

# VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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## A SUFFRAGE TUG OF WAR.



The Men's League for Women's Suffrage, by an overwhelming majority, have adopted an Anti-Government Policy.

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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.

Mr. Lloyd George received a deputation of Welsh suffragists at his house at Criccieth at 11 o'clock on Wednesday last. The deputation consisted of prominent women, including local representatives of the N.U.W.S.S., and Miss Barrett, representing the local W.S.P.U.

#### Points of the Interview.

We give on another page a special report of the interview, sent us by our special correspondent by telegram, from which it will be seen that Mr. Lloyd George adheres to his view that the Bill is not a democratic solution. "It will add hundreds of thousands of plural voters to the electorate," he says (how, he does not explain), "it will enfranchise mainly the class which is hostile to the reforms I have at heart,"

he adds, ignoring the fact that 80 per cent. of the women enfranchised would be working women, and deliberately, as Mrs. Price White pointed out, placing party before principle. Pressed by Miss Barrett as to what action he would take in the event of his being satisfied that the Conciliation Bill presented the only form of woman suffrage which the House was likely to pass, Mr. Lloyd George admitted that in that case he would have to reconsider his position. But he gave no assurance of support for any concrete form of woman suffrage. We reserve further comments until next week, when we shall have had the opportunity of studying his remarks in greater detail.

#### The Men's League Policy.

The Men's League for Women's Suffrage are to be congratulated on their decision to adopt a definite anti-Government policy. Up to the present they have proceeded on the assumption that the enemy to Woman Suffrage was the Anti-Suffragist private member in the House of Commons, and their policy at elections has accordingly been in opposition to individuals; but the action of the Government in definitely refusing facilities for the Conciliation Bill has shown them now that an attack upon the Government is necessary. The new policy was adopted at a general meeting of members on Friday last, when the following resolution was carried by 187 votes to 51:—

That, in view of the refusal of the Prime Minister to grant facilities for Mr. Shackleton's Bill, this League decides to oppose the Government until a Woman Suffrage Bill be carried into law, and that, accordingly, the executive committee shall at by-elections oppose all official Government candidates, and at a General Election oppose all candidates except sitting Liberal members who have rendered effective support to the Conciliation Committee.

We learn that in consequence Mr. Walter McLaren, M.P., has resigned from the Men's League and decided to work for Woman Suffrage through other channels.

#### The W.S.P.U. Campaign.

The special holiday campaigns of the W.S.P.U. have closed this week. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence has held meetings in Herne Bay, Eastbourne and S. Leonards. Lady Constance Lytton has been speaking in Bath and Bristol and other meetings have been held elsewhere. With October will commence again the special weekly free meetings in London, on Monday at 3 in the Queen's Hall, and on Thursday at 8 in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon-street, and in various districts all over the country the local organisers of the Union are getting vigorously to work with a view to an energetic campaign to work up for the Session of Parliament in November. Meanwhile Mrs. Pankhurst will be having a succession of meetings in Ireland. Interest is rapidly growing in the great Albert Hall meeting to be held on November 10 (directly before the opening of Parliament), and those intending to secure tickets should do so without delay.

#### The Paper-selling Competition.

The Paper-selling Competition, which closes to-day, has evoked considerable interest among members of the Union, and much valuable work has been done by interesting outsiders in the movement. One member of the W.S.P.U., who sends us a little account of some of her experiences, which we publish this week, has taken up her stand for several hours every evening outside the Japanese Exhibition and has made it a point of honour with herself never to sell less than nine dozen each week. In this way she has not only sold many papers, but has made many converts to the movement. We shall be pleased to hear from other sellers some account of their work. Competitors in Classes A and F are reminded that to-day (Friday) is the last day for sending

in order forms or poster promises; those in Class B, that all the papers sold must be paid for before October 7; and the local Unions and country campaigns competing in Classes C and D must send in all their returns for the months of July, August and September, before October 7.

Women and Statecraft.

We have pleasure in presenting to our readers this week a very interesting article by the Countess of Selborne, President of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, on the reasons which impel her, and those on whose behalf she is entitled to speak, to take active part in the campaign for Votes for Women. Foremost among her reasons Lady Selborne places the fact, which Anti-Suffragists will find it difficult to gainsay, that in the few instances where women have had the chance of political power they have used it remarkably well; they have exhibited in fact singular and marked gifts of statesmanship. Lady Selborne concludes by stating the position of her Association with regard to methods: they are not militants, they are not impatient, and they are willing to wait for success, but they think that what men promise they should perform, and that a pledge to support Women's Franchise is not discharged by voting for the second reading of a Bill and then stifling it in Committee.

Special Articles Next Week.

Next week we shall be able to publish a special article dealing with the Midwives Bill, by Mrs. Sidney Webb, whose work in connection with the Poor Law is so well known. Mrs. Webb shows conclusively how necessary it is for women to win the vote without delay, to prevent such serious errors in legislation. We shall also publish an article by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence on "The Undercurrent of the Woman's Movement." This article embodies the purport of a recent speech delivered at St. James's Hall, and has been written at the special request of several members of the audience, who have expressed their desire to circulate a large number of copies of the paper containing it among their friends.

Militant Methods.

A labour dispute in Berlin has led to much bloodshed and to several serious injuries. This is the way in which men frequently conduct a political or economic conflict, yet the women in this country who are fighting for a veritable revolution are blamed because rather than submit to defeat they have dared to persist in their action until overcome by superior physical force. It is noteworthy that according to the Press accounts of the strike riots in Berlin, women and children were placed in the front of the strikers, and great bravery and daring was exhibited by the women.

The Price of Progress.

The sad news of the death of M. Chavez, the plucky hero who was the first to fly the Alps, reminds us of the tremendous price which has been paid all down the ages by those who would extend the borders of human knowledge or widen the limits of human freedom. We are heirs to all those who have gone before, by all that they have borne and suffered we are enriched, and we too must be ready to make such sacrifices as are demanded of us for the sake of those who come after.

The Case of Lieut. Sutor.

Lieut. Sutor, undoubtedly guilty of a serious technical offence, has escaped with a reprimand, presumably because it is thought that there are times when it may be praiseworthy to disobey orders and to break regulations. We commend the judgment in this case to the attention of those who have adopted a very different method in dealing with the women who are fighting the battle of progress.

Married Women and Income Tax.

In a letter which, owing to the limitations of space, we are unfortunately unable to publish, Mrs. Ayres Purdie calls our attention to the illegal attempts frequently made by Somerset House to charge a married woman direct with income tax or super tax. So long as the law remains in its present condition the incomes of husband and wife are for the purposes of income tax reckoned together and held to be the property of one person, namely, the husband. This law we regard as thoroughly bad and requiring alteration; it works out in many ways to the disadvantage of the wife, but so long as it exists every attempt to obtain income tax or super tax by direct application to the wife is illegal and should be resisted.

Items of Interest.

The Cantonal Council of Zurich has passed the second reading of a Bill which will enable women to exercise the franchise in the same manner as men and will remove all disabilities from their holding public offices.

Mrs. Bacon acts as Captain of the "Yo-Ho" Motor Boat on a 670 miles trip in the race organised by the New York Motor Club to Bermuda.

Twenty members of the First Aid Nursing Yeomanry Corps are arranging to march from London to Scotland and back. They will take full hospital equipment and attend to their own horses and waggon.

In recognition of her splendid work at a farm fire to which she was called, and at which she worked for 12 hours, a little girl—Miss D. Lawrence Smith—has been presented by the Hurstpierpoint Fire Brigade with a silver flower vase.

Mrs. Williamson has been chosen as a candidate for Congress for Colorado. She has had very wide experience in public work, and in addition to holding the position of State Factory Inspector she was recently selected by the women of Dexter as their representative on the Board of County Commissioners. If elected Mrs. Williamson will be the first woman representative in Congress.

LIFE ON A DAIRY FARM.

Dairywork has always been specially in the hands of women, but it is not often that the entire business arrangements, i.e., the control of the farm and delivery of the milk are completely under women's guidance.

Such a farm, managed entirely by a woman farmer, is that at Checkenden, a charming village on the Berkshire hills, eight miles from Reading. From "cowman" to house-keeper the staff are all women, the only exception at present being the chauffeur who drives the motor on the milk round. The business includes two rounds daily; the horse-round in the village itself, and a motor-round in a much larger village a few miles away. The motor, it may be mentioned, is an Alldays and Omions make, with solid tyres specially designed for the work required of it. The advantage, on a long round, of a motor over a horse-driven cart, is obvious, as much time is saved and punctual delivery all the year is ensured.

The cowsheds, mixing room and stables, are built round a central yard, and their cleanliness, ventilation and drainage are such as would satisfy the most critical inspector. Usually about a dozen cows, some of them pure Guernseys, are in milk, and as milk as well as eggs are supplied to the farm by several villagers who have a little land of their own, the farm helps to provide a market for the small holders of the neighbourhood.

The Day's Work.

The staff and pupils (of whom one or two are taken) are astir early, i.e., at 4.30 or 5 o'clock. The milking is finished by 6 a.m., and then the motor starts on its morning round, the horse-cart leaving about an hour later, after breakfast. Housework is simplified by each one taking charge of the work of her own room, so that the drudgery does not fall upon one pair of shoulders. Town-dwellers will envy the "farmers" their out-of-door life, for even meals are served

on the farm when the prisoner returned will be readily imagined.

It need only be added that life on such a farm as this is not only a very free and healthy one, but a very pleasant one. Perhaps the pleasantest time of all is the hay season, when long, hot days are spent raking and cocking, pitching,



On the Farm.

loading, and carting home the hay. How hungry one gets! And how well one sleeps after it!

Women are proving every day, on a farm like this, that they possess both physical strength and good business capacity, and yet the member for the district has an idea that women are physically unfitted for the vote!

IN MEMORIAM.

A great soul has gone over to the other side by the death, at the age of seventy-seven, of Elizabeth Harcourt Mitchell (of Llanfrechfa Grange) the aunt of the Hon. C. S. Rolls. The suffrage movement has lost a life-long supporter and the W.S.P.U. a convinced and earnest member. Brought up in a very Conservative family, a member of the English Church Union, Mrs. Mitchell was too spiritually minded for the spirit of the women's movement to fail to enlist her deepest sympathy. She joined all the earlier suffrage societies, and did all she could by writing and speaking to further the cause by constitutional methods. When the first unjust sentences on our militant women attracted attention and stirred the hearts of all suffragists, her logical mind at once grasped the astuteness of the W.S.P.U. policy, and she said, "This is the society for me." The sufferings of our women in prison and from forcible feeding afforded her the deepest pain, robbing her of rest by night and filling her mind by day.

She was a graceful writer and a clever water-colour artist, and exhibited only last winter in the Society of Women Artists. Her great abilities made her a natural leader, and she served as Poor Law guardian and as district councillor.

The terrible death of her much-loved nephew was a grievous shock to her, and she has only survived him two short months.

The hearts of all who knew her go out to the aged partner of her life, now eighty-six years of age, but so spiritual a union as theirs has been and is must be indestructible by time or death.

E. M. E. P.

REASONS WHY WE WISH FOR THE VOTE.

By The COUNTESS OF SELBORNE,

President of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.

The reason that has always seemed to me the best of all reasons for giving women the vote is that when they have had political power they have used it well.

There are people who talk of granting the franchise to women as a dangerous experiment, as something which might set the Constitution rocking. I could never understand why women, as voters, should be more dangerous than as queens, and women have been queens, regents, administrators often, since the dawn of history, and their record in these capacities is a singularly good one. I think that the conception most people form of "women's sphere" is a very good instance of the tendency of the human mind to fit facts to theories instead of shaping the theories to facts.

No one thinks that music or poetry or painting are unfeminine occupations. The most narrow-minded opponent of Woman's Suffrage would quite approve of any woman occupying herself in artistic pursuits. Yet, as a matter of fact, women are very inferior to men in artistic capacity. I do not know the reason, or pretend to account for it, but no woman has become a first-rate artist in either music or painting, and very few have attained a second-rate position. And yet there has been practically no impediment to women devoting themselves to art for the last three centuries, and a considerable number have done so. Compare their achievements with those of women in the world of politics. Here there are several who are invariably reckoned in the front rank of statesmanship. And yet the number who have had any opportunity of showing their capacity is incomparably fewer, practically only women of royal birth, who happened to be destitute of brothers, or who, when left widows, succeeded their husbands.

I think it is reasonable to deduce from that that women have a much greater natural capacity for statecraft than they have for art. Let us look at the colonies where this dangerous experiment has been tried. New Zealand has had Woman's Suffrage for many years now, and no one can say it is not a prosperous State. It is acknowledged to have sound finances, a pure Civil Service, and a large Imperial outlook.

Having convinced ourselves that there is no danger to the State in giving women the vote, the reasons why they should have it remain without an answer.

They should have it because in a democratic form of government unrepresented interests are perforce neglected.

They should have it because trade unions, anxious to keep up their own wages, do not stop to consider the hardship they are inflicting on the women whom they are ready to deprive of their only means of livelihood.

They should have it because it will educate them and make them think.

They should have it because they pay taxes, and therefore should be consulted about the spending of the national income.

They should have it because there are many laws which apply mainly or only to them, and they are the proper people to say whether these laws are satisfactory or not.

They should have it because they are the guardians of family life, the mothers of children.

We appeal to all women to think over these points, and if they come to the conclusion that it is for the public advantage that their sex should no longer be disfranchised, that they should exert themselves to convince men, that they wish the disability to be removed. Thousands and thousands of men think that women do not want the vote, and they get that impression from the women among whom they live. Many women are uninterested in public affairs, diffident of their own judgment, fearful lest they should interfere in matters which are outside their province.

These women are silent but very numerous, and it is these women we must convert if we are to get the driving force that is necessary to get an Act of Parliament passed. It has been truly said if the women of England demanded the vote the men would make no difficulty in giving it them. We are not militants. We do not want to scare or worry people into agreeing with us. We have made up our own minds what we think right, and we intend to press that view by all lawful and reasonable methods. Among these methods we may reckon using such political power and influence as we already possess. We are not impatient and we are willing to wait for success. But we think that what men promise they should perform, and a pledge to support women's franchise is not discharged by voting for the second reading of a Bill and then stifling it in Committee.

SELLING THE PAPER.

The paper-selling competition is over, and now, looking back over the happy hours spent side by side with the kindly street hawker, many and curious are the memories that flash like a cinematograph before my mind.

Outside the Japan-British Exhibition thousands of people passed me every evening. One after the other there passed suffrage friends from all parts of the world with words of good cheer and indignant "antis" with unworthy arguments and imaginary bogies! Well did I enjoy meeting a personal friend and follower of Mr. E. Balfour Bax, who, with great authority, informed me that women were "unfitted by nature for the vote." I asked him if he had ever heard of women who are mothers, and so have rendered invaluable service to their country, being compelled to work from 5.30 in the morning to 11.30 at night for 7s. per week? Did he think these women would find putting a cross on a ballot paper once in every four or five years such a tremendous exertion that it would be beyond their physical endurance? "Well," he replied, "the Suffragettes ought to have the vote, because they know what they are talking about, but certainly not the other women."

But he bought the paper, and I ventured to suggest that he might help to teach "the other women" the importance and necessity of the vote.

It was a curious feeling, that of being the first Suffra-

gette many of these people had ever seen—of being surrounded by half a dozen sympathetic faces eager to see and hear because they had read of the cruel imprisonments and forcible feeding. Here are a few passing impressions:—

Here is a Norwegian M.P. who is most enthusiastic about our work, and tells me how much they value the woman's vote in Norway. He is amazed that this country should lag behind in such a necessary reform.

Here is a gentleman who has just returned from South Africa; he has met the Suffragettes there and is very keen to have VOTES FOR WOMEN. And here are the friends from Italy, who take me into their home for a cup of tea and a rest. And, again, there is the flower-seller who gives me a beautiful little bunch of flowers in the colours—purple, white, and green—and the kindly match vendor, who, with intelligence and living interest, helps the cause in every way possible to him.

So many are the kind deeds and words generously given to the VOTES FOR WOMEN paperseller that I wish I had time to mention all; yet, though that is impossible, they will never be forgotten.

And so our paper goes on its way, spreading the truth and uniting in service those who live for a fuller and more just life.

E. T. A.

Table titled 'THE TREASURER'S NOTE' showing contributions to the Campaign Fund sent in during the past week amounting to over £269, and starting up upon our 76th thousand with a good long stride.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND. September 19 to Sept. 24.

Large table listing names and amounts contributed to the £100,000 fund between September 19 and September 24.

Note:—The subscriptions shown in last week's issue are per Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. V. Jones should have appeared as per Mrs. A. Pankhurst and Miss Violet Key Jones.

Advertisement for Debenham & Freebody, Wigmore Street, London, W. featuring an illustration of a woman in a fur coat and hat, and text describing their winter models and furs.

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**FEMALE SUFFRAGE IN ITALY.**

In a recent issue of the *Morning Post* the Rome correspondent of the paper contributed an interesting article on the position of the woman's movement in Italy. After discussing the attitude of the Socialist party, which, he says, is opposed to woman suffrage on party grounds, he proceeds to say that women's rights have made some considerable headway in Italy. He proceeds:—

"Of course, Italian women, as a whole, have neither the desire, the need, nor, as yet, the equipment for the franchise possessed by so many of their British sisters. Their circumstances are totally different. In Italy there is no marked disparity, such as exists in Great Britain, between the numbers of the male and those of the female population. The marriage age, although it has risen considerably of late years in the northern provinces, is still low as a rule, so that it is not difficult for the Italian woman, unless she has no dowry, to enter what to her is the only profession—matrimony. But as Italy has become more of an industrial and commercial State—a transformation still insufficiently appreciated abroad—more and more women have entered shops and obtained secretarial posts, while quite a number of Italian novelists—Matilde Serao, Grazia Deledda, Ada Negri, Clelia Pellicano, 'Singe,' and Carolina D'Invernizio, for example—are ladies. In journalism, although women are less frequently met than on the Press of other countries, Matilde Serao is found editing a newspaper at Naples, while in Rome a leading journal has one lady as secretary and another as correspondent abroad. The telephones, now the property of the State, are entirely worked by women, who are not allowed to marry, and are therefore always known as *le Signorine*. The case of these women is particularly hard, because they are overworked, poorly paid, and exposed to incivility from irate subscribers, as well as to temptations of a serious kind. Then there is the large class of ladies engaged in teaching, the *professoressa*, who have furnished one or two of the leaders to the women's movement, mostly officered by salary-earners. Thus it will be seen that already there is a considerable section of Italian women who have other professions besides the management of their homes, and not a few who have no homes to manage. In other words, Italy on a much smaller scale is beginning to present the familiar phenomenon of other economic and industrial States.

**Sympathetic Statesmen.**

"There has been nothing melodramatic or sensational about the agitation conducted by the Italian women of this kind. They have not, indeed, had any need to resort to the methods of the militant 'suffragettes' in England, because they have found the leading Italian statesmen sympathetic, and because their demands have been modest. Signor Giolitti, a past-master in the art of receiving deputations, consented to see the ladies at the Home Office when he was last in place—he is always in power whoever else may be in office—and his fair petitioners professed themselves, as everyone always does, contented with his suave replies. But the chief Italian public man did more than make neat answers; he granted a Commission to inquire into the status of women in the eye of the law. He pointed out in the Chamber of Deputies that, in his opinion, the women of the southern provinces were not yet ready for the suffrage, but he made no objection to the discussion of the subject. His two successors in the Premiership—Baron Sidney Sonnino, and, still more, Signor Luzzatti—are in favour of women's rights in principle, and the latter, before he became Premier, championed their cause in the Chamber.

**Municipal Franchise likely to come first.**

"Several less important deputies hold similar views. Up to the present, however, the object of the most experienced among the female leaders has been the recognition of women's right to vote for Chambers of Commerce in cases where they are engaged in trade and at municipal elections. These points will doubtless be conceded; indeed, so prominent a municipal statesman as the Mayor of Rome lately expressed his hope that ere long women would vote, as they have already in rare cases canvassed electors, in municipal contests. Nay, further, one or two dubious judicial decisions have already held that there is nothing in the Constitution of 1848 to prevent a woman from voting in Parliamentary contests. But it is generally felt that so important a departure must not be left to the philological interpretations of lawyers, but must be undertaken by the Legislature with set purpose. It will be long, however, before any such law passes the Italian Legislature. For the majority of Italian women appear to be contented with their somewhat Oriental lot, while the average Italian man holds with regard to womenkind much the same opinions that obtained in old-fashioned circles at the time of the Roman Empire."

**BOOKS RECEIVED.**

"Heinrich Heine's Memoirs." Edited by Gustav Karpeles. London: William Heinemann. 2 vols. 12s. net.

"Mating Marriage and the Status of Woman." By James Corn. London: The Walter Scott Publishing Co., Ltd. 2s. 6d. net.

"Mother and Child." By L. M. Marriott. London: The Walter Scott Publishing Co., Ltd. 1s. net.

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If they don't want it they should still vote, or those that do will outvote them.  
It is the duty of every woman to vote.

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**A HOLIDAY IN NORWAY.**

By the Hon. Mrs. Riverfield.

Although the greater part of our holiday was spent far from the cities, and the voices we heard were chiefly those of rushing waterfalls, we met a few people now and again with whom we discussed Votes for Women.

A fairly typical attitude in Norway towards the right of women to exercise the franchise was expressed by a Norwegian friend, who, pointing to her mother—a lady of about eighty—said: "My mother's generation thought it terrible that women should want the vote. I, on the other hand, think it quite right that we should have it, although I take little interest in politics. My daughter there will use her vote when she is grown up, and will not understand how it was women did not always have it."

A Japanese observer, writing to the *Morning Post* the other day on the situation underlying the Englishwoman's demand for the vote, expressed the opinion that there was less companionship between men and women in England than in any country with which he was acquainted. One notices at once how much more companionable men and women are in Norway; they all join in discussions together on all sorts of questions. A woman's opinion is treated with precisely the same deference as that given to a man. In many occupations the men and the women work together.

We found the people, as a whole, delightful, simple, extremely kind and hospitable; they are nicer in secluded places than in popular tourists' resorts, and are much pleased if one can talk Norwegian. If one asks for milk at a farm they never want to be paid. They take an interest in the stranger, but it is a polite, not a curious interest. Children—whom one sees in swarms—are taught manners, evidently; they never stare or make rude remarks. As for the national honesty, I can vouch for the absolute truth of the story of the visitor who asked a Norwegian if his box would be safe if left by the roadside till his return. The Norwegian looked up at the sky and answered: "Oh, yes; I don't think it is going to rain!"

One evening, at a friend's house, we were discussing the advisability of going a certain route over the mountains without a guide. The way was difficult to find, etc. I said, "Well, we mean to go alone and must find the way." On this a gentleman present remarked, "They must be 'stemret kvindor'" (literally, "vote women"), and we laughed. They thought we were "vote women" more than ever when our chauffeur covered herself with glory by swimming across a big lake, a feat which everyone had said beforehand was impossible, as the water would be too cold.

If you want really to enjoy a holiday in Norway it is essential to know a little of the language—and it is very easy to learn a little—as otherwise you have to keep entirely to the beaten track. From a scenic point of view, it is fine enough, but you don't get to know anything of the people. At the farms it is not customary for the host and hostess to sit down with the guests. They wait on them, chatting and laughing all the time, and when the feast is finished they carry off the fragments and have their own meal in the kitchen. One of their most attractive traits is their kindness to animals. The foals let you caress them and poke their soft little noses into your hand; sheep and cattle don't rush away frightened, and all the seven weeks I was in Norway I never saw an animal otherwise than happy and well cared for.

A thing that struck me very much was the land settlement. I wished we could have people on the land here in the same way. Every little patch possible is cultivated, and I know of no more pleasing sight than a well-populated Norwegian valley, its mountain sides dotted with homesteads, each owned by a peasant who is getting the utmost out of his patch of land—land on which he and his wife have reared a fine, robust family, as well as stock and crops.

The younger generation emigrate in immense numbers to America, where they save money to return for a visit, and often eventually for good, and buy the land on which they were born. It is quite usual to meet people speaking English with a strong American accent who have come back with their children to see relatives on the farms, and very out of place these sophisticated American-Norwegians seem amongst the simple peasants.

The abiding impression left by a country like Norway is how far happier these small lands are without the great problems of the older nations, without rich speculators and large land-owners. "Ma coupe n'est pas grande, mais je bois dans ma coupe."

**OUR POST BOX.**

To the Editor of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—For some time past I have been asking, as opportunity occurred, the following question, but have not as yet received an intelligible reply. If you will permit me to put the question in connection with what is called "The Conciliation Bill," perhaps a man who lives the double life, or one of those described by Smith Minor as "Vieux Baton dans la Boue," may enlighten my darkness. The question is: If the Parliamentary franchise is given to women, what harm can, by any possibility, result to any respectable man? I put an analogous question in respect to the municipal franchise for women in South Australia more than forty years ago.—Yours, etc. H. B. T. SHAWSTONS.

Shapwick, Somerset, September 26, 1910.

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VOTES FOR WOMEN 4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND. FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1910.

THE POLICY OF ACTION.

Last week we urged that all Suffragists should constitute themselves an independent political force, and should oppose the Government at elections. Current events are giving evidence of the effect which such a force can produce upon the action of the political parties.

for causes dear to them! Did not they lay their hands to work that but for duty they would gladly have left undone!

Another question we would put to our critics. By what great and majestic deeds, free from all faintest trace of violence, free from anything which is petty or undignified, has human liberty ever been won?

These thoughts and the example of others who have marched before them along the same path, make the Suffragettes immune from the effects of destructive criticism, and give them an absolute faith in the rightness of past militancy and the militancy which may be to come.

After all, this condemnation of Suffragette methods is in the main thoughtless and irresponsible. There are very few people who really think that militancy is under all circumstances reprehensible, but society has a bad habit of scolding women without rhyme or reason, and the Suffragettes are blamed for acts which, if they were done by men for the sake of political freedom, would be applauded to the echo.

Certainly, none of the nation's acknowledged political leaders and teachers have ever taught the ignoble lesson that when liberty is at stake, and all other means of achieving it have failed, law and order may not be defied. John Bright laid it down that "however much we may wish a political question to be settled by moral means, yet it is no more immoral for the people to use force in the last resort for the obtaining and securing of freedom than it is for the Government by force to suppress and deny that freedom."

Gladstone, speaking during the Reform agitation in 1884, denied that it was the duty of Ministers, or of anybody else, to go to the people of the country when they are confronted by formidable obstacles to their freedom, and to tell them merely to "love order and hate violence."

And he continued in never-to-be-forgotten words:—"I am sorry to say that if no advice had ever been addressed in political crises to the people of this country except to remember to hate violence and love order and exercise patience, the liberties of this country would never have been attained."

And these declarations have their echo in the utterances of Statesmen who are still living. Members of the present Government have on several occasions expressed their admiration for men who have resisted authority in the cause of political liberty.

This principle of political action laid down by men so eminent and so responsible, weighs more with the Suffragettes who are fighting for their rights under the Constitution than the small-minded and nagging complaints of those who would have us bound by rules of conduct which, applicable as they may be to the everyday circumstances of life, have no relation to great emergencies and great crises in human affairs.

Christabel Pankhurst.

DEPUTATION OF WELSH WOMEN RECEIVED BY MR. LLOYD GEORGE.

On Wednesday last, at 11 o'clock, Mr. Lloyd George received, at his house at Cricieth, N. Wales, a deputation of Welsh women representing the Woman Suffrage Societies of his constituency, who desired to urge upon him the importance of supporting the Conciliation Bill.

An interesting feature of the discussion was the question put by Miss Barrett as to the attitude of Mr. Lloyd George towards a limited measure of woman's suffrage provided it could be shown that a larger measure could not be carried through the House.

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS. (From our Special Correspondent.)

CRICIETH, September 28. Miss Lampport, who introduced the deputation, said that dissatisfaction had been caused by Mr. Lloyd George's Bodnant speech in which he said that other things were more urgent than the Conciliation Bill.

Miss Barrett, the local Organiser of the W.S.P.U., said that in forty years of agitation they had learnt a great deal, and this Bill was drawn to meet the objections which had been raised. She presumed that Mr. Lloyd George's reason for voting against it on the second reading was that he did not consider it a democratic Bill, because it was not capable of amendment.

Mr. Lloyd George (interrupting) said they could not do that without withdrawing the Bill, and asked whether what Miss Barrett said would apply to the reintroduction of the Bill next session.

Miss Barrett answered that she could not say that. Continuing, she pointed out that under the present state of affairs not one woman had the power to affect legislation. This Bill would extend the vote to a million women and was easier to carry than any other.

Mr. Lloyd George said that the Prime Minister was prepared to give facilities for a democratic measure. Miss Barrett said the Conciliation Committee's Bill was democratic.

Mr. Lloyd George: "Well, he does not agree." Why on earth, he continued, women had not given that pledge a fair chance he did not know, but all the reward Ministers had had, so far, for fighting the cause of women was abuse and insult.

Answering another question by Miss Barrett, Mr. Lloyd George said he would not consider any Bill democratic which would not place women on a practical equality with men.

Mr. Lloyd George said he did not blame them, but they must not blame him for thinking the other was the more urgent issue.

According to another account received by special wire, Miss Lampport directed the particular attention of the Chancellor to such measures as the Midwives' Bill, which were being passed without any chance of a proper opinion of women being given.

Mr. Lloyd George's Reply. Mr. Lloyd George said that he considered that the House of Commons ought to have an opportunity of suggesting

alternatives to the Conciliation Bill. If the House rejected those alternatives then men like himself who were in favour of Women's Suffrage would have to face the problem whether they preferred limited franchise to nothing. That problem had never been put to him yet. If this Bill had gone to Committee, and they had attempted to get amendments, and found that the House would not carry any Bill except a limited one, then they would have to consider carefully whether it would not be better to take the instalment rather than sacrifice Woman Suffrage altogether.

Mr. Lloyd George replied that he was of opinion they could carry such an amendment, if he had found that a more extended franchise was not likely to get sufficient support to become law, he would have to consider whether it was not his duty as a believer in the principle of Woman Suffrage to vote for the best Bill he could get. It had been suggested that he was ready to compromise on other subjects. He was in favour of that if he could not get a perfect Bill; but he fought for the best. (Miss Barrett: The best as you define it.)

Mr. Lloyd George, proceeding, said he had not the faintest doubt that the Conciliation Bill would increase the plural voters by hundreds of thousands. He was strongly in favour of Woman Suffrage, although he had thought women exaggerated that the power but the effect of the vote. They assumed that the moment women had the vote all their wrongs would disappear. He agreed with Mr. Balfour that that would not be the effect for a very long time. His experience was that the more men stood in need of the protection of the vote the less effectively did they use it.

Mrs. Price White: "May I take it, then, you put the advantage of the Liberal party before principle?" Mr. Lloyd George said he preferred the phrase the advantages of the cause he had at heart. He cared far less for the Liberal party than for the cause of the people.

Mr. Lloyd George said he did not blame them, but they must not blame him for thinking the other was the more urgent issue.

ANOTHER ACCOUNT.

According to another account received by special wire, Miss Lampport directed the particular attention of the Chancellor to such measures as the Midwives' Bill, which were being passed without any chance of a proper opinion of women being given.

W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS. IN OCTOBER.

- (A complete list of meetings for the week ending Friday, October 7, will be found on p.p. 845-6.) Monday, 3.—Queen's Hall, London, the Earl of Lytton, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B., 3 p.m.; Mrs. Pankhurst at the City Hall, Cork. Tuesday, 4.—Mrs. Pankhurst at Rathmine's Skating Rink, Dublin; Mrs. Pethick Lawrence at King's Hall, Ilkley. Wednesday, 5.—Mrs. Pankhurst at Dundalk; Mrs. Pethick Lawrence at Midland Hotel, Bradford. Thursday, 6.—Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B., Miss Evelyn Sharp, 8 p.m.; Mrs. Pankhurst at Belfast; Mr. F. W. Pethick Lawrence at Southampton. Friday, 7.—Poster Parade, 156, Charing Cross Road, London, 11 a.m.; Speakers' Class, 4, Clements Inn, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, 7.45 p.m.; Mrs. Pankhurst at Derry. Monday, 10.—Queen's Hall, London, Dr. E. W. Kirby, of Birmingham, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, 3 p.m. Thursday, 13.—Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London, 8 p.m., Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst at Folkestone. Friday, 14.—Poster Parade, 156, Charing Cross Road, London, 11 a.m. Saturday, 15.—Miss Christabel Pankhurst at Press Club Dinner, Criterion. Monday, 17.—Queen's Hall, London, Lady Stout, Mr. F. W. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, 3 p.m. Tuesday, 18.—Mrs. Pankhurst at Birkenhead; Mrs. Pethick Lawrence at Leicester. Wednesday, 19.—Mrs. Pankhurst at New Brighton. Thursday, 20.—Mr. F. W. Pethick Lawrence at Bath. Friday 21.—Mrs. Pankhurst at Newport; Miss Christabel Pankhurst in the Public Hall, West Norwood; Poster Parade, 156, Charing Cross Road, London, 11 a.m.

IN NOVEMBER. Thursday, 10.—Great Meeting, Albert Hall, 8 p.m. Tickets should be secured at once, as they are selling very rapidly. Numbered and reserved tickets may be purchased by members only from the Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C. Prices as follows: Amphitheatre Stalls, 2s.; Arena, 1s.; Upper Orchestra, 6d.; Grand Tier Boxes (holding 10), 30s.; Loggia (holding eight), 21s.; 2nd Tier Boxes (holding five), 12s. 6d. The local W.S.P.U.'s have been given the first opportunity of taking up the Grand Tier Boxes.

A Correction. Owing to an error a meeting was announced in last week's issue to take place at Chigwell. The meeting referred to is a private invitation meeting in London, arranged by Lady Sybil Smith, and we regret that it was wrongly announced.

The Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's leaflet, "Women as Persons or Property?" price 9d. per hundred, 6s. per thousand, post free, is now ready.

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NEXT WEEK'S ISSUE WILL CONTAIN AN ARTICLE BY MRS. SIDNEY WEBB Deal'ng with the Midwives' Bill, entitled: "Why Women need the Vote: A Practical Illustration."





