

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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"MORE THAN FLESH AND BLOOD CAN BEAR."



While the Judges by the Latchkey Decision have excluded about a hundred thousand men from the franchise, Mr. McKenna, by his opposition to the Conciliation Bill, is excluding a million women.

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before the battle is won. Meanwhile another volume of VOTES FOR WOMEN will shortly be ready to take its place beside the three already standing on our shelves.

Arrest of a Member of the W.S.P.U.

In our last issue we published copies of the correspondence between Miss Clemence Housman and the Inland Revenue Department relating to her refusal to pay her taxes until such time as women are enfranchised, and we stated that her arrest was imminent. On Friday morning the blow fell; she was arrested and conveyed to Holloway Prison, where she is still in detention. As a debtor, she is entitled to first-class treatment, including the right to retain her own clothing; on the other hand, the law sets no term to the period of her incarceration.

Why is Miss Clemence Housman in Prison?

The principle for which Miss Housman is contending is not new. It is the same old principle for which John Hampden risked his liberty in the seventeenth century, and for which other notable champions of representative government have suffered at different periods of history. But with each new section of the population who are awakened to a sense of their exclusion from citizenship, and who, in consequence, refuse any longer to pay taxes levied without their consent, the problem takes on new forms. The old arguments of opposition are refurbished up again; the "divine right of kings" becomes the "divine right of men"; Dame Nature is invoked once more to support the ancient order which is passing away. But all to no purpose. One gentle

woman such as is Clemence Housman can dispel by her brave act all their sophistries, and demonstrate over again the truth of the saying that government without the consent of the governed is impossible.

Meetings of Protest.

Suffragists have not been slow to organise vigorous protests against her imprisonment. While her arrest was still pending a meeting, presided over by her brother and addressed by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and others, was held at Miss Housman's residence; on Saturday a meeting took place outside Holloway Gaol, under the auspices of the Tax Resistance League, at which Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Mr. Laurence Housman, Mrs. Despard, and Mrs. Kineton Parkes were the principal speakers; two enthusiastic meetings were held on Sunday in Hyde Park, one of them by the Men's Political Union; on Monday the W.S.P.U. converted their inaugural meeting at the London Pavilion into a protest meeting; and arrangements are being made by the W.S.P.U. for organising a great procession from Kingsway to Holloway Prison to take place to-morrow afternoon. Particulars of this demonstration will be found elsewhere (p. 5).

At the London Pavilion.

There was not a seat to spare in all the various parts of the great London Pavilion when Mrs. Pankhurst opened the first meeting of the autumn campaign on Monday last, and there was no lack of enthusiasm in the audience. In opening the meeting Mrs. Pankhurst said she had come there, in the first place, to bid them

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.

With this number, VOTES FOR WOMEN starts upon the fifth year of its existence—a year which every Suffragist hopes will include the chronicling of victory. To the work of the year we look forward in confident assurance that our good friends who have stood by us so well in the past will continue their support, and that to their number will be added many others who, even in this eleventh hour, will join the ranks of the fighters

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farewell before starting on her tour in the United States of America, and in the second place to call upon them to protest against the treatment of Miss Clemence Housman, who had only done what she herself had done, and would continue to do until women were enfranchised. Great enthusiasm greeted the appearance of Mr. Laurence Housman, who narrated the story of his sister's arrest and imprisonment, and told them that she was happy to be taking her part in the fight for women's liberty. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence sketched out the plans of the W.S.P.U. for the autumn campaign, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst showed how important was the political work which lay before them in the coming year. The resolution protesting against the imprisonment of Miss Housman was carried with a dissenting voice, and a collection of £25 was taken, in addition to £15 specially raised in the audience for the demonstration of Saturday.

Mrs. Pankhurst Departs for America.

An important meeting was held on Monday night at Woking, when, with Dr. Eitel Smyth in the chair, Mrs. Pankhurst delivered a speech full of convincing argument to an audience which crowded the hall to overflowing. Great interest was shown by the meeting, and when at the close Lady Sybil Smith sang the "March of the Women" the audience took up the song and repeated it in chorus. On the following Wednesday morning Mrs. Pankhurst left Waterloo Station for Southampton, where she is embarking for a lecturing tour in the United States. The platform was lined with an eager crowd of women anxious to express to her their final good wishes, and as the train steamed out, the engine was seen to be bearing the famous tricolour of the W.S.P.U.

Mr. Lloyd George's Tactics.

We commend to the careful consideration of our readers our leading article in this week's issue, written by Miss Christabel Pankhurst, which deals with the attitude of the W.S.P.U. towards the tactics which Mr. Lloyd George proposes to adopt when the Conciliation Bill is introduced. We hope that they will make a point of bringing this article to the notice of Members of Parliament and others of their acquaintance who are engaged in political life.

"More than Flesh and Blood can Bear."

Mr. McKenna has been holding forth upon the heinousness of excluding from the franchise a portion of the male population on technical grounds. After stating that 2,000 men would be disfranchised in Newport Burghs and 10,000 in South Monmouthshire owing to the lachry decision, Mr. McKenna proceeded:—

They now knew that the real determining principle in deciding whether these 12,000 citizens should or should not have a vote was not founded on their capacity to exercise the franchise with care and understanding, nor upon their having a settled home, but simply on the question whether their landlord lived upon the same premises as themselves, or other technical grounds. They were a long-suffering people in hearing the ill they were accustomed to, but when it came to sitting down tamely while 12,000 men were suddenly deprived, on purely technical grounds, of their right to vote in two constituencies alone, it became more than flesh and blood could bear. They must have an amendment of the law in time to secure that these voters should have their rights restored to them before the next election. (Cheers.)

We have been at considerable pains to investigate the effect of the lachry decision in different parts of the country, and the result is to show that the condition in Monmouthshire is altogether abnormal, and that 100,000 may very likely cover the total number of men disqualified throughout the country. But this exclusion of men from the franchise is, according to Mr. McKenna, more than flesh can bear, and a Government Bill is promised to remedy it. Yet the same Mr. McKenna is an anti-Suffragist member of the Cabinet who has taken his share in blocking the Conciliation Bill, and thereby depriving of the vote a million women, not on account of their incapacity to exercise it, but solely on the ground of sex.

The Sorrows of the Anti-Suffragist.

Professor Dicey is evidently very much troubled in his mind about the probable success of the Woman Suffrage movement in the immediate future. In a letter to *The Times* of Tuesday, in deprecation of the Parliament Act, he writes:—

Take the strongest case of all. The demand for woman suffrage may be wise or it may be unwise. Suffragists believe that they have a majority of women in its favour. I greatly doubt whether this is so. I may well, however, be in error. But the rational and temperate advocates of woman suffrage, who make up a large and respectable class both of men and of women, will hardly contend that the electors of the United Kingdom are clearly in favour of giving votes to women. Conduct is the true test of belief. The most moderate of suffragists obviously and passionately desire that a Woman Suffrage Act should be passed by the present Parliament. They cannot brook delay. Why is this? The answer is patent. They in their hearts suspect that the nation, if appealed to at a General Election, would reject any Woman Suffrage Bill. The present Parliament, now can, and very possibly will, pass a Woman

Suffrage Act without consulting the electorate. It is idle to count up the number of M.P.'s nominally pledged to the principle of woman suffrage. I refuse to be imposed upon by the political fiction that all these pledged M.P.'s have made up their own minds to sanction the most novel and one of the most hazardous of social and political experiments. The question of admitting women to political power has never been put fairly and squarely before the electors.

Women are certainly not going to consent to a referendum being taken on Woman Suffrage to please Professor Dicey. Why should they? To begin with, they do not recognise the right of a male electorate to exclude women from the franchise any more than the Parliament-makers of British history recognised the right of kings to exclude the freemen (and freewomen) of the country from representative government. If, however, a referendum were part of the British Constitution we should recognise that it would be through that machinery that the vote would be won. As things are it is not so; the Cabinet is the final arbiter of legislation, and as Professor Dicey regretfully admits, the opposition of that body is nearly broken down.

Plain Truths.

Equally women have no intention of postponing the settlement of this question until after another General Election. They have waited five-and-forty years, and have no intention of waiting any longer. Nor, if they did so, would they be any nearer solution than they are at present, for the simple reason that the question would not be submitted solely to the electorate any more than it has been at previous elections. Before the last election Mr. Asquith had undertaken that if he was returned to power time would be found in the new Parliament to enable the Woman Suffrage Bill to be effectively dealt with, and *The Times*, an anti-suffrage organ, admitted that this made Woman Suffrage an issue at the election. Our grounds for maintaining, in spite of Professor Dicey, that the majority of the electorate are with us are principally these:—Firstly, our speakers find to-day everywhere support and sympathy and no opposition. Secondly, nearly every prominent Town Council has passed a resolution in support of the Conciliation Bill. Thirdly, while Parliamentary candidates friendly to Woman Suffrage remain firm on the subject at elections, those opposed frequently declare themselves neutral or even vaguely sympathetic; this "hedging" of anti-suffragists is a sign that in their opinion their real views are unpopular.

The Woman's Platform in "The Standard."

According to the announcement we were able to make last week, *The Standard* has opened its columns to a new daily feature in the shape of a "Woman's Platform." On the first day, Tuesday, this section consisted of two pages, and included important articles by Lady Selborne and Mrs. Fawcett in favour of woman suffrage, and Lady Jersey in opposition. Lady Laura Ridding wrote on the National Union of Women Workers. In an interesting prefatory note to the columns the editor said:—

It is purely and simply as a newspaper, as a responsible recording organ, that is, of the doings, events, thought, work, and its news columns. "Woman's Platform" is designed to advocate no creed, to serve no party, to promulgate no theory. It has nothing to do with party politics. Its whole aim, scope, and purpose are discovered by its title. The reader who discerns other or more particular aims in it will be misled. It represents *The Standard's* recognition, as a newspaper, of certain factors of growing import and magnitude in our national life. If the duty of a responsible newspaper and organ of public opinion is to convey to the public from day to day accurate understanding of the nation's daily life, it is clearly desirable for that newspaper to include in its daily record all available intelligence regarding, not one-half of the community alone, but the whole of it. That is the primary aim of this "Woman's Platform."

This is the line that we have been urging on the Press for some time past, and we think *The Standard* is to be congratulated on being the first to recognise the truth of it.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Lord Cromer.

On Wednesday *The Standard* published a special article from the pen of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, in which she dealt with the fundamentals which underlie the woman's movement. Among these she cited the strong sense of nationality and the consciousness of the need for social reform. Public-spirited women could not, she said, stand aside from the demand that women should be admitted into the house of the nation, and statesmen who possessed insight and imagination would not resist that demand. In the same issue of the paper appeared a contribution from Lord Cromer containing a restatement of many fallacies which have been refuted over and over again in the columns of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*. An astounding new assertion also occurs, namely, the following:—

It is not a mere coincidence that when a strike which obliges mothers to stay at home and look after their children occurs there is a large and immediate reduction in the rate of infant mortality.

No doubt Lord Cromer really believes this, but we challenge him for any facts to support his contention. All the evidence which we have seen tells in the contrary direction, and goes to show that it is not where women work but where they go hungry, and when they have no money to keep the house "nice," that the

children suffer. Infant mortality is essentially a woman's question to be guarded against by women; in South Australia since woman suffrage was granted infant mortality has been reduced by nearly 50 per cent., and we believe that women's votes will be instrumental in bringing about a radical reform in the matter in this country.

The Ostrich Policy of the Press.

We commend also to the attention of our readers the following extract taken from a leading article of the *Evening Standard* for Tuesday last:—

The human race has always been roughly divided into men and women, but until recently a man could take no account of women, or regard them merely as toys or drudges, and yet pass as a practical, level-headed thinker. He can do so no longer. Women are competing with men in very nearly every event on life's programme, and they are beating them at least as often as they are beaten. We have almost forgotten the frequent catch-phrase of a little while ago—"this is not woman's work," or "that is not fit for women to do." We may hope and dread to our hearts' content, but if we are to take a share in the life of our age we must realise that woman is no longer a possibility or a danger. She is here.

The steady progress of the incoming tide is plain to any man who purges his mind of hopes and fears, and contents himself, for a moment, with looking. It is so plain that the supercilious attitude of a large portion of the Press and Public has been hard to understand.

We believe this to be a strict statement of fact. The old ostrich policy adopted by the Press can no longer be maintained. We are confident that now that *The Standard* has had the good sense to realise that the woman's point of view is needed in its columns it will gain the effective support of women who will recognise the value of the medium which has been provided.

The Referendum in California.

Suffragists in this country watch with very great interest the progress of the movement on the other side of the Atlantic. Last year, it will be remembered, full suffrage rights were extended to women in Washington State. This year it is California which is in the fighting line. A referendum on a suffrage amendment is being taken next Tuesday, and it is expected that the result will be known some time next week. We wish our Californian sisters all success. Meanwhile, news reaches us of an interesting meeting in New York addressed by the Governors of the five suffrage States. Governor Shafroth, of Colorado, spoke of the gallant fight which the women were making in Great Britain. Governor Carey said the vote in the West had not produced any of the social difficulties which opponents had predicted, nor had it been the cause of trouble between husbands and wives. Governor Hay, of Washington, said that not one person in twenty-five thought that woman suffrage would be carried last year in Washington, yet it was actually carried by two to one. A report of the meeting is given on page 11.

The Law Society and Women's Legal Status.

One of the papers presented to the annual meeting of the Law Society at Nottingham dealt with the legal status of women. The writer, Mr. J. W. F. Jacques, of Bristol, showed, in particular, the inequality of the law in the treatment of men and women with regard to such matters as the care of children, intestacy, divorce, income-tax, and the Parliamentary franchise. The subject was treated in a very able manner, and it is unfortunate that, owing to shortness of time, the discussion of the paper was not reached by the conference. A great deal of interest has been shown in the article which we printed last week by Mr. Pethick Lawrence answering the question "Is the law unjust to women?" The article will shortly be available in leaflet form.

The Pit-Brow Women.

The unwarrantable attempt of the House of Commons to deprive women of the right to earn wages in a remarkably healthy occupation was the occasion of a great meeting of protest, held on Tuesday night in the Albert Hall, Manchester, when speeches were delivered by Mrs. Alfred Haworth, Miss Roper, Miss Gore Booth, and the Mayor of Wigan, and by many of the women themselves, and a resolution was passed, urging that the amendment carried in the House of Commons last July in Committee shall be rescinded on the report stage next month. In view of the feeling that has been roused on the subject it now seems likely that this will be done; but it is feared that the indirect method will be adopted of forming "regulations" as to the employment of labour, which may have the effect of causing the substitution of men for women. This has to be carefully guarded against. In the meanwhile, we are glad to see that the resolution last night concluded with a clause demanding the extension of the franchise to women "as the only possible means by which they can adequately defend their right to work and their industrial interests."

Items of Interest.

The Congress of Mothers, in California, has pronounced, almost unanimously, in favour of Woman Suffrage.

At a Diocesan Conference of the Episcopal Church of Chicago, women were given the right of voting on ecclesiastical matters.

By a Government decree, women will henceforth be admitted to Universities of Spain on the same terms as men, and will be allowed to exercise any calling to which the University Diploma gives a right.

For the first time in history, it is said, a woman has been appointed to a diplomatic post. She is Miss Gladys Luisi of Uruguay, a lawyer and a graduate of the University of Uruguay. She will go to Brussels as an attaché of the Uruguayan legation there.

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ALL THE FUN OF THE FAIR.

By Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

During the past six years the Woman's Movement for political emancipation has gone through many testing fires. Physical violence, intellectual, moral, and political opposition, calumny, ridicule, abuse, fury of the incited mob, persecution of the Government, torture in prison; one by one the tests have been applied, and the movement has survived them all. Not only has the movement survived, but it has grown amazingly month by month in numbers, in strength, in financial resources, in enthusiasm, and in an ever-increasing supply of veteran warriors equipped by experience for all the emergencies of the strenuous warfare.

And now the movement is undergoing the hardest test of all—the test of peace and postponement, the test of a long truce from militant action in return for a definite pledge of facilities next year for the Conciliation Bill. It was easy to march with proud, untiring step to the battle music that was ringing in our hearts; but the shrilling of the pipes and the beating of the drums of militancy have ceased. It is harder to swing along with the merry heart and the gay, unflagging rhythmic stride which kept time with the war tune. But even this ordeal is recognised as a challenge to our faith and our will, which can only be answered by the old laughter of defiance. The test has but consolidated and strengthened the movement; has but proved the mettle of the spirit which animates those who are numbered in the ranks.

The greatest field day we ever had was the wonderful procession of June 17, after seven months of truce, when from all ranks of life came new recruits to the Woman's Army, and our demand was reinforced with all the moral strength that comes from an awakened public sympathy and understanding.

In December we are organising another great reunion, another enterprise which claims our whole-hearted enthusiasm, our utmost endeavour. The Fair and Fête in the Portman Rooms from December 4 to 9 is enlisting the support of helpers and workers who have never before rendered service to the cause, and it promises to draw into the circle of our great and growing fellowship fresh groups of people who will be inspired to play their own part in the future towards the realisation of our common ideal.

Women and men of every profession and calling are coming forward with their special and unique gifts to put them at the disposal of those who are organising the Christmas Fair and Fête. Artists, actors, actresses, musicians, vocalists, writers are carrying out their own schemes in union with the central plan. Voluntary committees have undertaken charge of the theatre and the entertainments, of the sports arrangements, of the large refreshments department, of the costume making; and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst has made herself responsible for a very beautiful and original scheme of architectural decoration. Others are devoting themselves to schemes for advertising and for bringing the Fête to the notice of the purchasing public.

A great opportunity will be ours once more of impressing the outsider with the organising powers of women and with the many-sidedness of this movement, which offers scope to the various and different gifts with which its members are endowed. Propaganda work will be carried on, new members will be enlisted, fresh centres of missionary zeal and effort will be started, and all the magnets which draw adherents to our cause will be brought to bear upon the many visitors who will come out of curiosity or out of the wish to please their friends. For the members of the Union the week will be one of happy festivity, full of the pleasure of social intercourse with one another and the joy of realising the great fellowship which has taken all sense of loneliness out of the most isolated of lives. But in order to reach our record of high achievement, the eight weeks before us must be full of strenuous work and concentrated purpose. This Fair and Fête is the present and immediate concern of every member of the Union. There is not one in all the ranks but can do something to contribute to the result. A more universal opportunity of service is afforded than that which any merely political propaganda can give. Not all can speak, not all can write, not all can sell papers in the street, not all can do the numerous things that bring one before the public, things difficult but necessary to the success of a political campaign. Not all can volunteer for deputations, or for questioning Cabinet Ministers at public meetings, or for the privations and pains of imprisonment. But all can work with their hands.

Art work, handicraft, embroidery and needlework, are but a few examples of the output of women's clever fingers. On page 10 will be found a list of the various stalls. Let each member of the Union and every reader of the paper choose which stall she will assist with her gifts and her work, and communicate with the Stall Secretary or with the General Fête Secretary, Miss Olive Smith, at 4, Clements Inn. There is no time to be lost. Everybody can do something, and all must use to the utmost the opportunity thus afforded of contributing their quota to the common war chest.

There will be plenty of buyers. Let the friends of the Union see to it that there are plenty of goods for sale. Let them remember that the Fête is timed just three weeks before Christmas on purpose that thousands of people may be gladdened with charming gifts made beautiful by harmonious blending of the colours of the Union—purple, white, and green.

"A merry heart goes all the way." The strenuous political campaign which awaits us in the coming year will be carried out all the more vigorously and effectively because everyone has heartily entered into all the work, the fun, and the frolic of the Christmas Fair and Fête.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Important Meetings.

During the present month a large number of most important meetings have been arranged in different centres all over the country. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak at Pontypool, on Thursday, October 19; at Newport, on Friday, October 20; at the Synod Hall, Edinburgh, on Tuesday, October 24; at the Foresters' Hall, Dundee, on Thursday, October 26; at the Athenaeum, Glasgow, on October 27. Miss Christabel Pankhurst will address meetings at Victoria Hotel, Nottingham, on Tuesday, October 10; at Winchmore Hill, on Monday, October 16, at 8 p.m.; in the Round Room of the Mansion House, Dublin, on Tuesday, October 17; at the Town Hall, Galway, on Wednesday, October 18; at the Irish Parliamentary branch of the United Irish League, 10, Adelphi Terrace, Strand, W.C., on Friday, October 20, at 8 p.m.; and at Newcastle, on Friday, October 27. Miss Vida Goldstein will speak at the Oak Hall, Princes Street, Edinburgh, on Thursday, October 12, at 3.15 p.m., and in the Assembly Rooms, Haddington, on the same evening at 8 p.m.; at Charing Cross Hall, Glasgow, on Friday, October 13, at 3.15 p.m.; at the Oddfellows' Hall, Kilmarnock, on the same evening at 8 p.m.; at the Victoria Galleries, Leicester, on Monday, October 16; and at Leeds on Tuesday, October 31.

Lord Lytton's Meetings.

Lord Lytton has also an extensive programme of meetings arranged for the autumn. Those for this month include a meeting at Handley (Potteries) on October 5; at Scarborough on October 6; at Leicester on October 16; at Ipswich on October 18; at Godalming on October 19; at Berkhamsted on October 24; at Baldoak on October 25; at Leighton Buzzard on October 26; and at Leeds on October 31.

The Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C.

Our readers will be interested to know that "Woman Suffrage in Australia," a series of articles by Miss Vida Goldstein, which have recently appeared in *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, will shortly be published in pamphlet form. "Is the English Law Unjust to Women?" an article by Mr. F. W. Pethick Lawrence, which appeared in last week's issue of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, is also in preparation as a leaflet.

At the London Pavilion.

Our readers are reminded that the usual Monday afternoon meetings will be held for the future at the London Pavilion, Piccadilly Circus, at 3 for 3.15 p.m. The London Pavilion is a splendidly central meeting place, and it is therefore hoped that members will make the meetings widely known among their friends and acquaintances, especially those who have never been to a suffrage meeting before. The speakers next Monday afternoon, October 9, will be Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, L.L.B., and Lady Constance Lytton. The usual weekly evening meeting will be held at the Steinway Hall, on Thursday, October 12, at 8 p.m., and will be addressed by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Marshall. Kindly note that these meetings are held weekly, and admission is free. Weekly meetings are also held in all other centres where the Union is represented. See pages 12 to 14.

Albert Hall Meeting, November 16.

Once again we wish to remind members that they should without delay secure tickets for the Albert Hall meeting on Thursday, November 16, and not only for themselves but also for their friends, since, owing to the conditions under which the Albert Hall is let, no advertising can be done, and the public can only obtain tickets through members. Mr. Ellis Griffith, M.P., Leader of the Welsh Party, will be one of the speakers. It has now been decided to open the Lower Orchestra, and tickets for these seats may be had at 2s. each. Other prices are Stalls, 2s. 6d.; Arena, Blocks A and F, 2s. (these have now been sold out); Blocks B, C, D, and E, 1s. Balcony, first two rows, 1s., other rows, 6d.; Upper Orchestra, 6d.; Boxes, £1 10s. 0d., £1 1s. 0d., and 12s. 6d. Tickets may be had of Miss Cooke, Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

For an important announcement of a Procession to-morrow, see page 6.

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FASHIONS OF THE FAIR.

By E. Sylvia Pankhurst.

As readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN know, the W.S.P.U. Christmas Fair and Fête is to represent an old English village, and the stall-holders and their helpers are to dress in costume in keeping with the idea.



Elizabeth Fry, and Hannah More, all belong to this period. Jane Austen's first novel was published in 1811.

Not only were great ideals for social and economic freedom born, but this was the era also of dress reform. Powder and tight-lacing were discarded, and the need for suitable children's dress was now first realised.



Illustration 2 shows also the straw or felt hat which was frequently worn over the mob cap.

Reynolds, Romney, Angelica Kaufmann, and others, were mainly responsible for it. English ladies of the period discarded their wigs, hair powder, tight-lacing, hoops, and other deformities, and sought instead simple and graceful lines.

Later, the fashion degenerated, and became as exaggerated in the one direction as it had previously been in the other. At last, on the Continent in many cases a single garment only was worn, and that of the scantiest proportions.

Though the sellers at the stalls for books,



Blouses and millinery may think it most suitable to dress as ladies of the period, it must, however, be remembered that the Bazaar is to be a village fête and fair, and that peasant costumes are really most suitable for the occasion.

Illustration 2 shows also the straw or felt hat which was frequently worn over the mob cap. In choosing the materials for their dresses, stall-holders should always include some purple, white and green.

chints, with a skirt of plain material below. The neckerchief might be either of white or light coloured material.

Illustration 3 shows a similar costume which would be exceedingly suitable for the pretty effect would be secured if all the servers in the room wore similar costumes, each one being of a different colour.



helpers in the Refreshment Room. It should be made of light thin material. The underskirt might be of the same colour as the stripes of the bodice and overskirt, a contrasting colour being introduced in the fichu and ribbon bow on the white mob cap.



Illustration 5 shows a similar coat for the front.

For some time past, even while going up and down the country posing as the champions of the people's rights, the Government has been threatening to do this. Two years ago Miss Clemence Housman took a house, for which she was taxed inhabited house duty to the amount of 4s. 6d.

Illustration 5 would be suitable for those in charge of the Farm Produce. Very brilliant colouring might be introduced into this costume. The hat might be dark green felt. The handkerchief over the head might be red and white check.

For the convenience of stall-holders and helpers, a Sewing Committee is being



formed for the making of costumes. Miss Evelyn Loxwood-King has very kindly agreed to take charge of this, and the Misses Brackenhury have generously lent their studio entrance in New Road, Campden Hill; Notting Hill Gate Tube, or Metropolitan Railway Station for the committee to meet in.

The stall-holders who desire their costumes to be made for them by the committee should at once send in their measurements, or, if possible, call to be fitted. They will be charged with the cost of the material. The stall-holders who decide to make their own costumes will be supplied with paper patterns on application. Those who desire to have their costumes made are earnestly advised to apply early.

CAUTIONARY TALES IN VERSE.

How Willful Annabel, refusing to listen to her Superiors, involved her country in a Catastrophe of Considerable Dimensions. When Annabel, a Suffragist, Was put upon the Voting List (By whose mistake I need not quote) She signified her wish to vote. Because she had (and has them still) Opinions on the Children Bill Her Trust Friends implored of her To leave the Voting Register. They told her what was Woman's Sphere, And what the country has to Fear, And how it all depends on Might, And since a woman cannot fight, Affairs of children under Ten Should only be controlled by Men. But Annabel, abandoned soul, Was bent on going to the Poll. And when these Dreadful Things occurred Which justified their Every Word, She had not left her home a minute Before 'twas Lost with all things in it, While left to their deserted Sire, Her children Fell into the Fire, And as she touched the Ballot Box gales, The British Realm Stumbled to Shocks, We lost our old prestige abroad, We almost lost the House of Lords, While Dusky Races far away With one accord Renounced our Sway. 'Since Woman now have learnt to vote 'We've governed by a petticoat. 'Such Dreadful Things were never seen 'When good Victoria was Queen. 'We will not do as we are bid, 'Let's all Revolt,' and so they did. And thus the British realm was wrecked, And England Lost her Self-Respect, And British Men were forced to be In Bondage under Germany, While Annabel (Whom none can praise) Was Quite Unused for Several Days.

The Moral is, that Men should Vote And Women wear a Petticoat.

MISS HOUSMAN'S IMPRISONMENT.

It has always been understood that one of the fundamental principles of the British Constitution is that taxation and representation should go together. So we are taught in our history books, and so, in fine phrases and eloquent speeches, the Government have been telling us for the last six years. And yet we find that, in spite of their democratic declarations and their repeated statements that the "will of the people must and shall prevail," not only have they, ever since they have been in office, consistently taxed the women of the country without their consent and met the movement for women's enfranchisement with coercion and repression, but they have now thrown a woman into prison for refusing to pay taxes for which she is not allowed representation.

For some time past, even while going up and down the country posing as the champions of the people's rights, the Government has been threatening to do this. Two years ago Miss Clemence Housman took a house, for which she was taxed inhabited house duty to the amount of 4s. 6d.

In July of this year Miss Housman received a letter from the Board of Inland Revenue, stating that legal proceedings had been taken for the recovery of the inhabited house duty, amounting to 4s. 6d., and that unless the tax, plus the costs and out-of-pocket expenses, amounting to £4 13s. 6d., were paid steps would be taken for her arrest and imprisonment, but that, as they were unwilling to resort to extreme measures, if Miss Housman would pay the tax and the bare out-of-pocket expenses, amounting to £2 10s., they would waive the matter of costs.

These terms, since she refused to condescend to taxation without representation at all, Miss Housman refused. The Department then sent another letter, a copy of which appeared in last week's VOTES FOR WOMEN, stating that unless the sum of £2 10s. were paid within four days the writ would be lodged with the sheriff at once. To this Miss Housman replied that though she could not conscientiously pay the tax she was ready to conform to the law in other respects, and that on Monday, August 14, she would be at her house at Kensington between twelve and one o'clock. The Department replied that this date would not be convenient, and no time, until Miss Housman received personal intimation that on Thursday, September 28, she would be arrested. The officials, however, did not put in an appearance until the next day, when at ten o'clock in the morning Miss Housman was arrested and taken to Holloway.

On Thursday last, the day on which the Government threatened the arrest, a protest meeting was held outside Miss Housman's residence at Kensington. The speakers included Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Nina Boyle, Mrs. Kinston Parkes, and Mrs. Egan, of the Women's Tax Resistance League. Mr. Laurence Housman, who presided, explained the circumstances.

On Saturday night, in spite of the cold weather, a large crowd assembled at a meeting which was held outside Holloway Prison. Mrs. Golden Sanderson, a daughter of Richard Cobden, presided. In their treatment of the Woman Suffragists, she said, the Government had broken every tradition of Liberalism, and in taxing women, while denying them representation, they broke one of the fundamental principles of the British Constitution. Suffragists were fighting for their political liberty, not only as taxpayers, but because they wanted to do away

PROCESSION TO-MORROW.

In order to demonstrate that Miss Clemence Housman is protesting not on her own behalf but on behalf of the womanhood of the country, there will be to-morrow (Saturday) a procession to Holloway Prison, in which suffragists of various societies will take part. The head of the procession will form up, four abreast, at two o'clock in Kingsway (Great Queen Street), and will start at three o'clock sharp, with bands and banners, and proceed via Kingsway, High Holborn, New Oxford Street, Bloomsbury Street, Great Russell Street, Tottenham Court Road, Hampstead Road, High Street, Camden Road, Dalmeida Avenue, Carleton Road, Crayford Road, to Holloway, where a meeting will be held outside the prison gates. The speakers on this occasion will be Miss Christabel Pankhurst, L.L.B., Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Kinston Parkes, Mr. Victor Daval, Miss Adeline Bourne, and others. Miss Hambling, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C., has kindly consented, at the request of the Women's Tax Resistance League, to become the organiser of this procession, and we appeal to all readers of the paper to co-operate with her and support her by their presence in the ranks. Each suffrage society will bring its own banners and arrange its own banner bearers, and each society will be allotted its own position in the procession. A strongly worded resolution will be carried protesting against the imprisonment of Miss Housman, and expressing the indignation of all those who love justice at the arbitrary and unconstitutional proceedings of the

AT THE LONDON PAVILION.

Tremendously keen and enthusiastic was the first Monday afternoon at Home of the winter season, held in the London Pavilion on Monday last. From floor to ceiling the whole of the immense building was crowded, and the appearance of the speakers was the signal for loud and prolonged cheers.

Mrs. Pankhurst, who received a great ovation, took the chair for the last time before her departure for America. The meeting, she said, was not only one of rejoicing at being together again, but it was also one of protest against the imprisonment of Miss Clemence Housman, and to call attention to the fact that the Government, which taxes women to pay the salaries of members of Parliament, has commenced a fresh militant campaign against the Suffragists by imprisoning a woman who refuses to contribute to those salaries until she is allowed a voice in saying who the men shall be to receive them. Why, she asked, had the Government imprisoned Miss Housman and left her (Mrs. Pankhurst) free, when she had refused to pay taxes of any description for the last three years? She threw out this challenge



MISS CLEMENCE HOUSMAN AND HER BROTHER, MR. LAURENCE HOUSMAN.

(By courtesy of "The Standard.")

Next day (Sunday) two large and enthusiastic protest meetings were held in Hyde Park—one under the auspices of the Women's Tax Resistance League and the other of the Men's Political Union. The attitude of the audience on both occasions was keenly sympathetic, and similar resolutions to those already recorded were passed.

TO-MORROW.

Government. Members of the M.P.U., and any other men who wish to show their sympathy and respect to Miss Housman, will have the opportunity of doing so by walking in the M.P.U. Contingent. There will be a colour bearer, two banners, and several tricolours, and it is earnestly hoped that this contingent will be as large as possible. It will be headed by the Committee, and will include many men, who, having themselves done militant work, are marching to show their admiration of Miss Housman. All members who can give any time to making Saturday's Procession, and Protest Meeting widely known, are requested to communicate at once with Miss D. A. Bowker, 4, Clements Inn, who is in charge of the advertisement campaign. The route of the procession, and the environs of Holloway Prison must be thoroughly billed. Those who can only give an hour or two in the evening are urgently requested to place that time at the disposal of Miss Bowker. A band of bill distributors will visit the markets and busy thoroughfares of Holloway on Saturday morning. Will any who can join this band send in their names at once, so that full instructions may be sent to them? The procession and meeting will be a splendid means of reaching the public mind, so no efforts must be spared to advertise it. Only a short time remains, and there is much to be done. Paper sellers also are wanted; they can obtain papers from the paper cart in Kingsway, at 2 p.m. Volunteers are asked to send in their names at once.

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AT THE LONDON PAVILION.

been at first. Though Miss Housman was imprisoned for an "indefinite period," which, if they wished, the Government would turn into a life sentence, public opinion would not allow anything of the kind, and when she was released so long as women were unenfranchised she would continue her policy of tax-resistance. One heard a great deal in these days about the right to strike and break contract without incurring any penalty. Some members of Parliament, especially Adult Suffragists, professed great sympathy with men strikers. He maintained that women had a far greater right to strike, because in doing so they broke no contract. The Government refused to make a contract with them. The women said to the Government: "You take our money and you give us no guarantee of how that money is to be spent." Miss Housman was in prison because she refused to pay until she received those guarantees. Recent legislation had been passed to pay members of Parliament. A woman was now in prison for refusing to pay those members until she and other women tax-payers were allowed the right to vote. That, he thought, was a position worthy of the consideration of Mr. Lloyd George and other "democrats" for whom the Conciliation Bill was not good enough. If that measure should be destroyed by wrecking amendments next year, it could then be said of the House of Commons: "This your House should be a house of fair fame, but to have made it a den of thieves."

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence having announced that £15 would be needed to provide the bands for Saturday, three members of the audience came forward at once and offered £5 each. Subsequently a collection was taken which amounted to £25.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst, in dealing with the political situation, said that the battle for the Conciliation Bill must be fought this autumn. Nothing must be left for next year, for 1912 would bring its own work and its own difficulties. She was full of hope, full of confidence, but at the same time there were difficulties to be faced. Women were just entering into the promised land. For fifty years they had been watching and waiting for the time in which we are now living. They had been watching and waiting for the day when Woman Suffrage would be a question of practical politics. That day had now arrived, and Suffragists would be miserable muddlers indeed if they did not display the same courage and enthusiasm that they displayed when victory seemed so far away.

"What we have to do," Miss Pankhurst concluded, "is not to waste time in wondering whether we can trust this or that person, or whether this or that pledge is going to be kept, but to do what we have always done: trust in ourselves!" The resolution protesting against the imprisonment of Miss Housman and calling for her immediate release was passed unanimously.

CAPTAIN GONNE THREATENED WITH LEGAL PROCEEDINGS.

We are informed that Captain Gonne has been in correspondence with the Inland Revenue Commissioners with regard to the payment of income tax: that he has refused to pay in view of the fact that the income of himself and his wife are not separated for the purpose of income tax, and that as she is not recognised as a citizen of the country by being allowed a parliamentary vote she ought not to be taxed. The Inland Revenue Department has threatened him with legal proceedings, but up to the time of going to press no steps have been taken.

FAREWELL TO MRS. PANKHURST.

Walking over Waterloo Bridge on the morning of Wednesday, October 4, the greyness of the sky, fitfully illumined now and again with tiny gleams of sunshine, seemed to symbolise the feelings of a gathering of men and women who had come to Waterloo to bid farewell to the leader of the W.S.P.U. on her departure to America. Joy and regret were very near akin, and were reflected again and again on the face of first one and then another of the waiting group. They were glad their leader was going to meet their sisters across the sea, but they could not forget that it meant a long absence from England. They thought of the weeks that must elapse before they saw her again, and as they thought many of them resolved that they were going to work as never before, so that on her return she might find the movement so dear to her heart, the movement for which she has given so much, in a position it had never held before. The general public, seeing the colours, soon realised that these people were Suffragettes, and many curious groups of twos and threes drew near to know the meaning of it all. As the 9.45 steamed out of the station it carried floating on the front of its engine a tri-colour in purple, white, and green. Mrs. Pankhurst, who was accompanied by Miss Pethick (sister of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence), was loudly cheered as she took her place in the carriage, and as the train started these after cheer rang out, though many a voice sounded husky with other emotion than joy. Mrs. Pankhurst met at Southampton Docks by a contingent of local members, and greeted with a bouquet in the colours. A tricolour flag was waved as the "Oceanic" sailed.

KEIGHLEY BY-ELECTION.

By the death of Sir John Briggs, a vacancy is created in the Keighley, Division of Yorkshire. The candidates have been approached by Miss Mary Phillips, the W.S.P.U. organiser, and further details will be given next week.

The following specially written articles are in this week's issue (32 pages, 2d.) of

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SIR W. M. RAMSAY, D.C.L. (Aberdeen), on The Change in the Spirit of the Twentieth Century Man.

SIR W. R. NICOLL, LL.D., on Journalism of To-day.

SIR A. T. QUILLER COUCH ("Q") on the Unfree Men of the Country Side and How to Improve Their Condition.

DR. W. H. FITCHETT, LL.D. (Australia), on The Three Certainties of the World Fifty Years Hence.

MR. HAROLD BEGBIE on Why Men do not Co-operate in the Science of Social Life.

MR. W. PETT RIDGE on "Who lived in a Shoe," a parable with an earthly meaning.

MR. JAMES DOUGLAS on The New Note in Literature.

PROF. L. T. HOBHOUSE on The Democratic Corner Stone.

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"NEW WOMEN."

A straw shows the way of the wind, and the tendency in books and plays to introduce the characters of "new women" are signs of the triumphant intrusion of the woman's question. Not that these books represent the modern woman in any true light. We have already noticed several so-called Suffrage plays in which the Suffrage Movement is used merely as a background to heroines who are (fortunately) very unlike the Suffragists we know. When we read books like "The Dangerous Age," by Karin Michaels, and "Mrs. Maxon Protests," by Anthony Hope, we long to caution their readers that the women of these books are not in any true sense types of modern women. Still, foolish as is the one heroine and morbid the other, both of them are reaching out, unconsciously perhaps, for a wider life and a greater horizon, and though, groping blindly, they stumble and fall, and even their misfortunes fail to win our sympathy, they have in them a glimmering of the truth, a faint perception that women have the right to order their own lives. Although the authors have chosen to represent them as going backward instead of forward, so that their last state is worse than their first, yet to the discerning eye these books may be taken as a symbol of the unrest among women which will be turned into nobler channels as the ways open to them.

The women in these books are spiritless—they drift before the wind of their vagrant emotions. In Mr. Anthony Hope's book—clever and well written as it is—the heroine hardly wins our sympathy. She makes a bid for freedom in leaving; after a few years of marriage, a somewhat tyrannical husband who was not inclined to allow her any individuality. The right or wrong of this step is a matter for her own conscience. Given the position by the novelist we wait eagerly to see the use made of her freedom. Will she, like Ibsen's Nora, go away and learn to be worthy? Will she, with the sympathy she has, bid for freedom in helping other women? Will she realize the best that is in her and win happiness slowly and by her deserts? Alas, Mr. Hope's Winnie seems a shadowy creation: we are given only a study of her emotions, and they are lively and evanescent. An attempt to brave the Giant (the World or Mrs. Grundy) ends in failure, for neither Winnie nor her partner in the experiment were of heroic stuff. We leave her, however, happily married again—not much more developed for all her experiences than when she took her first faltering step of defiance. Any book by Mr. Hope is interesting, but we grow rather weary of continual love-making, and the women in this book seem to have little other interest. The author is conscious that he has asked a question and given us no answer, but he realises that an answer is needed, and the finest words are his concluding ones: "Winnie Maxon had broken a law and asked a question. When thousands do the like, the Giant, after giving the first comes a box on the ear, may at last put his hand to his own and ponderously consider."

In M. Marcel Prevost's opinion the author of "The Dangerous Age" is the first woman who had dared to write without pretending to see through a man's eyes, and he accepts these most remarkable observations of a neurotic as the revelation of a woman's soul. As a contribution to literature the book is a notable one. It has caused a sensation among writers, it has been translated into several languages, and the English edition appears with an introduction by M. Marcel Prevost himself. But one cannot help asking what would have happened if, instead of obtaining a divorce from her kind but ordinary husband, and retiring to an island where she, so to speak, puts her emotions into a test tube, this woman with the fine gifts had taken a rest cure, and then, looking at life with saner eyes, had allowed herself to become absorbed in some definite work in which other people's interests and happiness as well as her own had been concerned. Literature might have been the poorer, but the honour of womanhood would have gained. For this heroine is a selfish woman from the sole of her foot to the crown of her head, and because through neurotic eyes, all her woman friends appear to her to be in the same case as herself, readers—especially men readers—are deceived, and exclaim: "Here at last, we have the real woman with the veil torn off." No! only a very clever, very selfish woman with an unusual power of introspection, who has willfully allowed herself to drift into a thoroughly morbid state of mind. Who is "Karin Michaels?" Women writers have hidden their personality under a man's name. Have we here a man masquerading under a woman's name? S.V.

THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT IN BERMONDSEY.

Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck's vivid article in the *English-woman* for October, on the Women's Strike in South London, should make anti-suffragists realise how deep and growing is the realisation, among those who know, that there can be no permanent reform of industrial conditions without the political enfranchisement of women. The story of Bermondsey as told by Mrs. Bentinck grips—picture after picture passes before you—pictures of starving women and girls, of babies weakly crying for food that their mothers are too ill-nourished to give them, of miserable "homes" without the decencies of life. . . . As the writer says:— "Would not our anti-suffrage friends have understood how impossible it is to obtain equal pay for equal work so long as one sex is politically powerless, and would they not have realised how imperative it is that we should insist on this 'equal pay for equal work' if they had seen the little girls' hands lacerated and fingers worn in various factories, and heard the boys corroborate the girls' assertion that they did exactly the same work, but were paid with a ten or twelve shillings difference, merely on account of their sex, with the result that more and more boys are dispensed with, and replaced by the girls, who are obliged, by reason of their sex, to act as blacklegs to their own brothers? . . . The Bermondsey strikes are nothing to what we may expect, for it is the girls who are waking up. The older women may have to muddle through as best they can. 'We shan't see the better time,' said one of these sad-faced women, despondently. Then, suddenly, her flabby form stiffened, and she added defiantly, as she swept the crowd with flashing eyes, 'But by Gaud, our children shall!'"

* "The Dangerous Age." By Karin Michaels. London: John Lane, 2s. 6d. net.
† "Mrs. Maxon Protests." By Anthony Hope. Methuen, 6s.
‡ "The Englishwoman" (October). London: Signet & Jackson, 1s. net.



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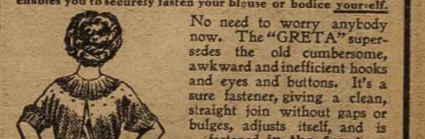
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SOME W.S.P.U. SHOPS.

No one can gauge the value or the extent of the propagandist work carried on from the many centres throughout the country where the magic words "Votes for Women" are seen over an attractively dressed shop window! In the window itself are displayed VOTES FOR WOMEN (accompanied by the weekly "Poster" printed in purple, white, and green), books and pamphlets, brooches, scarves, and all kinds of other pretty things in the colours, photographs of the leaders of the Women's Social and Political Union, and many other attractive and saleable articles. Such a shop is that at 39, Huntriss Row, Scarborough, a photograph of which appears below.

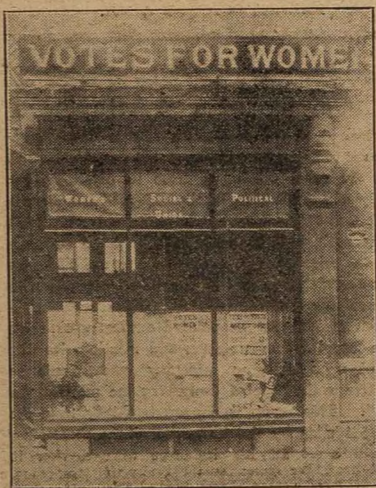


SCARBOROUGH. 39, Huntriss Row.

The shop was opened on February 18, 1911, by Lady Stout, and very hard the members worked at decorating it in time for the opening. Needless to say it attracts a great deal of attention from visitors. The Hon. Secretary is Miss Suffield, and the Hon. Treasurer is Dr. Mackenzie, who, it will be remembered, was the winner of one of the bicycles offered in the VOTES FOR WOMEN competition last year for those selling the largest number of copies of the paper. Miss Mackenzie sold 1,797 copies herself in the three months.

Another seaside shop is at Clacton, and we only regret that lack of space prevents our giving reproductions of all the fascinating photographs which have been sent us. However, we give on page 11 one of the interior. The shop was opened at the end of April, and all through the summer it has attracted the attention of the visitors to the town, while splendid sales of the paper have been carried on week by week.

Our third photograph is of the shop at Bath. This was opened on September 14, 1910, when the work in that city was formally inaugurated. The energetic



BATH. 12, Walcott Street.

Hon. Secretary is Mrs. Mansel, who is well known as a speaker far beyond the limits of Somersetshire, and who is one of the Noble Army of Prisoners.

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OCTOBER SALE of FURS NOW PROCEEDING.



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WILLIAM OWEN, LD., WESTBOURNE GROVE, LONDON, W.

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

The "Lotus" Tea Rooms, 25, HIGH STREET, GLASTONBURY. Food Reform Restaurant. "EVERYTHING PURE AND DAINTY."

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The Women's Social and Political Union. OFFICE 4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND, W.C.

Mrs. PANKHURST, Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE, Mrs. TUKE, Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

VOTES FOR WOMEN. FRIDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1911.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER'S TACTICS.

The task which between now and Christmas we have to perform is to make the passage of the Conciliation Bill secure.

Knowing as we do that the Chancellor of the Exchequer's attempt to widen the Bill is purely and solely a device for wrecking it, and that he would resist desperately any claim on our part that it should be made a Government measure and carried in 1912.

The particular amendment which Mr. Lloyd George intends to promote is one to give a vote to the wife of every elector, in virtue of her husband's qualification.

of women, so that the Conciliation Bill, instead of enfranchising one million women, as in its present form it does, would enfranchise seven million women.

We know, however, that none would so bitterly and strenuously oppose this course as would Mr. Lloyd George himself, because his object is not, as he professes, to secure to women a wide measure of enfranchisement, but to prevent women from having the vote at all.

(1) That the Conciliation Bill amended in the manner he advocates would become a measure which could not be carried through its third reading except by the Government.

But there is another aspect of "conscience money" which I should like to put before my readers, which is, indeed, set forth in the particular case with which I have been dealing.

It is one of the duties of responsible citizenship to hold bad laws up to ridicule, and to make their continuance a difficulty to the Government.

But how do women stand to the Constitution? In the matter of tax-paying no action that they take can be called "constitutional."

Christabel Pankhurst.

CONSCIENCE MONEY.

By Laurence Housman.

"Behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth." The little fire was, in this case, a woman household's refusal to pay any tax, however small, for unrepresentative government.

The definite refusal was made nearly a year ago; for Inhabited House Duty. But the household had no goods of her own on which the authorities could distrain.

When the process had been under way for about six months the Board of Inland Revenue seemed to realise that it was fighting a losing battle, and after having presented a bill for £4 18s. 6d., offered to close the whole matter on payment of the tax, plus £2 10s., its actual "out of pocket" expenses.

The term "conscience money" is usually applied to voluntary, though rather surreptitious, payments of certain sums which men with a share in the government of the country, have unfairly kept back from the public service; and I believe that a Chancellor of the Exchequer has left it on record that never within his knowledge has "conscience money" been paid by a woman.

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fulness, but he cannot do so "as a free citizen." For that he must be made a free citizen first, and when he is a free citizen he is no longer a slave.

Unable to act constitutionally, women may yet act with constitutional intent—with the determination, that is to say, to bring into difficulty and disrepute any Government which denies them their constitutional claim.

TREASURER'S NOTE.

Members of the Women's Social and Political Union never for one moment forget that the secret of every successful campaign is sound finance.

Every organiser aims at making her own department of the work self-supporting, while all the members are constantly devising new ways and means of providing the necessary funds for breaking up new ground and carrying out new enterprises.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £250,000 FUND. September 25 to September 30.

Table with columns for names and amounts. Includes entries like Miss E. C. Cuervo £0 3 7, Mrs. C. M. Board 1 13 0, Mrs. S. Bancroft Clark 1 0 0, etc.

SHALL THE WISE SUFFER FOR THE FOOLS?

By Cicely Wroughton.

This is the question with which advocates of Woman Suffrage are so frequently confronted. In other words, is the vote to be a reward for the mentally fit, confining it only to those persons whose opinion can in some super-extraordinary way be proved sound?

As an advocate of female representation engaged in propaganda work, I am met with these arguments day after day, not by one class of woman, but by every class of woman. I happened to be present at a meeting where a woman (who, by the way, called herself an anti-Suffragist) was speaking for over half-an-hour in connection with the Primrose League.

Besides, the mentally unfit, such as the drunken slum woman, finds her champion sister in Belgravia and Mayfair. If her brain is not addled by gin, it is addled by a life devoted to senseless frivolity.

Now suppose the House of Commons was to act on this principle? We know that a large number of the electorates who returned the present Government to power had only a very hazy knowledge of the principles on which they returned their candidates.

Well, if the House of Commons is to be responsible to the serious-minded men, why not equally to the serious-minded women?

Then, once we are agreed that the fit must not suffer for the unfit, how are the unfit to be dealt with? In the first place, the unfit will exist—unless a miracle happens—until the end of the world; in what degree depends largely on ourselves.

MRS. PANKHURST'S AMERICAN TOUR.

Mrs. Pankhurst left England for America on Wednesday, October 4, and will be met by delegates from various women's associations from New York City and vicinity when she arrives in New York.

CHRISTMAS FAIR AND FÊTE.

December 4 to 9.

Eight weeks to complete the preparation of the last eight months! Eight weeks for all members of the Union to contribute all their efforts on making the Christmas Fair and Fête a grand and complete success. From December 4-9 the great Portman Rooms will be transformed into an old-world market interior. A beautiful architectural design by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst will be carried out.

complete as possible, is to be sent to Miss Worfold for the Canterbury and South Kent stall. First prize, 5s.; second prize, 2s. 6d., to be spent at the stall itself during the Fête and Fair.

Miss Leonora Tyson, 5, Shrubbery Road, Streatham, invites friends to help to fill the Christmas stockings which are being made at the work parties. All kinds of small gifts, such as children love to find in their stockings on Christmas morning, will be welcome.

Miss Cobb, 8, North Street, Quadrant, Brighton, will be glad if members will let her know soon how much time they will be able to give as sellers; she hopes to arrange two or three helpers who will give an hour or two as well as the regular stall holders who will be in London for the whole week.

lates, bon-bons, home made toffees, cigarettes and other small things, suitable for drawing the rings over. The articles sent in must be able to fit into a ring 4 inches in diameter. Volunteers are required for this show.

Miss Annie Kenney, 37, Queens Road, Clifton, Bristol, writes: "I am most anxious that the West of England Stall should look the very best, have the largest stock, take the most money, and be a huge success financially."

No article should be sold from any stall except as clear profit to the funds of the Union, and no agreement with manufacturers or others as to percentages can under any circumstances be allowed.

THE REV. R. J. CAMPBELL.

In the course of an interview recently the Rev. R. J. Campbell, M.A., said, "I am still in the deepest sympathy with the workers in their efforts to secure economic justice, and with women in their crusade for the emancipation of their sex."

OUR POST BOX.

THE N.U.T. AND VOTES.

Dear Editors,—In several letters in your late issues the N.U.T. has been mentioned with regard to the resolution of sympathy with the unfranchised women teachers which is being sent round for discussion at the quarterly meeting of the N.U.T. in reference to this, I should like to warn teachers of a point which very probably will be overlooked.

THE LIVELY OF HER HUSBAND.

Dear Editors,—Propagandists are not prone to be hypocritical of facts or figures which seem to support their position. In Votes for Women (of September 22), there occurs a statement which, I fear, will afford a ready handle to the Philistines. The writer says, in speaking of the position of a married woman: "The very clothing that she wears is not her own, but the lively of her husband."

WHO PAID?

Dear Editors,—Some weeks ago a pamphlet, signed by Mr. A. Grono, was sent by post to individual members of the N.U.T. It commenced with the heading of the Executive of the N.U.T. for passing a resolution sympathizing with those women who were denied the suffrage on the ground that they were not sending this resolution to the local associations for their consideration, with a view to its discussion at the next Conference.

THE EMPLOYMENT OF BARMAIDS.

Men and women employed behind the bar are uniting together to obtain better conditions for their labour. Speaking at a great meeting of the newly-constituted N.U.W. Union of Bar Assistants on September 17, Miss Mary MacArthur said she was glad that the magnificence of the movement had brought such magnificent results.

U.S. GOVERNORS AT A SUFFRAGE MEETING.

A momentous meeting took place in New York on September 16, when the Governors of the "Five Suffrage States" (Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, Colorado and Washington) and the Governor of South Dakota, attended a mass meeting of the Women's Political Union. There was a full and enthusiastic audience, over which Mrs. Stanton Blatch presided.

PUBLIC-SPIRITED BRISTOL.

Bristol and the West of England are to be congratulated on their public spirit and on their business-like capacity. For some years they have had the inspiration of Miss Annie Kenney's presence amongst them as organiser, with her headquarters in Bristol. The secret of her success has been largely due to the splendid band of capable, efficient and dependable voluntary workers that have undertaken the various departments of the work.

MRS. NAPOLITANO.

We are glad to see that the women of Austria are joining in the petition for the release of Angelina Napolitano, the unhappy woman who murdered her husband in self-defence. News Frauenleben, the monthly organ of the women's movement, refers to the petition, for which the W.S.P.U. collected, within one week, 9,000 signatures, against the death sentence.



THE W.S.P.U. SHOP AT 47, ROSEMARY ROAD, CLACTON-ON-SEA.

TEACHERS AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

We are glad to see that the Liverpool Teachers' Association at a largely-attended meeting on September 8 conducted a vigorous discussion on the subject of women's enfranchisement. At the conclusion of the debate it was resolved that a motion would be placed in the name of the Branch on the agenda of the National Union of Teachers' Conference to be held next Easter.

WELSH ACTIVITY.

The Cymric Union, of which Mrs. Mansel Moulton is the vice-president, is to be congratulated on the splendid work that it has done since its inception. Readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN will be most interested in the report which appears on page 15. All this Welsh activity in favour of the vote for women has already been sold. Evidently our South African cousins do not want to be left behind!

ANOTHER MILESTONE!

The closing days of September have brought in a splendid list of new subscribers, the result of promises made by members some little time ago, and another thousand has been completed. Congratulations are due especially to Miss Raleigh, who was one of many members to promise to get three new subscribers. She now sends in the grand total of thirty-five, many of them for subscribers among the friends and acquaintances met with during one of her daily pursuits!

Table with 2 columns: Name and number of subscribers. Includes names like Mrs. H. Maitland, Mrs. Milford, Mrs. Bowler, etc.

THE BATHFORD CASE.

In VOTES FOR WOMEN for July 21 reference was made to the case of a man who, on a charge of causing the death of his illegitimate child, was sentenced to six months imprisonment in the second division. Owing to the interest taken in the case, the editor of the Bath Herald, in which full reports appear, has been unable to meet the demand for copies of his paper. We therefore give a brief summary of the case. The indictment was against W. G. Lavington, of Bathford, for killing a little child of fourteen days on January 31, 1911. Police evidence having been given, a remand of eight days was granted, and on February 8, at the request of the Home Office, a further remand of a week was granted. On February 15 a further charge was added—namely, that of disposing of the body in order to prevent the coroner holding an inquest. The story, as told in court, was that Lavington, a publican's son, aged twenty-four, had been keeping company with a girl of eighteen, who was in service, Lily Gertrude Goodhind. A child was born, and the father called for it on February 31 and took it away in a fish basket. The mother was unwilling to part with it, but the father persuaded her that he had found a home for it, and that he was going to take it to a Mr. Brown at Twerton. Instead, however, of going to Twerton, Lavington hired a taxi-cab and drove in an opposite direction. His statement to the police he said: "I was going to take the baby into my sister's room to look after it that night and then in the morning, after the taxi broke down, I carried the child in my arms. I didn't hear my cry or make any noise. I thought it was dead and put it alone about 2 1/2 lbs. in the basket and dropped it over the bridge, the site nearest Bathford near the park."

MAN AND SUPERMAN.

Visitors to the Criterion Theatre are certain of an evening's fun so long as "Man and Superman" lasts. The "first nighters" were enthusiastic last Thursday for the opening scene to the climax, and Mr. Robert Lorraine was obliged to say a few words of thanks in response to repeated calls before the curtain. It would be unfair to make comparisons between Miss Pauline Chase and Miss Lillah McCarthy, who will only say that the clever little actress of "The Boy Who Never Grew Up" was pretty and sweet as ever, but that these qualities are by no means all that Mr. Shaw's Anne Whitehead possessed. Mr. Edmund Gwenn as "Enry Straker" was delightful, as in the old Court days. Miss Doris Lytton was a fine Violet Robinson, and all the acting was good. The play is announced for a short run, so go quickly! Mr. Lorraine alone, a breezy, sane John Tanner, is enough to cure the most incurable fit of the blues—if Suffragettes ever have that complaint!

MRS. D. EUGENIE.

Mrs. D. Eugenie, the Parsee lady who recently took her LL.B. degree at Bombay University, is the second Parsee lady to enter the legal profession, the first being Miss Cornelia Sorabjee, who was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple. She lectured recently in London.

- Reports from Organisers. Mrs. Partwee has undertaken two entertainments a day, at 3.30 and 8.30, with the kind assistance of the Accessory Franchise League, who will give a play at each performance, in addition to musical and other attractions. Offers of hands to play in the big hall would be very acceptable.

- STALLS AND STALL SECRETARIES. ART AND CRAFT STALL Miss Blacklock, 308, King's Road, Chelsea. ANTIQUE STALL Mrs. Thomas, Llanvyn, Park, Newport, Mon. BASKETS AND BAGS Mrs. Malcolm Evans, 31, Queen's Road, Clifton, Bristol. MILLINERY Mrs. Reginald Pitt, 11, Scaradale Villas, Kensington. OLD FOLK'S STALL Mrs. Keeling, 24, Bishop's Mans, Fulham, S.W. POTTERY AND CHINTZ Mrs. Micks, 178, Finchley Road, Hampstead. PARCEL STALL (including paper, net and string) Mrs. Hilda Garrett, 4, Palmer's Green, N. PRESENTS FOR MEN Mrs. Harverson, 8, Mayfield Road, Rye Park, Tunbridge Wells. SOAP SCENTS & HAND-SCHEMPS Miss Alice E. Worfold, 45, Bouverie Road West, Folkestone. SWEET STALL Miss Muriel Thompson, 48, Queens' Gate, S.W. TOY STALL Mrs. Catherine, Red Cottage, Cavendish Road, Brighton. UNDERCLOTHING Mrs. Lily Crocker, 8, Carlton Street, Nottingham. WOOLLEN STALL Miss Fintan, 6, Oriol Road, Cheltenham. SPECIAL COLOUR STALL LITERATURE "VOTES FOR WOMEN" Woman's Press.

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CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS.

Single insertion, 24 words or less, 2s.; 1d. per word for every additional word. (Four insertions for the price of three).

All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

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APARTMENT'S to Let, Brighton (Hove). Comfortable, Superior Apartments, private house. Nis quiet part, close sea, best cooking, good attendance. Bath, h. and c. Moderate terms.—14, Wish Road.

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BOARD-RESIDENCE for Students, Visitors to London, and others; comfortable; very central; terms moderate.—Miss Kilbey, 5, Guilford Street, Russell Square.

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BRIGHTON.—Board-residence or Apartments. D Terms moderate. Special care to those needing rest. Trains to sea. Members' recommendation.—Mrs. Wright, (W.S.P.U.), "Netherholme," Preston Drive.

BRIGHTON.—TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens off Marine Parade. Good bath, congenial society. Terms 2s. to 3s.—Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

BUSINESS woman wants another to share her flat or have bed-sitting room; roomy, comfortable, light, airy; most convenient times, terms, bases; terms very moderate.—Box 132, VOTES FOR WOMEN Office, 4, Clements Inn, Strand.

CHELSEA.—To Students and Lady Workers. A few unfurnished rooms still vacant. Bath and every convenience. Moderate terms. References.—50, King's Road, Chelsea, S.W.

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INVALIDS receive every care, in sunny comfortable houses facing sea, garden. Pupils receive midwinter, premium £12. Suit one desiring remaining as partner, or guest, where occupation obtainable.—"Seadown," Farncombe Road, Worthing.

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MARGATE.—Board-Residence. Homey, comfortable. One minute sea. Moderate.—41, Athelston Road, Cliftonville.

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RESIDENTIAL CHAMBERS (Ladies).—Furnished room to let for month or longer, 12s. 6d. weekly. Partial board 10s. 6d.—Miss Rose, 60, Princes Square, Baywater, W.

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SOUTH DEVON.—Board-Residence in Private House; home comforts offered; ideal situation in park, with sea and woodland scenery.—Miss Bannion, 6, Barnack, Telgoumouth.

SUPPAGETTES, spend your holidays in BRIGHTON.—Comfortable board-residence with Miss Turner, W.S.P.U. "Sea View," Victoria Road, Brighton, Nat. Tel. 1102; railway fares, every Friday, during October, 6s. for 7 or 14 days.

TORQUAY.—Most bracing part. Charming rooms in villa. South aspect. Conservatory, garden. Modern comforts. Near sea, dunes, trains, golf, shops. Moderate to Suffragettes.—Box 112, Clements Inn, Strand.

TENBRIDGE WELLS.—Miss Faulkner, 14, Clarendon Road, will be glad to receive one or two paying guests in her small, well-appointed house; terms, 2 guineas; secretarial assistance, hair-groom, extra.

VEGETARIAN BOARD-RESIDENCE, temporary or permanent. Home-like. Ladies and Gentlemen. Convenient situation. Room and breakfast from 3s.—Madame Veigle, 43 and 45, Herford Road, Baywater, W.

WANTED, Lady, for Companionship, paying sufficient only to cover expenses. Half-an-hour London and sea; pretty cottage.—Write Box 140, VOTES FOR WOMEN Office, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

YOUNG Professional Lady wishes to hear of Partner for small well-situated flat in Kensington St.—Box 105, VOTES FOR WOMEN Office, 4, Clements Inn, Strand.

TO LET, Etc.

CHELSEA.—Two large unfurnished rooms to let. Pleasant sunny aspect, quiet house; 10 minutes Sloane Square; 10s. 6d. per week.—M. 21, Oakley Street, S.W.

CHILDREN HILLS.—Plots to let for Building. Suitable for bungalows, gardening, poultry-keeping or weekend; in most convenient position. Apply to Lovegrove's Farm, Checkendon, Oxon.

COMFORTABLE Cottage to Let (furnished); 2 sitting and three bedrooms; eight minutes from Felixstowe Station; 10s. weekly.—M. St. Michael's, Cornwall Road, Walton, Suffolk.

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REALLY COMFORTABLE BOARD-RESIDENCE; luxuriously-furnished drawing, dining, hall, billiard, smoking, and bed rooms; and lounge; excellent cuisine, separate tables; beautiful garden, tennis, croquet, &c.; healthy open position. Five minutes from train, bus, and tube; personal management; single rooms from 31s. 6d.; double rooms from 55s. weekly. Phone, 3182 Western.—Recommended by members of the W.S.P.U.

CORNWALL.—Furnished Cottage to let, short or long period. Near Lamorna; fine position and view. Four bedrooms, kitchen, large living room, w.c., garden. House makes extra room. Servant can be let. Rent moderate.—Mrs. Pearce, 22, Helzelo Crescent, Harnham, Exeter.

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