arisen with regard to the statement made by Mrs. Pankhurst on Thursday night that a sum of £2,000 out of the funds of the Women's Social and Political Union was being placed in the hands of a trustee to meet contingencies. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and myself. This has conveyed to many people the idea that we are seeking from the Union reimbursement for the bill of costs which the Government has presented to us for prosecuting us and also a contingent guarantee for any civil damages which might be secured against us. This is entirely erroneous. The sum in question has been put aside solely to meet the liabilities which we have incurred in entering into contracts in our own name on behalf of the Union, and the principle of which are the agreement with Clements, Ltd., which has not yet expired, the lease of the premises of the Woman's Press, and other leases in different parts of the country. When these liabilities are satisfied the balance of the £2,000 will become the property of the Union.

So far as the costs of the Government prosecution and the damages awarded against us are concerned, we have not and never have had any intention of weakening the fighting funds of the Women's Social and Political Union by allowing ourselves to be reimbursed for them.—F. W. Pethick Lawrence.

### QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE

In the House of Commons on Monday, Mr. Barnston asked the Home Secretary whether his attention had been called to a speech delivered by Mrs. Pankhurst last Thursday openly advocating window smashing and other destruction of property; and whether the police proposed to take action so as to prevent tradesmen and others suffering financial loss from such conduct? Mr. McKenna: The police will do their utmost to prevent property being destroyed in the manner indicated.

Lord Robert Cecil asked the Home Secretary whether his attention had been called to a speech delivered by Mrs. Pankhurst on Thursday last, in which she urged her hearers to break windows and to do other injury to property; and whether the Government were going to take any proceedings against her in consequence?

Mr. McKenna: This is a question which should be addressed to my right hon. friend, the Attorney-General.

Lord Robert Cecil asked the Home Secretary whether proceedings shall be taken come before the Home Secretary?

Mr. McKenna: It is conceivable that the Attorney-General might consult me on the point, but primarily the question should be addressed to him.

Mr. Kellaway: Has the right hon. gentleman noticed that on this occasion Mrs. Pankhurst justified her speech by referring to the action of the Orangemen in Belfast?

# THE LABOUR PARTY AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE

New Election Policy of the W.S.P.U.

The W.S.P.U. have announced their intention of fighting the Labour Party by opposing their candidates at all elections. In describing this new departure, Miss Christabel Pankhurst says:—

Hitherto only Liberal candidates have been opposed at elections, but from now onwards Labour candidates will also be opposed. When a Labour candidate is elected, he votes in the House of Commons precisely as a Liberal Member would vote, and he becomes an integral part of the Government forces. Whatever difference there may be in the minds of Liberal and Labour candidates in the matter of election speeches, there is no difference between Liberal and Labour Members in the House of Commons. Consequently, the next election contesting a Labour candidate is nominated will see the W.S.P.U. striving to prevent that Labour candidate's return. It should be clearly understood that the W.S.P.U. attack is not made upon Labour and Socialist principles. Nor is it made because of dissatisfaction with the attitude of the Labour and Socialist rank and file who are urging their leaders and Parliamentary representatives to force the Government to choose between defeat and Votes for Women. The attack is upon the official Labour Party.

Miss Pankhurst proceeds to point out that the women's opposition could have been averted if the Labour Party had used their power to compel the Government to introduce a measure to enfranchise women. This they could have done by voting consistently against the Government until this course had been taken, or until the Government had been driven from office. To the objection of the Labour Leader that women would be no better off if a Conservative Government were returned to power, Miss Pankhurst's reply is that no Government could treat the question worse than the present one, and that the Liberal Party might possibly be better in Opposition than they are in power. "Even so," she said, "it is a step in the right direction."

The *Daily Citizen* commented at once upon the new W.S.P.U. policy in its leading article as follows:—

The announcement that the Women's Social and Political Union—the militant section of women suffragists—intends to offer active opposition to Labour candidates in three-cornered fights comes as no surprise and holds no terrors. Those who turn against their best personal friends—their own party—have helped them with money and service—may also be expected to turn against the movement which first gave them a platform, and which from Labour has been loyal to their cause. Why has this new policy been adopted? Is it because the Labour party has refused to vote for the political freedom of women on the same terms as men? Every member of the Labour party who has voted for it is it because the Labour party has not been so zealous in the future? In the future, as in the past, the Labour members, whatever the consequence, will stand by the colour of women who are enfranchising them. The W.S.P.U. has declared war on the Labour party because the party wisely and properly declines to tear up mandates pledged to the Government in order to accept instructions from an outside organisation which at bye-elections has been utterly indifferent as to whether the men of the Tories were returned. Now what is the organisation which has set up so arrogant and preposterous a position? It is without democratic basis or authority. One or two officers elect their members, and elect with jealous hands every point of policy. The members have freedom of thought and action is tyrannically repressed. Mrs. Despard and Miss Billington committed the crime of being elected, and they had to do so, and now two others follow for the same offence. We readily acknowledge the great courage and devotion shown by many of the rank and file of the militant movement, but they have blindly obeyed orders and accepted the consequences and punishment without having the slightest voice in deciding what the plans shall be.

That the Labour party should be expected to do this is absurd and ludicrous on the face of it. What would the proposed policy involve—the policy of voting constantly against the Labour party in certain quarters on every election? It would involve the defeat of the annual conference. It involves betrayal of those measures which the Labour members pledge themselves to their constituents to support. It involves opposition to and the defeat of any industrial reform supported by the Government. It destroys the chance of women being enfranchised by means of amendment to the Franchise and Registration Bill. It assumes that the duty of Labour men in Parliament is merely to turn out the Liberals in order to put in the Tories, who are equally opposed to women's suffrage. It is a policy, in short, which the great majority of earnest women suffragists would regret and deplore. The Labour members will fight to secure the enfranchisement of women, but must not be so easily deterred by more effective lines. No member of the party will desert or betray the women's cause, but their task is likely to be made easier by tactics which are deplorably short-sighted and disastrous.

**MR. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD'S VIEWS**

Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, chairman of the Labour Party, when interviewed by a Press representative, is reported to have said that the "Labour Party will not be influenced by the threats used against it, but will go on steadily pressing for the reform which the Women's Social and Political Union is supposed to have at heart. I regret not on personal but on public grounds the attack which is made upon us. The Union is doing almost irreparable damage to the cause, which I and every one of my colleagues ardently wish to see carried to triumph."

In a letter read at a meeting of the Women's Labour League, held at the Hampstead Garden Suburb on Saturday night, Mr. MacDonald wrote:—

Should women by any mischance fail to be included in the Reform Bill, they are suffering will not be upon the rich women, who would be enfranchised because they pay taxes and are insulted by their servants voting and not themselves, but upon the poor working women who have to do all her own housework and the housework of other people in addition, and also upon her who has to work in the factory and workshop, and in the poorer-paid professions, to make an income for herself or to augment that of her underpaid husband. These women have taken practically no part in what I can't help calling the criminal proceedings, which now stand as the only serious barrier between women and the franchise. When I see what havoc these militants have done, both to public opinion and to individual tempers, my thoughts do not turn to the women who are subscribers, but to the women who are represented by the Women's Labour League, and whose cause to which I have referred. We are told that if the House of Commons does not now

enfranchise women we shall have a sex war. If the working women of the country only knew what has been going on for the last two or three years it is not a sex but a class war that would be declared against the wealthier sections of women, for whose stupidity and vanity they have now to suffer. It is not men who have stood in the way of the enfranchisement of women, but a small section of the women themselves. The comedy which has been going on in the Women's Social and Political Union this week shows, in both the minds of the members and the methods which have led the cause of women's enfranchisement from the border of success to the brink of ruin. Now, appropriately enough, these women have been busy doing what it says they will never do for the past fortnight or more. We have no information to hand as to whether they are yet "blue in the face." It is more than likely, however, that they may be purple, white and green.

The *Spectator* says:—

"We predict confidently therefore that even if the brakes of a Independent Labour Party petition Mr. Ramsay MacDonald (which they will not do) till they are blue in the face, the Labour members of the Government over Woman Suffrage. When they have opportunities to extort promises from the Government they will use them for other purposes."

Mr. F. E. Matzen, one of the signatories to the letter, has sent us the following postcard, which he received in reply from Mr. MacDonald:—

My statement at the Albert Hall was specific, and will be acted upon. It was that we shall support women's suffrage even if by our support that we shall see the Government. That such a statement should be twisted by one-sided people into something quite different is a matter for them to reconcile either with their intelligence or their honesty, not for me to pay the least regard to. If we fail in our efforts it will not be through lack of energy on our part, but because of the criminal stupidity of those who profess to be supporting it.

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD.  
Chesham Bois, Oct. 12.

Mr. Matzen has replied as follows to Mr. MacDonald:—

Dear Comrade,—Your postcard reply of the 12th inst. in answer to the letter addressed to you re Albert Hall Meeting of the 11th inst., has been duly received by me, and submitted to my co-signatories. It is somewhat ambiguous we shall be glad if you will kindly let us know if you may read "force" for "support," i.e., that you are prepared to force women's suffrage this session, even if by the forcing of same women is to come to the Government. Otherwise it seems to me that if the Government drop the Bill you cannot effectively redeem your pledge within the lifetime of this Parliament.

From the statement which you mean by the "twisting" of your pledge "into something quite different," the matter is not one on which we can express an opinion as to the moral obliquity of the Party meeting, can we say whether you are morally justified in disregarding it. Under any circumstances we fail to see why or how you should be prevented from making your pledge "to turn out the Government should it fail to give the session Citizen Rights, on equal terms, to men and women" because of the "criminal stupidity of those who profess to be supporting it." We can say whether you and others in the press have nothing to do with the subject matter of our letter to you of the 10th inst. It is purely negative, not positive criticism, and only tends to confuse effect with cause.

As to the question asked by the *Labour Leader*: "Is the enfranchisement of women sufficiently important to justify" the turning out of the Government, in view of what measures of "Social Reform" that they may have in store for the masses, we could say that Home Rule, Welsh Disestablishment, and the Reversal of the Osborne Party have not been returned. Never had we proceeded with until women have the same Citizen Rights as men to express their opinion of these respective measures. These three measures only affect a comparatively small section of the community, while the withholding of Citizen Rights from women affects over twelve million of the population.

Even though the *Labour Leader*—the official organ of the I.L.P.—is prepared to accept something less than "equal terms for men and women," we hope that you will not allow anything to deter the Labour Party from availing itself of the great opportunity which the present session affords of emancipating the "poor working women" whose political, economic, and social interests have always been championed by the rank and file of the I.L.P.—ever ready to fulfil their duty to the I.L.P.—ready to put principle before expediency.—Yours fraternally,

FREDK. E. MATZEN.  
7, Rastlyn Avenue, Camberwell, S.E., Oct. 19.

**MR. MACDONALD'S ALBERT HALL PLEDGE**

We published last week a copy of the letter sent to Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald by the W.S.P.U. secretaries, previous to the "War Against Poverty" meeting at the

# SUFFRAGETTES!! PLEASE READ THIS!!

VOTES FOR WOMEN, October II, page 31, says: "We recommend ALL our members to use

## LACTOLINE

'MILK' TOILET SOAP AND TOILET CREAM, and by so doing you will help to support the cause."

Every lady must use soap and Toilet cream, also most ladies require Toilet powder. If you do not already use Lactoline, on the advice of your own doctor, and tried Lactoline, the proprietors have decided for one week only to make a Special Offer. Buy a box of Lactoline Soap, Cream, and Toilet Powder, to be GIVEN AWAY at almost half price to 10,000 Suffragettes, one set only to each member.

- The 10,000 sets will consist of—
- 1 Box Lactoline Toilet Soap (3 tablets) ... .. 2/-
- 1 Jar Lactoline Toilet Cream (full size) ... .. 1/3
- or Milk Foam (non-greasy cream) ... .. 1/3
- 1 Box Lactoline Toilet Powder ... .. 1/6

To all writing at once to the Lactoline Co., Ltd., 34-37, Bartholomew's Close, London, E.C.4, for one of these sets, it will be sent post free for 2/6, and in addition will be given away

**100 PRIZES**  
to the first 100 ladies who apply for one of these sets.—The prize being a Beautiful Hand-Drawn-Worked Table Centre.  
**"WRITE AT ONCE."**  
Lactoline Soap is soft and emollient and made from milk, Lanoline, and Vaseline. Lactoline Cream cleanses the skin from all dirt and impurity, and leaves it a beautiful milk-white.

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As to the question asked by the *Labour Leader*: "Is the enfranchisement of women sufficiently important to justify" the turning out of the Government, in view of what measures of "Social Reform" that they may have in store for the masses, we could say that Home Rule, Welsh Disestablishment, and the Reversal of the Osborne Party have not been returned. Never had we proceeded with until women have the same Citizen Rights as men to express their opinion of these respective measures. These three measures only affect a comparatively small section of the community, while the withholding of Citizen Rights from women affects over twelve million of the population.

Even though the *Labour Leader*—the official organ of the I.L.P.—is prepared to accept something less than "equal terms for men and women," we hope that you will not allow anything to deter the Labour Party from availing itself of the great opportunity which the present session affords of emancipating the "poor working women" whose political, economic, and social interests have always been championed by the rank and file of the I.L.P.—ever ready to fulfil their duty to the I.L.P.—ready to put principle before expediency.—Yours fraternally,

FREDK. E. MATZEN.  
7, Rastlyn Avenue, Camberwell, S.E., Oct. 19.

THE LLANYSTUMDWY OUTRAGE

In the House of Commons on Monday Lord Robert Cecil asked the Home Secretary whether by his inquiries into the Llanystumdwy outrages, he has ascertained what assaults were actually committed upon the women there; and, if so, whether he will state to the House the nature of such assaults?

Mr. Harold Smith asked whether, as a result of investigations into the recent disturbances at Wrexham and Llanystumdwy, any information has been obtained as to the pulling out of women's hair; and, if so, whether any action is to be taken?

Mr. McKenna: I will answer these questions together. I am informed by the Chief Constable that he has now obtained evidence of two cases of assault. As criminal proceedings are likely to be taken in one or both of these cases, I think it is better not to make any statement as to the particulars alleged.

Mr. Harold Smith: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman if he will answer my question, whether any information has been obtained as to the pulling out of the women's hair?

Mr. McKenna: That is precisely one of the particulars in regard to which I do not wish to make any statement.

Mr. Harold Smith: Can the right hon. Gentleman give any reason why he should not state the nature of the offence?

Mr. McKenna: In the course of my answer I have given reasons.

Mr. Harold Smith: May I ask if this is an attempt to whitewash the Chancellor of the Exchequer?

Mr. McKenna: There is not the slightest ground for any suggestion of that sort.

MR. MORLEY ROBERTS REPLIES TO MR. LLOYD GEORGE

In last week's VOTES FOR WOMEN we printed a letter from Mr. Lloyd George written to the editor of the Standard, in reply to a spirited attack upon the Llanystumdwy savages which had appeared in that paper over the signature of the well-known writer, Mr. Morley Roberts. Last Saturday, the following answer to Mr. Lloyd George appeared in the Standard (Woman's Platform):—

To the Editor of the Standard. Sir,—With reference to Mr. Lloyd George's reply to my article in your pages on the incidents at Llanystumdwy, I may say that I have taken more trouble than he imagines to acquaint myself both with what occurred there and his previous commitments to violent and brutal treatment of women political opponents.

Mr. George tells us that he did appeal to the crowd of his countrymen not to harm the interrupters. Students of politics and the platform understand such appeals without any comment, especially when they are read side by side with what he said previously at Wrexham and other places. At Wrexham he is reported to have remarked pleasantly: "I remember little cisteddau at which prizes were given for... the best walking stick. One of these sticks, by the way, would be rather a good thing now." At Swansea he calmed his excited audience in his best sedative style, a style which he apparently thinks I should admire: "By and by we shall have to order sacks for them." She and her friends must be flung out ruthlessly." At the Queen's Hall he suggested a gag should be used.

When one considers the light thus thrown on Mr. George's nature and methods, is it to be wondered at that his friends at Llanystumdwy did their best to please him? I have not the least wish to suppress any facts which Mr. George may think can help him to regain the good opinion of English gentlemen, but how can one credit him with good intentions after pondering over his record? It is by that a man is judged, and a politician is sometimes a man.

I shall not be the least concerned to apologise for anything that I have written until Mr. Lloyd George and his associates behave honourably towards women in the matter of the vote. His style of epistolary controversy has one weakness in it, to say no more. He is on his trial, not I. Whether he and his friends consider me a gentleman or not is naturally a matter of total indifference to me. His opinion,

favourable or unfavourable, on such points has obviously no authority, and leaves me singularly cold.—I am, Sir, yours truly,

MORLEY ROBERTS. Authors' Club, 2, Whitehall Court, S.W., October 17, 1912.

A RUMOUR

It is stated in Reynolds' Newspaper that an attempt has been made "by supposed Suffragists" to break into, or burn down, at midnight the newly erected Lloyd George Institute at Llanystumdwy, the scene of the recent outrageous treatment of women Suffragists. The attempt, if it was one, was intercepted by Mr. Samuel Roberts, the caretaker, who was close by.

Shortly after midnight, the account continues, he was startled by his wife shouting: "There is a light in the institute." The two quickly dressed, and, taking a cycle lamp, keeping the light obscured, went towards the hall. Looking over the railings they saw two women crouching in a suspicious position. One was dressed as a man in a Norfolk suit, with a cap well drawn over her hair. She was lying all length on the ground, and the other was leaning on the window-sill. Asked what they were doing there, one replied, "We have lost our way, and are seeking shelter." "You had a light," said Mrs. Roberts. "We had not," came the reply. Pressed further, an electric flash was produced by one of the women.

With a view to testing their statement as to seeking shelter, Mrs Roberts asked them to her house for refreshment. After a muttered conversation between them they declined, and went off in the direction of Pwllheli. Both were of good address, speaking good English, and were wearing rubber shoes.

THE CAMPAIGN AT HOLMWOOD Sale fixed for Thursday Next

After sitting in the Mascot, the country home of Mr. Pethick Lawrence in Holmwood, for upwards of ten weeks, the bailiffs are now bestirring themselves. They have ready taken an inventory of all the available articles in the house and garden, and a sale is definitely announced for Thursday next week, October 31, to commence at 1 o'clock. Among the diverse articles included are the books which Mr. Pethick Lawrence won as prizes at school and college, the household linen, the garden tools, the dog kennel, and even the radiators by which the house is warmed.

The special campaign being conducted from Dorking continues to excite great interest in the neighbourhood, and it is clear from the attitude of listeners at the various meetings that there is a thorough understanding of the significance of the Government's attack upon the property of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Meetings will continue to be held up to the date of the sale, and the following have been arranged:—

Meetings Arranged. Fri., Oct. 25—Rotunda, Dorking, 6.30. Mrs. Drummond, Miss Liddle. Sat., Oct. 26—Holmwood, 4.30. Miss Naylor, Miss Liddle; Rotunda, Dorking, 6.30. Miss Naylor, Miss Liddle. Mon., Oct. 28—Rotunda, Dorking, 6.30. Miss Hicks, M.A.; Holmwood (Norfolk Arms), 6.30. Miss Naylor, Miss Liddle.

Poster Parades will be held in Dorking on Tuesday and Wednesday. All offers of help will be gratefully received by Miss Liddle, Hon. Organiser, 10, Broad Street, Dorking, where all information may be obtained.

MILITANT METHODS IN AMERICA Suffragist Ejected from a Washington Meeting

Americans can no longer boast that their important public men are immune from the attentions of militant women suffragists. One of their number, Miss Malone, last night interrupted Dr. Woodrow Wilson in the course of a speech at Brooklyn with the familiar question. For a time the audience was in confusion while Miss Malone was ejected, despite chivalrous but non-committal protests on the part of Dr. Woodrow Wilson.

The incident is symbolic of the way in which, during the present campaign, women have thrown tradition to the winds and have actively interested themselves in electioneering. Mr. Roosevelt's organization has, for instance, an effective women's branch, presided over by Miss Jane Adams, and, though the other parties have followed the lead, his campaign managers think it is probable that thanks to his "Votes for Women" plank and social reform programme, the ex-President will have on his side most of such direct or indirect influence that American women enjoy in politics.—The Times.

"Canada for Women," says a headline. This shows great and unexpected moderation. We always were under the impression that, generally, they wanted the earth.—The Globe.

Advertisement for Brimsdown Wirum Lamps. Features an illustration of a lamp and a cityscape. Text includes: 'AFTER SUNDOWN Electric light is best when the lamps you use are— BRIMSDOWN WIRUM They are STRONG ALWAYS and give that clean, clear, steady light which makes— PERFECT ILLUMINATION Sold by All Stores and Electrical Contractors Full Particulars from— THE BRIMSDOWN LAMP WORKS LTD Dept B, Kingsway House, London, W.C'

MRS. LEIGH & MISS GLADYS EVANS

Mrs. Leigh and Miss Gladys Evans appear to have been living in a state of siege in Dublin. Mrs. Leigh, who, it will be remembered, was removed in a state of collapse to a doctor's house on her release from Mountjoy Prison last month, is now slowly recovering; but she has been informed that if she goes out she will be arrested at once for not reporting herself. The licence which was originally read to her when she came out of prison, contained no reference to this obligation to report herself, but she has since been served with another, requiring her to report herself at the nearest police station once a month, and to notify to the police every change of residence on her part. Knowing the spirit of Mrs. Leigh, we feel sure she will not comply with these requirements.

With regard to Miss Evans, who has also been slowly recovering from the effects of forcible feeding, in another doctor's house in Dublin, news reaches us as we go to press that she was rearrested on Wednesday afternoon for failing to report herself to the police. Our comment on this latest abominable outrage will be found on the "Outlook" page. Both houses have been watched night and day for some time by three or more policemen in plain clothes, evidently to prevent the escape of the two Suffragists.

HATCHET CHARGE POSTPONED

Last Tuesday at the Dublin City Commission, Mr. Justice Kenny in his address to the Grand Jury said that there was another charge against Mrs. Leigh which had stood over since the August Commission. It was a case in which she was charged with having committed an assault on Mr. John Redmond by throwing a hatchet at him on the night of Mr. Aequith's visit to the city. The hatchet struck Mr. Redmond, and the Grand Jury at the last Commission found a true bill for wounding. The case was now in the calendar for the present Commission, and the Crown, notwithstanding the conviction and sentence in the other case, had determined to have the second charge fully investigated by a jury. He took leave to say that they would have been wanting in their duty to the community had they taken any other course.

When the Grand Jury had retired, Mr. Seymour Bushie, K.O., on behalf of the

Crown, applied to have the trial of Mrs. Leigh postponed until the December Commission. It seemed obvious that, having special regard to the reasons for her liberation, it might be undesirable to impose on her the strain of a fresh trial now. Mr. Gerald Byrne, solicitor, who appeared for Mrs. Leigh, raised no objection to the postponement. He was directed to say that she was in a very weak state, and that it would be dangerous for her to leave the house.

Mr. Justice Kenny said that in the circumstances he would adjourn the case until the next Commission. The Liberal Christian League, at a meeting at King's Weigh House Church, on Monday evening last, condemned the forcible feeding of Suffragist prisoners as "an unjustifiable violation of the rights of individuals, dangerous to human life, and disgusting in its nature." One of the speakers was Dr. Agnes Savill, who described the process as nothing less than torture, and bound to fail in its purpose in the case of a determined person. The subject of the meeting was "Aspects of the Women's Movement." Among the speakers were Mr. H. D. Harben, Lady Bunting, and Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., whose speech we allude to in another column.

SALE OF TAX RESISTERS' GOODS

The following resolution was carried, with two dissentients, at an outdoor meeting of protest last week against the sale of Mrs. Fyffe's goods:—"That this meeting protests against the seizure and sale of Mrs. Fyffe's goods, and is of opinion that the taxpaying women of this country are justified in refusing to pay all Imperial taxes until they are allowed a voice in deciding how these large sums of money shall be spent." The sale was preceded by a procession headed by the "John Hampden" banner, from Mrs. Fyffe's house to the sale room, and speeches, by Mrs. Louis Pagan, Mrs. Colleen Sanderson, Miss Constance Andrews, and the Rev. Charles Baumgarten, rector of St. George's, Bloomsbury, were made from a victoria decorated in the colours of the Women's Tax Resistance League.

WOMEN'S PART IN THE WAR In the Fighting Line

It is known that the women are strong, and therefore none of the fictions of compassion are employed; from house to house the news passes, naked, crude, unattenuated. A few nights ago a soldier arrived at a house close to my lodging to inform a woman that her husband, fighting at Plavnitza, had been struck in the head by a fragment of a shell and was in a very bad state. The poor woman, who saw that the destiny she feared had been fulfilled, did not break the peace of the night by cries and lamentations. Quickly and silently she collected some handkerchiefs and a bottle of water, and thinking that her husband would certainly be suffering from the cold she loaded herself with a couple of blankets and went off towards Plavnitza.

In the morning, when she was not found in her house, the neighbours, without being told, knew what had happened, and they saw her in the procession of the wounded. She was walking beside a horse holding one hand on the leg of her husband, who, deprived of all strength, looked as if he might fall at any moment. He was completely wrapped in bandages, and all that could be seen of his face was the white lips of his half-opened mouth. He also, like the rest, reached the hospital, which is the sad meeting place for soldiers and relatives after the battle. They bade farewell at the barack yard and met again at the hospital bed.—Daily Telegraph.

still follow the old custom of accompanying their men to the war, carrying provisions on their backs in baskets.

Sometimes they get under fire themselves. Such a one was Stania Milashovitch, whose life is obling in the white hospital here. She was struck down at the battle near Tarabosh: a woman among the row of wounded men. The thought of that fills one with profound pity and stirs the heart to sorrow. For it is the business of men to give their lives for their country; and the sight of this woman among them filled one with indescribable emotion.—Daily Express.

The fighting around Gusinje was of a particularly fierce character, and in the end the place was taken at the bayonet's point. Women and young boys were among the victims of the fighting. Many Albanian women fell with rifles in their hands, and boys who carried ammunition and water to the combatants met their death in so doing.—Central News Telegram.

Nor do the women lack courage. At Podgoritza a dozen or so wounded were lying outside the hospital waiting admission and attention. To them came a woman—soon to become a mother. She peered anxiously into the face of



MISS M. E. DURHAM, War Correspondent, as a Royal Academy Art Student. From a drawing by Paul Neward in the "Graphic" of May 4, 1909.

Now we are all on the strain. There are the wounded to transport and attend to. There is the army to be fed. As in old days, the women still, so long as their men are near the front, tramp in parties over the plain, regardless of risk of bullets, to carry their men a bottle of rakia and a few tasty additions to camp fare. Yesterday the Turks fired twice on two women, but fortunately missed; and intrepidly they continued their journey, and duly delivered the lunch. Women as well as men are all for the war of freedom. When the army starts for war, not a woman sheds tears. All are ready to make bread, lead pack horses, and carry water.—Miss Mary Edith Purham in the "Daily Chronicle."

each wounded man, and at last reached the end one with a sigh of relief. "Whom do you want?" she was asked. "I am looking for my husband, but, thank God, he is not here."

Questioned further, she said that she had four children at home, "not one old enough to give the others a glass of water." Her husband had gone to the front, her little shop was closed, and her two oxen taken. No news had come of her husband, and she had left her little ones to look for him as the wounded were brought in.

"Shall we try to obtain news of him?" she was asked. "Perhaps after all he is on some special duty, and not in any danger."

The woman's eyes flashed. "I hope no man of mine is minding oxen," she said. "He will come back to me when the Turks are beaten, or he will be dead."—The Daily Herald.

MILITANT CHURCHWOMEN

The unsatisfactory attitude of the bishops and clergy towards the women's movement has roused Suffragist Churchwomen to protest, and all interested are asked to write to the Hon. Sec. Suffragist Churchwomen's Committee, 21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W., for particulars.

Advertisement for Schweitzers' Cocoa. Text includes: 'THE OLDEST AND STILL THE IDEAL COCOA' and 'SCHWEITZERS' Cocoa THE OLDEST AND STILL THE IDEAL COCOA'

Advertisement for Wolsley Underwear. Features an illustration of a woman's face and a Wolsley garment. Text includes: 'WOLSEY HEALTH INSURANCE UNDERWEAR PURE WOOL UNSHRINKABLE UNDERWEAR' and 'Every garment is guaranteed unshrinkable, and any proving otherwise replaced free. Made for Men, Women, and Children, and sold everywhere. Every genuine garment bears the well known Wolsley trade mark. THE WOLSEY UNDERWEAR COMPANY, LEICESTER.'

AN AUSTRALIAN PETITION

We are informed that the Women's Political Association of Victoria, of which Miss Vida Goldstein is president, have forwarded to Mr. R. L. Outhwaite, M.P., a former resident of Melbourne, the following petition from representative Australian women to be presented to the House of Commons:—

"We, representatives of the enfranchised women of Australia, intercede on behalf of our unfranchised sisters in the United Kingdom with the plea that honourable members shall direct the Government to introduce and pass into law a measure to enfranchise the women of your country on equal terms with men. In the Australian Commonwealth, and in the six different States, the opponents of women suffrage voiced the same objections, the same fears, the same prophecies of failure and disaster of a very serious nature, not only to Australia but to the whole British Empire, if our women were allowed to become part of the body politic, as are voiced in England to-day. Experience has falsified them all, and at every election our women cast their votes with an intelligence and discrimination not surpassed by the men electors. Experience teaches us also that the social and economic subjection of women by legislation in whose enactment women have no voice intensifies the social and economic subjection of men, and is against the highest interests of the State. In the name of democracy, which knows neither class nor sex, we plead for the enfranchisement of our sisters.

"Further, we make this plea because their unfranchisement affects Australian women very closely. Australian men who go to live in England retain their political status, and can take part in electing their representatives to the House of Commons. Australian women who go to England lose their status. They are degraded to a lower political level than that of boys, aliens, criminals, and lunatics. Boys may reach their legal majority and vote. Aliens may become naturalised citizens and vote. Criminals may regain their liberty and vote. Lunatics, if sufficiently 'compos mentis' to discriminate between candidates, may vote. We submit, with all due respect, that the British Parliament is guilty of grave injustice in compelling Australian women, free and respecting citizens in their own country, to wear the yoke of political serfdom in England.

"To the plea of those of your own country, we women voters of Australia add ours, and pray that the political right, which men value above all others, be granted to the women of Great Britain and Ireland on equal terms with men." The petition is signed by the president and secretary of the following societies, these being bodies of women voters representing every side of non-party political, philanthropic, social, and industrial life in Australia:—

Victoria.—National Council of Women, Women's Christian Temperance Union, Medical Women's Society, Lady Teachers' Association, Princess Ida Club, The University, Women Public Servants' Association, Women's Co-operative Guild, Methodist Homes for Children, Ladies' Branch Shamrock Club, Australian Church Social Improvement Society, Independent Church Ladies' Reading Club, Wombalano Art Club, Women's Political Association.

South Australia.—Women's Christian Temperance Union, Women's Political Association, School for Mothers, Women's Clothing Factory.

West Australia.—National Council of Women, Women's Service Guild, Labour Women's Social Club, Australian Natives' Association, Australian Labour Federation, Young Women's Association, Women's Christian Temperance Union, Karrakatta Club.

New South Wales.—The Principal Women's Colleges, the University, the Young Women's Association, the Women's Club, the Women's Liberal League, the

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AT THE PAVILION

A crowded meeting of the W.S.P.U. was held in the London Pavilion on Monday afternoon, at which Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Annie Kenney were the speakers. In the course of her speech, referring to the question to be asked in the House of Commons that afternoon, regarding her Albert Hall speech, Mrs. Pankhurst said that she was perfectly well aware that in inciting that meeting to rebellion she did commit a breach of the law—(A Voice: "Quite right," and that so long as women were outlaws, so long as women suffered from intolerable wrongs, they were justified in open rebellion. The great mistake of women in the past was that they had been too law-abiding. She was waiting quite calmly, and with a considerable amount of enjoyment, for the next movement on the part of "the enemy" with regard to this rebellion of theirs. Whether the enemy attacked them in large numbers or singly they were "armed and prepared" for whatever might happen. They were just as much at war as the people of the Balkans, only they fought in a different way, being women. People said, "But you imperil human life." All that could be said was that they had every desire to carry their fight through to success without the loss of any lives, and if there were any lives to be lost they would be their own. Suffragettes had already lost their lives through the movement, and she knew there were many more who would gladly die for the cause. (Cheers.)

"MENTIONED WITH HONOUR"

As the result of a movement started by the Rev. Neil Macphail, parish minister of Kilmuir, Skye, says the Times, the neglected memorial in the churchyard of Kilmuir to Flora Macdonald, who was buried there, has been restored. On the memorial has been placed a marble tablet, on which are inscribed Dr. Johnson's words:—"The preserver of Prince Charles Edward Stuart will be mentioned in history, and, if courage and fidelity be virtues, mentioned with honour."







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