

# VOTES FOR WOMEN

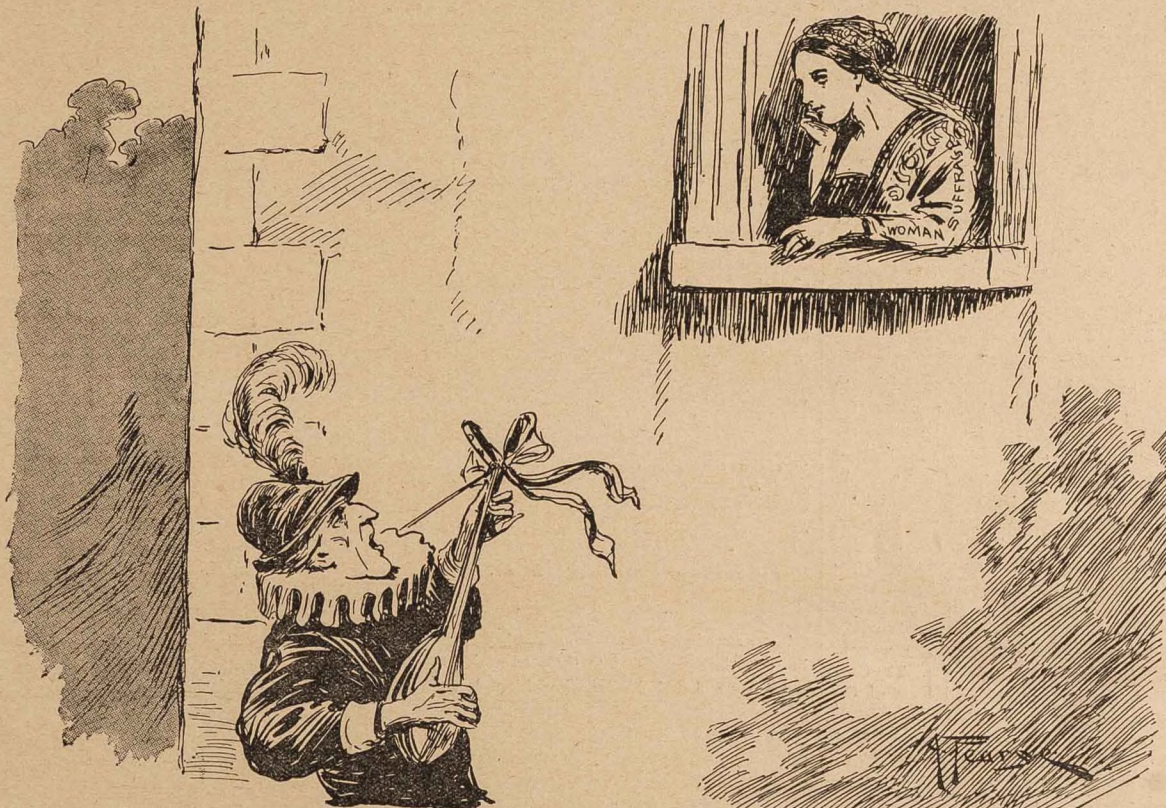
EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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## THE PATIENT LOVER



**Troubadour Sir Edward Grey (sings):—**

*My love, I have loved you for seven long years,  
So banish your fears!  
Not mine is the blame if my passion appears,  
Now and then, in arrears.*

*If with foreign affairs I sometimes coquette  
And your presence forget,  
Still, you fire me as matches inflame flannelette  
That is dampish or wet.*

*I can't fix the day; for half my relations  
Bring false accusations  
Against you, my love; we perforce must have patience  
And subsist on orations.*

*Meanwhile, don't be tricked by my rival's advances,  
His coy Front Bench glances,  
I assure you, like me, he is splitting no lances  
And taking no chances.*

(In his speech at Berwick, Sir Edward Grey said the Government could not do anything for Woman Suffrage because the Cabinet was divided, but he reminded them that the Opposition was in a similar position.)

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### DEDICATION

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

### THE OUTLOOK

The week that has just gone by has been one of exceptional interest to women, for there have been

no less than three pronouncements from men of front rank importance on the question of woman suffrage. On Thursday afternoon Mr. Lloyd George replied to a deputation from the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies; on Friday the *Times* contained a trenchant letter from the Bishop of Winchester calling for a settlement by consent of the question; and finally, on Monday last, Sir Edward Grey made a statement about it to a deputation of his constituents, who waited on him for this special purpose.

#### Mr. Lloyd George's Speech

Mr. Lloyd George's pronouncement was typical of the man and his methods. Brushing aside all criticism of himself and the Government, he carried the war into the enemy's camp by declaring that militancy, and militancy alone, was responsible for the failure of Parliament to carry a Woman Suffrage Bill. To this he attributed the hostility of Mr. Redmond and the Irish members; to this he attributed "the fact that in a Parliamentary sense the move-

ment has gone back"; to this he attributed the opposition in Wales and elsewhere. After pausing to express appreciation of the pilgrimage organised by the law-abiding suffragists, and to reiterate his devoted adhesion to the cause, Mr. Lloyd George stated that the Government would do nothing more for woman suffrage during the present Parliament. He suggested that suffragists should abandon all thought of an "instalment," which he regarded as worse than useless, and should concentrate upon converting the electors at the next general election to an "advanced measure of woman suffrage which will include not merely picked and selected women, but all the women of Great Britain who have got responsibilities in the country."

#### A Crafty Attempt

To those who are inclined to take Mr. Lloyd George's lip service at its face value we commend the account of his record during the past few years, which we give in our leading article this week.



Viewed in the light of these facts, his speech will be seen to be a crafty attempt to drive two wedges in transverse directions through the suffrage movement.

Mrs. Fawcett on Militancy

We are glad to see that Mrs. Fawcett, the leader of the non-militant section, has lost no time in showing that so far as she herself is concerned she will not allow the red-herring trailed by Mr. Lloyd George to divert her from following up the real culprits—the Government.

This is not the occasion to follow the Chancellor's picturesque account of the causes of the withdrawal of the support of the Irish Nationalists which occasioned the defeat of the Conciliation Bill in March, 1912.

May we be permitted to hope that Mrs. Fawcett will impress this essentially sound point of view upon the editor of the organ of her own society, so that we may in future be spared the perpetual criticism of the methods of other societies which have found so large a place in that journal?

"An Instalment"

With regard to Mr. Lloyd George's opposition to what he calls an "instalment," it is necessary for our readers clearly to understand that neither the "Stanger" Bill nor the Conciliation Bill, both of which he opposed, would have enfranchised "merely picked and selected" women, but were both of them designed to give votes to those women who bear the responsibilities of the country.

Sir Edward Grey's Speech

Sir Edward Grey's speech was entirely different in temper and tone from that of Mr. Lloyd George. He began by explaining that in his opinion woman suffrage

is a measure which ought to be very congenial to the Liberal party, but I do not want to emphasise that point too much, because there are a certain number of Conservatives who are in favour of it, and we are very glad to get their support.

Put into plain language, that means that Sir Edward Grey, unlike Mr. Lloyd George, favours a moderate measure—an instalment, as Mr. George calls it—because he recognises that Conservative support is necessary to carry woman suffrage into law.

Parliamentary Progress

His second point also flatly contradicts his colleague's views; he holds that considerable progress has been made in the Parliamentary sense, and cites as proof of his assertion the fact that the Government's Manhood Suffrage Bill had to be withdrawn, adding his opinion that woman suffrage now permanently blocks the way against any measure for enfranchising more men unless women are included.

Prospects for the Future

It is not, however, till we reach the prospects for

the future that Sir Edward Grey discloses himself as the wholly unsatisfactory advocate of woman suffrage that he really is. Asked whether the Cabinet will bring in a Government measure for next session, he can only repeat the hackneyed formula:—"The Cabinet is divided."

Our Reply

To this sort of talk there is only one answer. If it be really true that the British Constitution provides no means of carrying an urgent reform, because, forsooth, both possible Cabinets are divided on it, then the sooner the British Constitution makes way for a more effective engine of government the better.

The Bishop of Winchester's Letter

A sense of the increasing gravity of the present situation, very different from that exhibited by the politicians to whom we have referred above, finds expression in the weighty letter of the Bishop of Winchester published in the Times on Friday last. The experience of the Church Congress has convinced him, he says, that there is an exceedingly wide recognition of the legitimacy of the general aims of the woman's movement, and without going so far as to claim that this recognition amounts to acceptance by all of the political enfranchisement of women, he considers that a favourable consideration of this cardinal proposition is at least assured.

"A Truce of God"

The grounds on which he makes this appeal are, in fact, closely parallel to those on which the temporal peer based his epoch-making letter. The matter in dispute is a first-rate political question. The franchise is, in the opinion of its advocates, an indispensable and indeed inevitable expression of the woman's movement. There is, moreover, a widespread revolutionary movement, the forcible suppression of which, even if it be possible, can only result in a bitter state of antagonism.

It Rests with the Government

We give elsewhere (on page 65) our views on this important proposition. While yielding to none in our wish for a settlement of this question by consent, we recognise that for women to abate a fraction of their hostility to the Government unless and until the Government show a genuine desire to effect a settlement, would be mere weakness.

Votes or Ameliorations?

In certain quarters, notably the Times and the Globe, the Bishop's letter has been made the occasion for a new form of opposition to woman suffrage.

"The woman's movement is, in the main, justified," say these critics, "there are many hardships in woman's present position; let us remedy these. But that particular part of the woman's movement which is concerned with the franchise is wrong"

Lynch Law

An astounding scandal is reported from Bristol. On Friday and again on Saturday the students raided the premises of the local W.S.P.U., alleging as a justification for their conduct the damage done to the Bristol sports pavilion, which had been attributed to Suffragists.

The Effect of Forcible Feeding

After a fortnight of forcible feeding, Mary Richardson has been released from prison in so dangerous a condition that an operation for appendicitis is almost certain to be necessary, although the patient is at present too ill to undergo it. This fact proves at once the futility and barbarity of this process.

By-Elections

We draw the attention of our readers to the article on the adjoining page addressed to the electors, calling upon them to mark their disapproval of the Government's attitude to Woman Suffrage by voting against their candidates at the elections.

THE CITY OF BEAUTIFUL LIGHT

Far through the gates of the sunset,  
In the star-foamed seas of night,  
Veiled in the glory of dawning  
Lies the city of Beautiful Light

And o'er her twilight oceans  
In that far, enchanted sea,  
I saw a tall ship sailing  
To her long-deserted quay.

Her sails were broidered purple,  
And her masts were wrought in gold,  
And her decks were beaten silver  
From the treasure in her hold.

For the port she made at morning  
Was the port, Equality,  
And the treasure that she carried  
Were the pearls of Liberty.

R. V. Hazard.

ON POLLING DAY

An Open Letter to the Men of Reading, Keighley, West Lothian, Wick and South Lanarkshire

ELECTORS!

Have you made up your minds finally as to how you intend to vote at this election? If not, there are certain facts we ask you to think over before you decide.

First of all we ask you to remember that in giving your vote you are not merely choosing between the men who come before you, but between the policies and the parties for which they stand.

The Position at Reading

At Reading Mr. Gooch has said frankly that he stands on the whole policy of the Government. In his election address he says:—

For eight years (during the first four of which I sat in the House of Commons as Member for Bath) the Government has guided the destinies of the country with wisdom, courage and success.

If he wins the election he will go back to the House of Commons to support the Government. Whenever there is any criticism of the acts of the Liberal Government, he will speak or vote in their defence.

In the Other Constituencies

In Keighley, Sir S. O. Buckmaster is himself a member of the Government; so he, too, stands by what they have done and are doing, not merely in one particular part of their policy, but in everything.

Have the Government Deserved your Confidence?

Now the question for you, electors, to consider, is whether you are prepared to give, on polling day, this vote of confidence in the Government.

The particular matter of policy we ask you to think about is the way in which they have handled the question of votes for women.

This is, in reality, a very simple one. At the present day a large number of persons who are householders and breadwinners, and who fulfil all the duties of citizenship, are not allowed to have a vote, solely because they are women.

In the countries where women have the vote, notably in Australia, New Zealand, and the Western States of America, the women have already tackled these questions, and many of the evils which exist in Great Britain have been swept away.

We Accuse the Government!

The accusation which we make against the Government is threefold. Firstly, they have sinned against the fundamental principles of democracy and Liberalism by declining themselves to introduce a Woman Suffrage Bill.

Firstly, They have Sinned against Democracy It is of the essence of democratic Government that no section of the community shall be governed without its consent.

to be included in the electorate. Though every organised body of women throughout the country has passed a resolution in favour of votes for women, though processions and demonstrations of women on a larger scale than for any other reform have taken place, though thousands of women have faced prison itself rather than consent to exclusion from the franchise, the Liberal Government has refused to bring in a measure of woman suffrage.

Secondly, They have Thwarted the People

The Government have not merely refused to act themselves, they have gone further and prevented the House of Commons from carrying a measure of enfranchisement introduced by a private member. In 1911 the Conciliation Bill, as it was called, secured a majority of 167 on its second reading; there were great demonstrations in its favour all over the country, nearly all the great County Councils and Municipal Councils petitioned Parliament to pass it.

Thirdly, They have Created a Revolution

Women are naturally law-abiding; the records of crime show that there are many more men criminals than women criminals. Yet the Government have actually brought about a revolution among women by the way they have behaved about this question.

But they have done more than break pledges, they have adopted brutal methods of coercion to try to compel women to submit. It is impossible to speak of some of these things without a sense of national shame, for all over the world the behaviour of the Government to women is spoken about and condemned.

It rests with you men electors to bring this to an end by using your votes against the Government's nominees at the election.

We ask you to vote against Mr. Gooch at Reading, against Sir S. O. Buckmaster at Keighley, against Bailie Pratt, in West Lothian, against Mr. Munro in Wick, and against the Liberal candidate in Lanark.

Therefore, we call upon you to vote against the Liberal candidate.

WHAT WOMEN HAVE DONE FOR THE VOTE

As far back as 1816 women took part with men in agitating for the vote. And in the great demonstration of Peterloo in 1821 women suffered with men when the soldiers charged the crowd.

By Petitions

Numberless petitions and memorials have been signed and have been presented to the House of Commons and to the Government. Between 1866 and 1879 there were

Over 9,000 Petitions with Three Million Signatures in support of giving votes to women. In 1896 alone

an appeal to members of Parliament was signed by

Over a Quarter of a Million Women

And since that date petitions and memorials have been pouring in from all parts of the country.

By Applying to be Registered as Voters

In 1867 the wording of the Household Franchise Act was supposed by many people to allow of the enrolment of women as voters. A canvass of the women in Manchester was made, and out of 4,215 women who might be qualified 3,924, or

92 per cent. Sent in Claims

The Court of Appeal, however, decided against the women (Chorlton v. Lings), and compelled them to make their demand again to Parliament.

One Hundred and Fifty Thousand Meetings

Countless public meetings have been held all over the country, which have carried resolutions in favour of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Of these, the great Hyde Park demonstration on Sunday, June 21, 1908, when half a million people came together, was admittedly

Other great outdoor demonstrations have been held in all the largest towns. Altogether at least 150,000 meetings have been held, including twenty in the great Albert Hall, London; and others in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, the Sun Hall, Liverpool, the Colston Hall, Bristol, the Town Hall, Birmingham, the St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, the Synod Hall, Edinburgh, and in many other places.

Over 1,000 Women have Faced Prison

In addition to all this constitutional work for the vote, over a thousand women have suffered imprisonment for the part they have taken in the agitation, and a hundred and fifty have endured the torture of forcible feeding in prison rather than submit to conditions which they considered dishonouring.

No other agitation of modern times has called forth such vigorous and widespread sacrifice.

Fashionable Tea Frocks.

Our stock of Teagowns, Rest Gowns, and Negliges is quite unique. We buy all the most exclusive Paris Models, and copy and adapt them in our own Work-rooms in fashionable materials that we can recommend with the utmost confidence.



Tea Gown in rich soft Satin with Coatee of Ninon in White or light colours, finished at waist with Satin bow. Price 69/6. Special measures 10/6 extra. In all the newest shades.

Debenham & Freebody Wigmore Street, London W



SIR EDWARD GREY ON THE SUFFRAGE SITUATION

His Reply to a Deputation of Berwick Electors

At Berwick-on-Tweed last Monday Sir Edward Grey received a men's deputation from the Berwick branch of the Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage.

SIR EDWARD GREY'S REPLY

Of course I have nothing whatever to say in depreciation of the earnestness with which you have put your arguments in favour of women's suffrage.

Past History Unsatisfactory

I quite admit that the history of the question has not been at all satisfactory. The House of Commons has frequently given large majorities in favour of it, and up to recently the question has made no progress.

Militancy

I have not the least doubt that the action of militancy had had a most unfavourable influence on opinion in the House of Commons.

The second part of the pledge was that the Government were going to introduce

a Bill for franchise reform generally, and that on the Bill those who are in favour of women's suffrage were to have an opportunity of putting a women's suffrage amendment into the Bill.

A Government Bill?

Now you come to put a very definite question, on which I am sorry to say I cannot give you a satisfactory answer.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

Sir Edward Grey then answered questions put to him. In reply to one referring to the Prime Minister's pledge to give facilities for a Bill, he said he could not answer that definitely without knowing the view of the Government on this question.

GENERAL ELECTION POLICY

An Irish View

The Irish Citizen, in its leading article last week, supports the suggestion put forward in Votes for Women in our issue of October 3 that prior to the determination of the Suffragists' policy for the next General Election, the chiefs of both the great political parties should be formally approached.

SIR EDWARD GREY'S "VAGUE GENERALITIES"

Non-Militant Suffragist's Criticism

Councillor Margaret Ashton wrote as follows in the Manchester Guardian last Wednesday: "As reported, Sir Edward Grey's reply to the deputation of the Northern Men's Federation is confused and very unsatisfactory, and can only be explained by his entire absorption in foreign affairs throughout the last session of Parliament.

The Irish Parallel in 1885

Going on to deal with the policy of opposing the Liberal Government at the General Election without reference to what the Unionist Party would do if returned to power, the Irish Citizen maintains that this is what Parnell did in 1885, and that from the effect of this "Vote sold for the Tories" the Home Rule movement has taken nearly thirty years to recover.

accordingly. At the present moment all I should say is that I have been for eight years doing work at the Foreign Office, and I intend to go on doing that work till the next election.

His Own Position

When the next election comes you will be perfectly free, of course, to ask me definitely what my intentions are about Women's Suffrage in the next Parliament, and, of course, perfectly free to regulate your own votes. Whether the election comes next year, or at the normal time in 1915, I do not in the least resent your saying that you mean to make your votes dependent on the question of Women's Suffrage.

THE WEST LOTHIAN ELECTION

Labour Electors to Vote Unionist

A new factor, says the correspondent of the Manchester Guardian, "has come into play in the West Lothian election, and at the moment it is not apparent what the exact effect on the contest may be.

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accept any such offer, but nevertheless, against our judgment, a private member's Bill was introduced with every disadvantage of time and circumstance, and was for the first time in many years defeated by the majority of forty-nine—sufficient but significant—constituents of that vote was even more significant.

Lukewarmness of Friends

It was not, as appears to be suggested by Sir Edward Grey, the women suffragists whose action has delayed the enfranchisement of more men; it was the blundering of the Government, who had failed to fulfil their promises both to men and women.

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The Second Part of the Pledge

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"A TRUCE OF GOD"

Bishop of Winchester's Appeal for a Settlement of the Women's Question—Leading Comments

Last Friday, the following letter from Dr. Talbot, Bishop of Winchester, appeared in the Times:—

Sir,—No one ought to be afraid of a venture if he sees any chance of serving the common weal. It is in this spirit that I desire, by your leave, to make an appeal to men and women of good will in the present position of the Women's question.

To Militant Suffragists

I would ask them, reasoning fairly to the best of my ability on their principles, to consider (1) that they believe the arguments for the suffrage to be overwhelming; in other words, that, given its chance, it must win; (2) that they have made their contribution (needed or unneeded, justifiable or unjustifiable, is not here the question) which they believe to have been decisive in compelling attention to the matter; (3) that they reckon the suffrage a change of momentous and far-reaching consequence; in other words, one upon which, on any showing, a nation may claim to decide without precipitancy and with fullest deliberation; and (4) that they will surely allow me to add that, if conscientiously driven through otherwise than by the conquest of opinion, its benefits must be largely impaired, and dangers of reaction and of other kinds enormously increased.

An Important Deduction

But two things appear to be of public moment and material to my present purpose. The Congress evidently recognised the reality, meaning, and importance of the Women's movement in our time; and it did this with a large measure of cordiality. I draw from this an inference which I hope is legitimate. Let it be remembered that a Church Congress represents some of the more "conservative" and less emotional forces in the religious world of to-day.

Speaking for the Men

(4) But I go further. We shall not (I speak for the men) come to a just judgment, nor, therefore, win back the attention and respect of those whom this matter kindles to passion, unless we recognise the bitter crop of a long and cruel sowing. What is put in as poison comes out as fever. The fever in the blood of our body politic, and particularly in those who should be its gentler part, comes from all the long and bad record, not merely of what men have done in passion or weakness, but of what they have defended as natural or condoned as inevitable.

Encouraged to Repeat Outrage

On Saturday, apparently encouraged by police amiability, the students made a second attack on the W.S.P.U. premises when two women were inside. The students broke through the boarded-up doorway and threw out some boards and books, evidently with the intention of starting another bonfire; while the women who were in possession were assailed with volleys of eggs and other missiles.

From the "Daily News"

Have the Bristol police forgotten their duty? Last week some students of the local University wrecked a suffragists' shop in this town, and were not interdicted with by the police. On Saturday two women were noticed inside the shop trying to recover the papers. Students rushed up, drove the women off with eggs, tore down the boardings, destroyed books, shelves, a gas-stove, a typewriter, the fittings and fixtures, even the window frames.

LETTER FROM THE MEN'S LEAGUE

"The Only Permanent Solution"

The following letter has been sent to the Bishop of Winchester by the Men's League for Women Suffrage:—

FROM THE PRESS

The Daily Telegraph, in its account of the riot, says that it took place "much to the amusement of the public."

FROM THE PRESS

Under the heading of "The Bristol Pogrom" the Manchester Guardian says: "The Bristol police must either be the least efficient or the worst-principled force

to-day. Our committee would most gladly co-operate in discussing this urgent question in the spirit advocated and exemplified by your lordship.

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to-day. Our committee would most gladly co-operate in discussing this urgent question in the spirit advocated and exemplified by your lordship.

To Militant Suffragists

I would ask them, reasoning fairly to the best of my ability on their principles, to consider (1) that they believe the arguments for the suffrage to be overwhelming; in other words, that, given its chance, it must win; (2) that they have made their contribution (needed or unneeded, justifiable or unjustifiable, is not here the question) which they believe to have been decisive in compelling attention to the matter; (3) that they reckon the suffrage a change of momentous and far-reaching consequence; in other words, one upon which, on any showing, a nation may claim to decide without precipitancy and with fullest deliberation; and (4) that they will surely allow me to add that, if conscientiously driven through otherwise than by the conquest of opinion, its benefits must be largely impaired, and dangers of reaction and of other kinds enormously increased.

An Important Deduction

But two things appear to be of public moment and material to my present purpose. The Congress evidently recognised the reality, meaning, and importance of the Women's movement in our time; and it did this with a large measure of cordiality. I draw from this an inference which I hope is legitimate. Let it be remembered that a Church Congress represents some of the more "conservative" and less emotional forces in the religious world of to-day.

Speaking for the Men

(4) But I go further. We shall not (I speak for the men) come to a just judgment, nor, therefore, win back the attention and respect of those whom this matter kindles to passion, unless we recognise the bitter crop of a long and cruel sowing. What is put in as poison comes out as fever. The fever in the blood of our body politic, and particularly in those who should be its gentler part, comes from all the long and bad record, not merely of what men have done in passion or weakness, but of what they have defended as natural or condoned as inevitable.

Encouraged to Repeat Outrage

On Saturday, apparently encouraged by police amiability, the students made a second attack on the W.S.P.U. premises when two women were inside. The students broke through the boarded-up doorway and threw out some boards and books, evidently with the intention of starting another bonfire; while the women who were in possession were assailed with volleys of eggs and other missiles.

FROM THE PRESS

The Daily Telegraph, in its account of the riot, says that it took place "much to the amusement of the public."

FROM THE PRESS

Under the heading of "The Bristol Pogrom" the Manchester Guardian says: "The Bristol police must either be the least efficient or the worst-principled force

THE CHURCH LEAGUE'S COMMENT

We have been kindly permitted to see the advance proofs of an article upon the Bishop's letter which will appear in the November number of the organ of the Church League for Women's Suffrage. The article points out "how central to the whole movement is the demand for enfranchisement."

FROM THE PRESS

The Daily Telegraph, in its account of the riot, says that it took place "much to the amusement of the public."

FROM THE PRESS

Under the heading of "The Bristol Pogrom" the Manchester Guardian says: "The Bristol police must either be the least efficient or the worst-principled force



### HOW TO HELP THE MOVEMENT

A very interesting reunion of Fellows took place in the Doré Gallery last Tuesday evening. The meeting took the form of a conference on practical schemes and methods of work, and many useful suggestions were made and stories told of experiments tried and success achieved. One Fellow recounted how she had secured the weekly exposition of the poster by five different newsgivers in her neighbourhood by gaining for each shop twelve new customers for the paper. Thus, sixty people, who had never read a Suffrage paper, have now become regular subscribers to VOTES FOR WOMEN, and both widespread publicity and a larger sale have been the result. The following were some of the methods of definite service advocated:—

#### To Build Up the Membership

Always wear a Fellowship badge to arouse attention and to invite conversation. Always have a membership card with you ready for use. Never let an interesting talk on the subject drop without inviting your new friend to enter the Fellowship.

#### To Increase Publicity, Circulation, and Influence of the Paper

Persuade the newsgivers with whom you already deal as a customer to exhibit a poster and to lay VOTES FOR WOMEN on the counter. Try to gain new customers for the paper, and guarantee if, say, six or a dozen copies are exposed for sale, to take for a few weeks any that are left over. Join the brigade of paper sellers, who sell in the streets and public places, or give at least one day a week to selling by a house to house canvass in a selected district; or call weekly with the paper on the tradespeople in their shops; or take a dozen extra copies of the paper every week and send them, specially blue-pencilled, to men and women in public positions of responsibility—sometimes to clergy and ministers of religion, sometimes to doctors or magistrates or county councillors, members of political committees, or others, according to the subject matter of the paper to which you wish to draw special attention.

#### To Secure a Firm Financial Position for the Upkeep and Development of the Paper

Send large cheques—or co-operate in building up the advertisement revenue by dealing only with those firms that support VOTES FOR WOMEN through the advertisement columns. Tell the managers of these houses of business why you deal with them. Get from Red Lion Court a penny book of adhesive labels in the colours and affix them to every order or receipted account that passes between you and the firm in question.

Put yourself in personal touch with Miss Flatman (at Red Lion Court), who has charge of the advertisement department, and confer with her as to how you may help in other ways.

So much for building up the machine by means of which we may, as a Fellowship, carry out on a national scale a direct political agitation in the Parliamentary constituencies. Of that project more anon.

#### PAPER-SELLING REPORT

A small contingent of sellers went down to Reading, interest was awakened, and young working girls came forward, asking to join the "Fellowship." Pennies were offered by two male students for posters to hang up; they thought them so effective.

Of course, as usual, the work was full of incident. One man said, "I don't believe in it." "Read this, and perhaps you will," replied the seller. "Well, it will be something to read on Sunday," he agreed, and, somewhat shyly, he brought out a penny. But he did not wait until Sunday; he began at once in the middle of the road by the very poor illumination of distant street lights. Sometime after he was observed, still in the same ill-lighted place, reading on. "Ah! it is a shame of the Government not to give votes and have done with it. Look at the waste of valuable time and money when there is so much to be done," said one poor old woman.

Another amusing episode was that of a very small boy who assured one of the sellers that "women ought to have votes. I'll give you one."

Further paper-sellers for Reading are urgently required; will volunteers please call or write to Miss Boulting at the offices?

#### DINNER ON DECEMBER 4

Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence are inviting to a special dinner at the Connaught Rooms on Thursday, December 4, the regular literary contributors to VOTES FOR WOMEN, among whom are numbered some of the most distinguished men and women of letters of to-day.

As there is additional room available in the Crown Room, where the dinner is being held, members of the Fellowship who would like to be present at the dinner and at the speeches, which will be delivered afterwards, will be able to do so by taking tickets, price 7s. 6d. each, from the Ticket Secretary, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

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The Clothing, Embroideries, and other goods from the large Exhibitions of Sweated Industries recently held in Glasgow and Edinburgh, and now in Dundee (October 27th to November 7th), by the Scottish Council for Women's Trades and Union for the Abolition of Sweating, have been formed into a Loan Collection, which can be hired in whole or part by Societies desirous of holding local Exhibitions. The Exhibits are very striking, and are especially helpful for Suffrage propaganda. They number over 400, and include garments made by women at 1d. or less per hour.

For Descriptive Catalogue (price 3d.) and terms, apply—Miss IRWIN, Secretary, 58, Renfield Street, Glasgow.

### DRAMA AND BOOKS

#### "THE TRIAL OF JEANNE D'ARC"

Production by the Religious Drama Society

It may be possible for the ordinary lover of drama to see the story of Joan of Arc performed on the stage, but to the active Suffragist, even if she is not an active militant, the poignancy of this tragedy of an heroic child is almost unendurable in dramatic form. Mr. Edward Garnett's play, "The Trial of Jeanne d'Arc," which was given by the Religious Drama Society at the West London Ethical Church, last Sunday evening, is a restrained and balanced piece of work, relying entirely upon the simple facts of the story for its effect and not upon any of the devices of the stage. Yet, even seen, as on Sunday evening, without the ordinary accompaniments of stage-lighting and other professional aids to production, the play is so tragic, so dramatic, and so true as to be scarcely bearable in the eyes of the spectator who has been fighting inside the woman's movement of the last seven years.

Like all true stories, that of the child who was inspired to combat with her spirit all the physical forces of her day, is a story of all the ages. The trial scene in Mr. Garnett's play, where Joan parries the combined blundering attack of her judges with wit, truth, and a sublime faith in her cause and the God Who made it hers, might be a Suffragist trial in the Old Bailey to-day. "The Court," she cries, "is both prosecutor and judge." How often have we said the same?

Again, when they want to know why her banner was taken into Rheims Cathedral with Charles: "My banner," she proudly says, "had shared in the pain. It was only right it should share in the honour." When they try to trick her with Lloyd Georgian promises into a recantation: "I will never deny my voices!" she exclaims.

"It is their design to fret her to a shadow and bring her low," says one of the few who pity her in that English prison where she asks in vain for a woman to be with her, where they threaten her with the rack and the stake. Remembering recent happenings in Holloway Gaol, we cannot feel that the woman has travelled very far since 1431.

#### "A DAUGHTER OF FRANCE"

Suffragists will be interested in a little play which is running at the Ambassadors Theatre entitled "A Daughter of France." Lydia Yavorska plays the title rôle with consummate ability, and effectively brings out the woman's case in the story.

We offer our congratulations to the authors of the play, one of whom, Miss Constance Maud, is the distinguished writer who has more than once contributed to our columns.

#### "THE WORLD OF A CHILD"

"We want to discover the child's processes of thought," Mr. Housman says in his interesting preface, and in this story we certainly get some glimpse of the inner life of the little girl, Judy, and they probably mirror that of many thoughtful, brooding children. Judy's is a complex and contradictory nature, loving, yet often hard, proud and shy. She retires, when hurt or humiliated, into a dream world in which she figures as a beautiful majestic person. Her conception of God as an old man in a white robe, all day and all night pacing slowly over the floor of heaven (the sky), watching intently and silently the people He had made, is one of her most striking recollections. It was probably the conception formed by most children of her generation, though few recall it consciously. Judy's fear of water and her awe of her father belong to her own personality. Her recollections from five to nine years of age are an interesting attempt at revealing a child's psychology.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED

"Commercialised Prostitution in New York" By George J. Kuesland. (London: Grant Richards, Ltd. Price 7s. 6d. net.)  
 "A Changed Man and other Tales." By Thomas Hardy. (London: Macmillan. Price 6s.)  
 "Step Children of Nature." By Alexandra Watson. (London: Howard Latimer. Price 6s.)  
 "Mrs. Edwards' Cookery Book." (London: Werner Laurie. Price 6s.)  
 "Jane Austen." By F. Warre Cornish. (London: Macmillan. Price 2s. net.)  
 "Shelley, Godwin, and Their Circle." By H. N. Brailsford, M.A. (London: Williams and Norgate. Price 1s. net.)  
 "Modern Woman and How to Manage Her." By Walter M. Gallichan. (London: Werner Laurie. Price 1s. net.)  
 "The World of a Child." By M. V. Woodgate. With a Preface by Laurence Housman. (Heath, Cranton, and Ouseley. Price 2s. net.)

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We have made a number of very advantageous purchases in the above-named departments, and next week we offer our customers and public the same monetary benefit and advantages that we have ourselves obtained. We illustrate examples of the Bargains—many others will be found in the Sale Booklet, which can be had post free on request.

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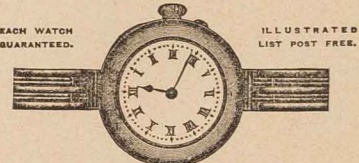
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CRIPPLEGATE INSTITUTE, GOLDEN LANE, BARBICAN, E.C.,

On TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 4th, 1913, at 3 & 8 p.m.

The principal parts, including Songs and North American Indian Dances, will be taken by friends who helped with the Dramatic Entertainments and Dances at the International Suffrage Fair in November, 1912.

TICKETS 4s., 2s., and 1s., all Reserved and Numbered, to be had at W.F.L., 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, Strand, W.C.; or at doors on day of performance. Nearest station to Institute, Aldersgate, on Metropolitan. The Proceeds will be given in aid of THE VOTER, the organ of the Women's Freedom League.

ACTRESS'S FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

A GRAND MEETING AND RECEPTION

will be held at the SHAFTESBURY THEATRE

(By kind permission of Mr. Robert Courtneidge), Tuesday, November 18th, at 3 p.m.

Speakers:—Prof. BICKERTON, The Rev. LEWIS DONALDSON, Mr. J. L. HAMMOND, Mr. ROY HORNIMAN, Mr. BEN WEBSTER, Mr. FREDERICK WEBLAN, Mr. ZANGWILL. Chair:—Miss LENA ASHWELL.

All members of the audience are cordially invited to tea in the Foyer of the Theatre after the meeting, when the Vice-Presidents of the League, and other leading actresses will act as hostesses. TICKETS: Boxes, £2 2s., 30s., and 15s. Stalls, 6s. (first three rows) and 3s. 6d. Grand Circle (first row), 8s. 6d. (other rows) 5s. 6d. Upper Circle, 1s. 6d. All numbered and reserved. Pit (unreserved) 1s. From the A.F.L., 3, Robert St., Adelphi, W.C.

The United Religious Woman Suffrage Societies' National Week of Prayer, NOVEMBER 1st to 8th, 1913.

In connection with the observance of the above

A UNITED PUBLIC MEETING

will be held on THURSDAY, NOV. 6th, 1913, at 8 p.m., in the CAXTON HALL, Victoria St., Westminster.

SPEAKERS: Miss Abadam, Catholic W.S.S.; Rev. Claud Hinchliff, Church League for W.S.; Rev. G. Fleming Williams, Free Church League for W.S.; Mrs. Margaret Ford Smith, Friends' League for W.S.; Rev. Joseph Hochman, Jewish League for W.S.; Lady Frances Balgove, Scottish Churches League for W.S. ADMISSION FREE. Prior to the Meeting a Social Reception will be held from 7 to 8 p.m. Tickets may be had from any of the Religious League Secretaries, or from Mr. Thos. G. Rogers, 18, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.

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FRIDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1913.

THE TRUTH ABOUT MR. LLOYD GEORGE

Mr. Lloyd George has been seeing a deputation of women suffragists, and telling them how fervently he believes in their cause. He has also been explaining to them that the Government of which he is a member have not the slightest intention of carrying a Woman Suffrage Bill during the present Parliament.

It is all the fault of militancy, he says; the Parliament of 1906 contained a huge majority of members friendly to woman suffrage, but now, owing to militancy, the splendid support of Parliament has withered away. But the great-hearted champion doesn't despair; if women will give up all thought of a moderate measure—an "instalment" he calls it—and insist upon getting a huge measure of enfranchisement or nothing at all, if they will give up militancy and all political opposition to the Government, and confine themselves to purely propaganda work, then, perhaps, at the next general election they will make such an effect upon the electors that women will secure the franchise in the next Parliament!

It is all so ingenious and so plausible that we rub our eyes and wonder whether we have not been dreaming all these past eight years, and whether, after all, we are not the bad fairies who have been thwarting the benign efforts of the good fairy, Lloyd George, to give women the vote. And then we go back over the facts; we trace, step by step, the words and the deeds of the "good fairy," and we are satisfied that the dream is with Mr. Lloyd George and the realities with us.

Right back in 1906—the golden era of woman suffrage in the House of Commons, according to Mr. Lloyd George—a votes for women resolution was introduced. It formed the subject of ribald jest and side-splitting mirth, and was talked out. In the next year, 1907, a Woman Suffrage Bill was introduced and also talked out. Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman expressly stated that there was not the smallest chance of woman suffrage being carried in that Parliament. The reason he gave was that the "cabinet were divided." In 1908 Mr. Herbert Gladstone, speaking from the Government benches, gave the same advice to women that Mr. Lloyd George is giving to-day. "Go out and demonstrate," he said in effect, "show, by large outdoor demonstrations, your desire for the franchise." Women at once organised and carried out his suggestion; the "constitutionals" held a monster procession, and the militants a mighty demonstration in Hyde Park, which the Times admitted numbered half a million. Mr. Asquith's only answer was to refuse to see a deputation from either society.

Then came two years of strenuous militancy, great deputations of militant women to the House of Commons, vigorous opposition to the Government at by-elections, stirring scenes whenever a Cabinet minister spoke in public—Mr. Asquith, on his visit to Birmingham, preferring to go through the city by underground passages. When, at last, in 1910 a truce was declared, the tone and temper of the House of Commons had altogether changed. A moderate measure known as the Conciliation Bill, which would have given the vote to women householders (numbering about a million) was drafted by the agreement of a House of Commons Committee, drawn from all parties.

It was then that the "good fairy" first came prominently into the field. He said it was too small a measure, and must be thrown out. He gave his vote against it, and urged everyone he could to do likewise. In spite of his strenuous opposition the House of Commons carried the second reading by a large majority. But the Government blocked its further progress.

In 1911 the Bill was brought in again in a slightly modified form. This time the "good fairy" voted for it, but only on the distinct understanding that he should try, at a subsequent stage, to get it increased so as to include about six million women—the result of which everyone knew would be that the Bill would become unacceptable to its "moderate" supporters, and would be defeated.

However, the Bill never got so far as the subsequent stages in 1911, for the Government again blocked it. But they promised that in 1912 the Bill should not be blocked, that the Government would remain neutral, and that this promise should be carried out in the spirit as well as in the letter. Women accepted this promise. The militant lion lay down with the law-abiding lamb, and even the anti-government policy was stopped.

Then, in 1911, the "good fairy" struck a champion blow. He arranged with Mr. Asquith the introduction of a Manhood Suffrage Bill, the effect of which he himself announced with pride was to "torpedo" the Conciliation Bill! This Manhood Suffrage Bill, introduced by the Government of which Lloyd George was a prominent member, would give the vote to nearly all men, while rigidly excluding all women. The only concession was that there was attached to it a pledge that it should be so drafted as to be capable of amendment to include women in case the House of Commons wished to alter it in this way. This was heralded by Mr. Lloyd George, its author, as a "great opportunity" for women. In the end, the Cabinet even failed to draft the Bill so as to be capable of amendment to include women, and when this fact became known coolly substituted for their twice broken pledge facilities for a party measure, which never had the remotest chance of passing into law. After these betrayals the militant suffrage movement took on its present revolutionary character.

Taking these facts into consideration, we have five questions to put to Mr. Lloyd George.

Firstly, if it is militancy that has destroyed the chance of woman suffrage in the present Parliament, how does he account for the fact that it was he himself, by his own admission, who, in a time of truce, deliberately destroyed the one measure which had a chance of passing into law?

Secondly, does he suggest that it was militancy which prevented the Cabinet from carrying out its own pledges to draft the Manhood Suffrage Bill in such a way as to be capable of amendment to include women, or when that failed of providing any genuine substitute?

Thirdly, would he believe in the sincerity of any man who, on some other question, spoke and voted against all "instalments" or moderate measures of reform, and insisted relentlessly upon "all or nothing"?

Fourthly, what means does he suggest that the electors at the general election will have of showing their desire for votes for women unless he induces the leader of his party to put it on the party programme?

And lastly, has Mr. Lloyd George ever, by a single act, done anything to justify his assertion that he is a friend of woman suffrage? Does not every deed of his cry aloud that he is one of the most dangerous of its foes?

THE BISHOP'S MOVE

By Emmeline Pethick Lawrence

The present position of the woman's question in this country is intolerable. The whole community is profoundly unsatisfied, anxious, and humiliated about the matter. But in face of the close conspiracy of silence taken up by the political parties, including their organs, the political Press, the community can find no voice wherewith to express itself. Hundreds of letters on this subject have been, we have every reason to know, rejected every day for the past few weeks by the daily papers.

But at last a man has been found strong enough to give expression to the profound uneasiness of the national conscience. All men and women of goodwill must heartily welcome the letter by the Bishop of Winchester published last Friday in the Times. The Bishop of Winchester lays down the proposition with regard to the betterment of women's position that the matter is now before the nation, as a first rate political question for solution outside controversies of political party.

Upon that ground he appeals to the two combatants directly concerned in the present conflict, namely, to the Government and to the militants, and also to third parties, which cannot be absolved from responsibility, namely, to the electors, and further to the community as a whole.

To the militants he appeals for a "Truce of God." In other words, he calls upon the militants to abandon militancy. To the Government he appeals for "a definite proposal of the introduction of a Suffrage Bill as a first-class measure" coupled with a "general amnesty." To the electors he appeals for acknowledgment of the fact that women's revolt at the present day is "the bitter crop of a long and cruel sowing." Upon the community the Bishop of Winchester urges the recognition of "the reality, depth, and strength of a movement among women asking for a fuller life, greater honour, and worthier treatment by men."

In order to ascertain upon which side lie the essential rights in the present deplorable conflict it is necessary to go back to the beginning of this revival of the demand for women's enfranchisement eight years ago, and to consider how it came about in the first instance that a question that should be determined by the triumph of reason and of right should ever have entered a phase of violence.

"Just a Little Physical Force"

Eight years ago women began to attend public meetings addressed by representatives of the Government in order to put a perfectly right and reasonable question in the duly appointed manner. The very first time they attempted in this way to bring before the public a question that had been successfully ignored for two generations by politicians, they were violently handled by Liberal stewards, who acted pro tem. as the Government's agents, forcibly ejected, and subsequently wrongfully imprisoned. From that time to the present moment every attempt on the part of women to ask a question at a public meeting has been dealt with by assault and forcible ejection. Thus have the Government answered the women who dared to press home to them in public assembly the question of the enfranchisement of their sex by saying in effect: We will not meet you in argument, we will silence this public appeal to reason by the use of just a little physical force.

When two years later women attempted to exercise the right of petition explicitly assured to all subjects of the Crown in the Bill of Rights, they were again met with physical force, and now a greater degree of violence was considered necessary for the purpose of terrorising them. Carefully observing all the conditions laid down in the Statutes of the Realm, the so-called "militants"—as yet only politically militant—went in small deputations of twelve persons to Parliament to lay their case before the Prime Minister. At first they were arrested and imprisoned. But the Government, finding this method of repression too gentle and ineffective, gave orders through the Home Secretary that led to women being assaulted, kicked, flung into the crowd, and foully insulted for hours on end, before they were allowed that measure of protection accorded to the meekest criminal, of shelter in the police station. Many women were injured for life. One of them died shortly afterwards from the consequences.

For technical offences involving mere breach of the bye-laws honourable women, actuated by unselfish motives, were sentenced by an artificial manipulation of police-court procedure to long terms of imprisonment. In prison humiliations were heaped upon them, and they were classed with and treated as the outcasts of society. They were taunted with being possessed of a morbid and insane desire for imprisonment and goaded at last into the passive resistance of the hunger strike, which was met, long

before the violence used against them had incited them to violent retaliation, by the cruelty of forcible feeding.

Even that was not enough. It needed the explicit and direct incitement of several representatives of the Government, and especially the historic incitement to arson made by Mr. Hobhouse in his speech at Bristol (that jeering, provocative speech upon which Mr. Justice Darling commented so severely), to drive a section of women from symbolic militancy into the declaration of a war upon property and actual revolution.

The tactical mistake of the Government as the instigator of violence was a grievous one. They chose the weapon of physical force because women were better armed than they were with argument and reason, and with regard to this matter of elementary justice, they felt that on the plane of physical force only could they have women at a disadvantage. But they thought at the first that it would need only a little physical force to subdue troublesome women. That was their fatal error in judgment. Led on by the same spirit of blindness, they were subsequently induced to believe that stronger measures of violence would succeed where the more elementary ones had ignominiously failed. They ended after six years by evoking the spirit of rebellion that they are now

trying to quell by methods of coercion that are a degradation to the British name.

We put the following question in the name of common-sense to practical men and women: Is it conceivable that the women who have been relentlessly goaded into revolution are in a position now to offer terms of peace? How can the pressure of public opinion have any influence upon women rendered desperate by repression? Deliberately, after years of patient forbearance, these women have adopted the decision that rebellion is the only possible answer to coercion. Torture itself is powerless to shake them from that position. For them the bitterness of death is past. No menace of further evil can affect them in any way.

It is obviously the Government that must make the first move in the direction of peace. It is upon the Ministers of the Crown that the pressure of public opinion must be directed by the votes of the electors and the voice of the Church. It is the Government who instituted the use of methods of violence in this controversy. It is for them now to withdraw from the plane of physical force and to make overtures in the name of reason and good government. And it is the duty of electors who have the welfare of this nation to a large extent in their keeping to compel them so to act, and to bring this grave scandal to an end.

THE AWAKENING OF PAULINE FARRER

By E. J. Hatfield

Pauline Farrer left the meeting nearly converted. Somehow, in her quiet and sheltered life, the wrongs and disabilities of womanhood had never before seemed quite real to her. A very maternal woman, happy in her husband and her nursery of healthy children, she had been inclined to think that these women whose lot was not so fair as her own had to blame their own characters rather than external circumstances. But now she was thoroughly roused from her dream; and, as she sat drinking her tea amid the bustle of a public restaurant, she seemed to look at the world with new eyes.

Especially she looked at the women round her with an awakened interest. She was unsettled, aroused; she felt she could not go back yet to her sleeping children. She must hear more, know more; a feminist play occurred to her; she would go there. Influenced unconsciously by the self-reliance and self-confidence of the afternoon's speakers, she forgot that she had never before been to a theatre alone. A new independence filled her.

This settled, her thoughts drifted again to the last speaker and her parting words: "Go, every one of you here, and strike a blow in the woman's battle, each in your own way."

Pauline wondered what she could do; the facts startled her, the arguments appealed to her intellect. Things must be altered. But she could not believe in militancy. These fighting women were in too great a hurry. All reforms were slow, and the thing must come in time. It might take twenty years—or even fifty. But in the meantime one could talk, could hold meetings, could gradually convert the country.

The play was over. Absorbed in the thoughts the day had aroused, Pauline made her way to the Tube. As she hurried on she was aware of a pair of eyes that met hers boldly, but this hardly disturbed her reverie. The day had held so much for her, that she was now in a state of spiritual upheaval, through which external facts penetrated but dully.

She was in the lift before she again became aware of her surroundings. Standing in an immovable crowd of people, she suddenly felt a touch on her ungloved hand, and, looking up, she met those same eyes, bold, staring, insolent. She looked hastily away, but was still conscious of the pressure of a masculine hand, while those eyes seemed to sear her very soul. Writhing in sick disgust and loathing and shame, it appeared to her a lifetime since the lift began to descend. It was down at last; the heavy gates clashed back, and release seemed very near. Pauline lingered behind, letting her tormenter pass out with the crowd. Then, with a beating heart, she hastened along the passage that led to the platform.

Half-way there was a sharp turn, and dashing round this, she almost ran into him. He had waited for her; his eyes met hers again, insolent, triumphant. "Good evening," she heard, as she hurried past. He was following her. She must rid herself somehow of this tormenter.

Suddenly her fear dropped from her; she turned on him, blazing with anger. "Behave yourself," she cried, in a voice so altered, that it was hardly recognisable in her ears.

The man slunk away without a word, and Pauline,

with flushed face and burning eyes, found herself in the train. A mixture of anger and shame possessed her—anger at the ordering of a world where a woman may not feel sure of walking unmolested; shame that any man should have thought it possible by such attentions to win her favour.

The train sped on, and the silent flies lay on both sides. She grew calmer, and her thoughts went back to the speaker of the afternoon, and to the talk of the comradeship between women. A new insight was hers; those words became charged with meaning. A vision of her tormentor as lover, as husband, as father was before her. An infinite pity for the women of his circle possessed her heart, and with it came a deeper understanding of those who would give their lives to free such women from their chains.

Pauline was home at last. A dim light flickered in the nursery, and she went to kiss her sleeping children. For a long time she stood at her boy's bedside, looking at his flushed and smiling face, and as she gazed, she took the last step along the path of her awakening. That man with the shameless eyes must have been like this once, as gentle, as innocent, as full of happy human possibilities. She was seized with a vast tormenting pity. She reviewed her own happy home life, full of the poetry of healthy human love, and the joys of responsible parenthood. He had missed all this, had exchanged his human birthright for a mess of pottage, so blind that he did not know, could not value what he had missed.

All through that night Pauline sat there thinking, picturing the home conditions, the conditions in the great world outside, which had made that man what he was. She became conscious of that terrible failure of womanhood to direct and guide those forces which exist for her maternal purpose. Slowly rose the certainty that they—her sex—were in some dim un-comprehended way responsible for a public opinion that made possible such unhealthy and perverted growth as she had encountered last night. A sense of feminine responsibility was at last fully aroused. Before it, doubt, hesitation, and lack of courage faded away. She was conscious of nothing but that awful responsibility of motherhood, that dire necessity forcing women to try, at least, to create a world where little children may grow up to a clean and sane and healthy manhood and womanhood.

"I can only say that I did it because it was my duty to my children, and to all children."

The magistrate did not understand. He could not see the vision that sustained her through it all, with a sense of spiritual exaltation—the vision of a sleeping, innocent boy child, and the other picture of a lift, and of a grossly sensual man. For her it was war to the death with those beliefs and conditions which could turn the one into the other. Her old dream of a slow conversion was gone; for while that canker was allowed to eat, though never so gently, at the hearts of men, there could be for them no conversion.

Once more she raised her voice in protest: "And I say here that, had I ten lives, I would gladly give them all could I save my boy, or any other woman's boy, from entering on that path of sexual degradation which, more effectually than deafness, or blindness, or any other physical ill, will shut him out from the beauty and poetry of the world."



## DEPUTATION TO MR. LLOYD GEORGE

On Thursday morning in last week the Chancellor of the Exchequer received a deputation at Swindon from the local branch of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. Our comments upon his pronouncement will be found in the leading article of this issue.

The Rev. J. Ivory Cripps having introduced the deputation and outlined its purpose, Mr. Lloyd George said:—

### MR. LLOYD GEORGE

You, sir, very well said at the start that no arguments were required to convince me of the justice of the demand which has been put forward on behalf of women for equality in all the rights and privileges of citizenship which are now enjoyed by men. I have been a convinced supporter of the suffrage for a very considerable number of years, and I have never been able to appreciate the arguments which have appealed to men of great intellectual strength and power, whose intellects I respect and admire—I have never been able quite to see the force of those arguments which have convinced them of the opposite sense.

### All the Old Arguments

Mr. Lloyd George then brought forward the argument of the man and woman in the home to illustrate his belief in the partnership of man and woman in the State, and continued:—

No harm could come of the experiment. If men are the stronger, they will be dominant; if they are not the stronger sex, there is no reason why they should be dominant. There are strong men and also weak men; there are weak women, also strong women; and the strongest in each sex would be able to bring the best of their activities, their qualities, and their virtues to bear upon the problems which require all the capacity of the race in order to solve them. Therefore I am not merely a supporter of the suffrage, and I am a consistent supporter of the suffrage in spite of all the suspicions to the contrary.

### Women and Land Reform

With regard to his land programme, Mr. Lloyd George proceeded:— I cannot think of any item in that programme in which women are not as much interested as men, but I can think of many items in that programme in which they are more interested than men. Take, for instance, the housing part of the programme, which interested the audience very deeply. I noticed that. Yet it is much more a problem for women than it is for men. The man is in all day out in the fields, but the woman is in the day in the kitchen, and the home, I won't say is entirely hers, but it is really her sovereignty. It is her care, it is her anxiety. It is her worry, and it is too often her despair. Therefore to settle the housing problem without inviting the opinion of women, I think, is an act of stupidity in the organisation of government which I cannot understand, and it shows how deep-rooted prejudices are that very able and enlightened men can so feel that.

Take the minimum wage. It is paid to the man, but it is dispersed by the woman, and if it does not go round, it is her trouble very largely. It is she who is the chancellor of the exchequer of the family, and when there is a demand from every department of her family for cash and she has to face a deficiency, well, speaking as Chancellor of the Exchequer, I know what that means. At any rate, the Chancellor of the Exchequer in a rich country can think about taxing somebody. But the poor woman cannot. She does not know where to turn, and she has to face her children who are crying for more food. Therefore it seems to me to be so much a problem for the women that I think the time is coming when she ought to be called in to express, not inarticulately, not in groans and murmurs, but officially and effectively through the medium of the ballot-box, what her views are as to what should be done in the solution of those problems.

I am more of a women's suffragist to-day than I have ever been.

### A Denunciation of Militancy

How is it that, with so many men in the Cabinet who take exactly the same view as I do—men like the Foreign Secretary, whose influence and whose power nobody can possibly challenge or doubt; the Lord Chancellor, who is also a man of great genius and power, Mr. Birrell, and others—we are unable to get this thing

through? It is no use denying facts. The one fact is that, in a Parliamentary sense, the movement has gone back. That is the first fact we have got to grasp. In 1906 there was a huge majority in Parliament for it. In the last two Sessions we have been beaten, and you may depend upon it that, in a movement like this, Parliament represents the temporary mood of the nation. I do not deny what has been said, that there is a growing conviction in favour of the suffrage amongst large masses of the population, but there is another feature which is an unpleasant one—there has been a growing feeling amongst other sections against it. Some years ago the feeling was one rather of indifference. There was a very strong woman suffrage movement. On either side there was a great mass of indifference. I think under those conditions you could have put it through.

### In Wales and Ireland

But it is no use under-estimating the effect of militancy. The effect has been enormous, but it has been to convert that indifference into something like bitter hostility. I can see it in my own constituency. A few years ago there was a very considerable suffrage feeling in the constituency. The majority of the people were, I should say, indifferent—but the eruption of militancy in Wales has outraged national sentiment. There is hostility there now which never existed before against woman suffrage. You will find that in every part of the country. In Ireland the militants have gone out of their way to create an anti-suffrage feeling which never existed there before. They went to Dublin, and, so far as I can see, they tried to murder the Irish leader by flinging a hatchet at his head. They tried to break up a great Nationalist meeting at Belfast. What is the result? Irish sentiment is against it where before, on the whole, it was inclined to be friendly. It is no use denying these facts. For the moment, the militants have created a situation which is the worst I have ever seen for woman suffrage in Parliament.

### The Prime Minister's Position

It is all very well to blame the Prime Minister. He has been quite frank about this question. He is against it, but he did as a great Liberal leader was bound to do. He said, "If the sentiment of Parliament is in favour of it, I am not going to allow my personal views to stand in the way of putting into material form a demand from the nation." He could not have done more than that, and I do not think it is right to ask him. Parliament has expressed its opinion twice in succession and thrown the Bill out—much more on its merits than you would imagine. That represents the attitude of Parliament towards the question. There is a feeling of anger and irritation which is rather weak. It is rather weak to be rushed out of real convictions by any personal irritation. No one has been worried more by militancy than I have, but I do not think it has altered my views on the question. On the whole I think I am a much stronger Suffragist than I was seven years ago. I was reminded of a speech I delivered some time ago at Bath. I took some trouble to present the case—it was very important that I should be allowed to present it from the Suffragist point of view—but I was not allowed to utter a single sentence without having suffragists interrupting me. You can imagine what feelings people had. They would say, "Really, can you give votes to people who would conduct their campaign on those lines?" There is no use brushing aside militancy with a sentence and saying, "We deplore it, but you should not allow your judgment to be influenced."

### The Support of the Webblers

There is one fundamental fact which is borne in upon every man who has had anything to do with putting big proposals through Parliament. You carry these things through, not merely with the assistance of the people who are thoroughly convinced, but with the aid of the people who merely assent, and you must remember that the majority of people who support you are mere assenters and not supporters. The majority of the people are in the main indifferent. You have a number of people very enthusiastic. They press the case, and the rest assent. I want to get that into the minds of Suffragists. They must carry the assent of the public with them, where they cannot arouse their enthusiasm. The enthusiasts will be only a pro-

portion. You must get the rest, and that is the harm that militancy is doing. I am very glad to see its support is withering. It is the best omen I have yet seen of the success of the movement.

### Dramatic Without Being Repellent

The Suffragist pilgrimage was one of the cleverest political moves in recent times. The Suffragists, I agree, ought to do something dramatic to arrest attention—something dramatic without being repellent. It should be real. It is no good burning down pavilions, churches, and railway sidings, and menacing the lives of poor workmen, who, after all, are not responsible for the present condition of things. You do not gain anything by that, as you would do by a great movement like the pilgrimage. I should like to see Suffragists throughout the country doing more of that sort of thing. That is how they have won the vote in every other country—in Australia, in New Zealand, in Norway. They are winning state after state in the United States, and it is very significant that Mrs. Sandhurst has had to give a pledge that there would be no militancy there, not even preached. That shows that, in a country where women have the vote, it has been achieved by peaceful methods.

### An Instalment Worse than Nothing

I do not despair of something—not an instalment, I think this is one of those cases where an instalment is worse than nothing—I do not despair of a real measure of woman suffrage being carried in this country within a short time. Not in this Parliament, however; I think this Parliament has been ruined so far as suffrage is concerned. It has been anti-suffrage, its mind is poisoned. I do not despair at all if, at the next General Election, women are well organised and present their case to the electorate rationally and in a way that shows they are capable of self-restraint, which is the first test of the fitness of any self-government. I am sure they will be able to make such an impression at the polls that men who are opposed to the suffrage will find, on the whole, that it will be better for them to reconsider their views, and to pledge themselves to support an advanced measure of woman suffrage which will include not merely picked, selected women, but all the women of Great Britain who have got responsibilities in this country. That is my hope, and my advice will be that women should undertake a campaign of that character in the way which they have shown they can so well accomplish, and that they should do it with the whole of their energies between now and the next General Election.

### THE CHANCELLOR'S PICTURESQUE ACCOUNT

In the course of a letter to the Press which appeared on Tuesday morning, Mrs. Fawcett wrote: "This is not the occasion to follow the Chancellor's picturesque account of the causes of the withdrawal of the support of the Irish Nationalists which occasioned the defeat of the Conciliation Bill in March, 1912. It is sufficient here to point out that it was not caused by Mrs. Leigh throwing a hatchet at Mr. Redmond in the following July. The real cause is well known, and was described by Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., with admirable vivacity in a communication to the *Chicago Tribune*, dated January 25, 1913. It is probable that when Mr. Lloyd George goes to Dublin he will learn from the Irish Suffragists that their cause is stronger in Ireland to-day than it has ever been before."

### MRS. FAWCETT'S CRITICISM

At the Westminster Palace Hotel, last Friday, Mrs. Fawcett criticised very strongly Mr. Lloyd George's pessimistic view of the woman suffrage situation. She began by saying she was glad to know that Mr. Lloyd George was a stronger suffragist than he was seven years ago, but he was not exceptional in that respect. When a man began to say, "I even I alone am left," he was very often mistaken. An angel once came from heaven to tell such a man he was wrong. The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies must tell Mr. Lloyd George that there was no set-back in the women's movement. If the House of Commons thought there was, it merely proved that the House of Commons did not know what was going on in the world.

### ANOTHER SUFFRAGIST OPINION

"A Treacherous and Invertebrate Enemy" Miss Nina Boyle, in an interview, was extremely outspoken on the subject of Mr. Lloyd George's remarks. "It is a great pity," she is reported as saying, "that any Suffrage Society should go to such a treacherous and invertebrate an enemy as Mr. Lloyd George for his views on the movement. With reference to his opinion that there is no chance of a Woman Suffrage Bill being passed in the present Parliament, I feel sure that if we can only bring sufficient pressure to bear, the measure will go through."

### ADVANCE—NOT A SET-BACK

The movement had really made a tremendous advance. Mr. Lloyd George's speech itself was a sign—and there had within the past twelve months been many other signs of its progress—for instance, the vote carried by the National Union of Women Workers in favour of taking definite action to secure women's enfranchisement, the resolutions carried by the Labour Conference directing Labour members to vote against any extension of the franchise that did not include women, the resolution of the Trade Unions Congress in Manchester, the resolution of the Men's Liberal Association in Scotland, and the resolution that the "Provisional Government" in Ulster should give votes to women. Mr. Lloyd George had spoken of the enormous set-back to the women's movement in Ireland, but there were more signs of the progress of the women's suffrage movement in Ireland than ever before in its history. Undoubtedly Mr. Lloyd George was under the impression that there had been a set-back, but where did he find the evidence? It was probably the experience of each member of the audience that she could find twenty suf-

fragists to-day for every one she knew a few years before.

### "Absurd and Unstatesmanlike."

Answering Mr. Lloyd George's allegations about militancy, Mrs. Fawcett declared it was an absurd and unstatesmanlike suggestion that the efforts of friends in Parliament had been paralysed by militancy. Why should they be? When methods of violence had been resorted to in India, both Houses of Parliament recognised that there would not be violence without some cause. As Mr. Churchill had said recently, Liberalism was successful because it did not deal with the symptoms of discontent, but with the cause. In the case of women's suffrage, what did the Liberal Government offer? Violence and coercion, and nothing but violence and coercion. "That was her objection to militancy," said Mrs. Fawcett—"that it met evil with evil, coercion with coercion."

### Opinions Abroad

Mrs. Fawcett then gave a review of the movement all over the world, and speaking of the administration of the criminal law in England as compared with other countries, cited "infamous cases" of White Slavers over here who "had been treated with infinitely more leniency than the poor little clerk in the W.S.P.U. office, who had had nothing whatever to do with the policy of that society."

At the International Women's Congress at Budapest, continued Mrs. Fawcett, some of the delegates favoured militancy—but not in their own country. "Some foreigners," she added, "think the Englishman is a perfectly scandalously brutal man in his relations to women. You cannot persuade them that that is not true, although we did everything in our power to convince them that they were labouring under a gross misapprehension."

### The Bishop of Winchester's Letter.

Finally, Mrs. Fawcett spoke with deep appreciation of the letter from the Bishop of Winchester, published in the *Times* on Friday morning, and said she could assure him, on behalf of the National Union, that any practical outcome of the economic, social, and moral condition of women would receive sympathetic attention from all its members, who would not, however, relax their determination to secure their political citizenship.

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Miss Boyle further said it was not true that Suffrage prospects were never worse than at present, and with regard to the Chancellor's assertion about the effect of militancy on the present Parliament, she added:—

"That is where he makes a serious mistake. Members of Parliament do not reflect the feeling of the country. He is dealing in his usual exaggerated way with circumstances about which he has not taken the trouble to inform himself."

We note that the leading article in the *Daily News* of last Friday says:—"It is indisputable that, as Mr. Lloyd George told a Swindon deputation, the pushing of militancy to the extreme after it had exhausted its usefulness has done the movement for the emancipation of women immeasurable harm."

We are glad to hear that there has ever been a time when the *Daily News* thought that militancy was being "useful." But why did it not say so at the time?

## RELEASE AFTER A FORTNIGHT'S TORTURE

### Miss Mary Richardson Again Breaks Through Prison Bars

Miss Mary Richardson, having already proved the futility of the Cat and Mouse Act, has now proved the inability of the Home Office to keep her in prison by means of forcible feeding. After inflicting this indefensible outrage upon her for more than a fortnight, at the end of which her terrible condition made an operation for appendicitis necessary, Mr. McKenna was compelled to release her last Saturday afternoon—not unconditionally, as would have been the case before the Act was passed which was supposed to put a stop to forcible feeding, but on a seven-days' licence only. We are, therefore, forced to the conclusion that the Home Office intends to re-arrest Miss Richardson and resume feeding her by force as soon as by the efforts of her own doctors and friends she has been sufficiently restored to health for her life not to be immediately endangered by the repetition of the loathsome process. When we went to press, Miss Richardson, although slightly better and in less pain, was still far too ill for any operation to be performed.

### "Health Gives No Cause for Anxiety"

Only on Tuesday, October 21, four days before she was released in this critical condition, Mr. McKenna's secretary wrote as follows to the Women's Social and Political Union:—

"I am directed by the Secretary of State to inform you that she is receiving all necessary medical attention, and that, although she is refusing to take food voluntarily, her condition of health gives no cause for anxiety." The italics are ours.

The above communication was in answer to one requesting that Miss Mary Richardson be examined by a specialist on tuberculosis, a request supported by an enclosed letter from Doctor Ellen La Motte, Miss Richardson's own medical attendant, who declared this to be necessary in consequence of the four hunger strikes she had already undergone this summer, which, in Doctor La Motte's opinion, had "lighted up an old lesion." Doctor La Motte affirms in the same letter that Miss Richardson, when examined by her at the beginning of this month, remarked that the questions addressed to her were the same as those put by the Holloway doctor in the summer. "From this it would seem," remarks Doctor La Motte, "that the Holloway physician must have known that she had tuberculosis, or have had his suspicions as to what was the matter with her. If he does not know that she has it, that does not speak well for his ability; if he knows, and believes it well to forcibly feed her, that would seem to be a most highly dangerous thing to do."

### Miss Richardson's Account

Miss Richardson's own account of her condition, written three or four days before her release, is as follows:—

"I have been in solitary confinement and forcibly fed for the last two weeks. I am a mass of sores and bruises, especially about the arms and shoulders. My right shoulder is all raw; the skin is worn off, and I have had to put a bandage on. The skin is right off my shoulder in parts. I suffer in my head, ears, and eyes, with severe neuralgia caused by the nasal tube. I also suffer very much from sleeplessness. The doctors administer strong tonics and medicines by the tube before pouring in the other fluid food. After the tube is taken out I have tasted something bitter, like quinine. I think the fluid food is Brand's Essence, Horlick's Malted Milk, some sweet infants' food, and eggs beaten up. The insertion of the tube is very painful indeed, as it is too large for my nasal cavity. For the last ten days I have had no motion."

Had She Near Relations? It is perhaps worth while reminding our readers of the statement made by Miss Richardson on her release after hunger-striking on August 3. She said:—

"On Thursday Dr. Pearson began to question me about militancy, asking me if I was going to be militant when I went out, and I said of course I was. On Friday he asked me very carefully, and in a curious way, whether I had any relatives—especially whether I had a mother, father, or any near relations. Then he went on again about militancy, asking me if I was going to be militant

when I went out again. On Saturday he asked me again was I going to continue being militant, and I told him I should be militant as long as I could stand or see. He said, 'It is just coming to this: very stern measures will be adopted.' I said, 'You cannot do more than kill me.' He then said, 'It is not a question of killing you. Next time you will be kept fourteen days until you are a skeleton and a nervous and mental wreck, and then you will be sent to an institution where they look after mental wrecks.'

"That was the end of the conversation, as he was getting towards the door. He emphasised the mental part of the breakdown."

What are we to think? Knowing the respect of persons that has always been shown by the present Liberal Government in its dealings with Suffragist prisoners, we can only conclude that had Miss Richardson's answers convinced the officials that she had influential friends and relatives, she would not have been chosen as the first victim of the Home Office order for the resumption of forcible feeding. The Home Office, in this as in other matters, has entirely failed to grasp the fellowship that exists among Suffragists.

### THE DOCTORS' RESPONSIBILITY

We understand that many suffragists are adopting the very good plan of writing or telephoning to their medical practitioners, whether men or women, pointing out to them that the whole medical profession is involved in the conduct of the present doctors who allow themselves to become the instruments of the Government's policy of torturing political prisoners, and calling upon them for the sake of their professional honour—if for no other reason—to denounce such servile action on the part of their colleagues, and to declare it contrary to all the canons of medical etiquette and procedure. This is an effective form of protest, and well within the power of militant and non-militant suffragists alike, who are all, of course, united in condemning the barbarous practice of forcible feeding. Even where a doctor is known to be opposed to forcible feeding his attention may well be called to his own responsibility in the matter.

### Suffragists' March Along Harley Street

On Tuesday evening a procession of Suffragists marched along Harley and Wimpole Streets. They carried banners, "McKenna uses doctors to torture women." Afterwards a meeting was held outside Holloway Prison.

[A letter on Forcible Feeding from Doctor Barbara Tolchinsky, which arrived too late for insertion, will appear in our next issue.]

### PRESS OPINIONS

Miss Mary Richardson appears to have been specially marked out for torture and doom by the powers that be. At one stage the idea apparently was to drive her mad, but there was a change of tactics. A slightly less sensational method of barbarism is again being adopted. All the same, the business is revolting to the better feelings of humanity. This crude and cruel torture suggests that, so far as the master-class is concerned, this is the really Dark Age. What has become of the vaunted high spirit and sensitive conscience of Britain? All Britons are, in a sense, on trial. What have they to say for themselves?—*Daily Herald*.

The November issue of the organ of the Church League for Women's Suffrage contains an article on Forcible Feeding, in which the following passage occurs:—"It is, of course, an enhancement of the barbarity that it should be practised upon women, normally law-abiding and of social worth, who have been goaded into rebellion by the refusal of justice and by more than the suspicion of political treachery. But our protest against the practice does not rest upon its accidental connection with the Suffrage agitation. We resist it as inhuman. It is, as carried out, simply an irresponsible form of torture. It may be more or less severe at the discretion of the Home Secretary and his officials. If we are really to return to the days of physical torture, let its amount and character be regulated and determined in open court."

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A BIT OF DUBLIN IN SURREY



Little Irish Visitors Examining the Famous Mural Sundial

Through the courtesy of the "Daily Mirror," we have the pleasure of being able to give our readers this week two pictures of the six little Dublin girls who are staying at the cottage of the Editors of this paper.

Of course they have not left behind their delightful Irish brogue and those special expressions of speech which sound so quaint to English ears.

The mother of one of the children has come over with them and has been of very great help in brushing away all difficulties. The highly controversial religious question has been solved to the satisfaction of all by some friends of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence who live close by and are themselves Roman Catholics, who have kindly taken the children with them to mass and put them into communication with the Priest.



At Tea in the Sundial Cottage

["Daily Mirror" Photograph.]

THE STATE AND THE CHILD

The State is every day taking over more of the duties of a parent. General Booth, in an interview published a few days ago in the Westminster Gazette, talked of the probable amendment of the Children Act, and greatly as we may feel that this faulty piece of legislation needs amendment, we cannot refrain from pointing out the danger of its being again approached by a Parliament responsible only to the men of the country.

The State as Father to the Child For the Committee is strongly of opinion that the control of the State over these great "barrack" schools should be considerably strengthened. Including the children actually in the schools and those who have left but are still under some sort of supervision, about 30,000 girls and boys are involved in the system altogether.

Another recommendation is that a woman medical inspector of the schools should be appointed, also an Advisory Committee of seven members, of whom three at least should be women, also that the Board of Education should co-operate with the Home Office in the inspection of the schools.

One would not have thought this very obvious truth needful of mention if only had not read on and made the astonishing discovery that as at present constituted many of the school committees have no women members on them.

Little Improvement since 1896 With its most obvious in the Report, however, is the present unsatisfactory condition of the schools, from a human point of view, and the little improvement that has been effected in them since the Departmental Committee of 1896 issued its recommendations.

We do not think these old, bad defects would have remained unremedied for sixteen years if women were a political force in the country. If women's votes as well as men's were behind the administration of the Home Office, we doubt whether the system of reformatory and industrial schools would not have been replaced before this by some method more humane and more elevating of dealing with young offenders who, in many cases, are more intelligent than their fellows.

The Magistrate—They do not wish to press the case. I do not think you are in a fit state to undergo a prolonged trial, and I am going to adopt the suggestion made. I hope you will appreciate the consideration shown you and conduct yourself well in future.

THE AGE OF CONSENT

A Private Member's Bill was introduced into the Australian State Parliament at the end of September to amend the Crimes Act by raising the age of consent for girls to 16, and a motion was at the same time agreed to that a return should be laid before the House showing the number of criminal offences against women and also against girls under 17 years of age during the year ending August 31, 1913.

Protection of Person and Property The Woman Voter comments on this Bill as follows:—

While thanking Mr. McLachlan for his attempt to obtain for women better legal protection against vicious men than they have at present, we ask him, we ask the Chief Secretary, and all Members of Parliament to understand that women intend to have the same protection given to the person—of boys as well as girls—as is given to their property.

RESPONSIBILITY—BUT NEVER POWER

In a lecture on "The National Importance of Women's Health," Dr. Alfred T. Schofield said on Monday afternoon that there are three lines of defence against disease—in the laws of the State, in that of the medical profession, and in that of private life, which is entirely in the hands of women.

WHY THIS LIBERALISM?

We are surprised to see in a daily paper that "all possible steps are being taken to procure the early release of Mr. Bell," the Lisbon correspondent of the Morning Post, who has been arrested and imprisoned in a Portuguese barracks on the charge of maintaining relations with the Royalist conspirators and sending false news about Portuguese politics to his paper.

Why this fuss over the much milder behaviour of the Portuguese authorities, who have never set themselves up as leaders of the world in matters of freedom?

MRS. DRUMMOND DISCHARGED

Discharged Because Companions were Found Guilty! At Bow Street Police Court, on Thursday in last week, Mrs. Drummond surrendered to her bail on the charge of conspiring with the leaders of the Women's Social and Political Union to commit damage to property.

Mr. Bodkin's Speech Mr. Bodkin conducted the case on behalf of the Director of Public Prosecutions, and said that in the course of the police-court proceedings in May, Mrs. Drummond became ill and underwent a serious operation. Since she last appeared before the Court the position had been carefully considered by the Public Prosecutor and himself, and it had been decided not to proceed further with the matter for three reasons: First, the condition of Mrs. Drummond's health; secondly, the long period that had elapsed since the occurrence which gave rise to the prosecution; and, thirdly, all the other persons with whom Mrs. Drummond was originally charged had been convicted and punished, and it was hoped that this would be a warning to her not to become involved in such proceedings in the future.

Mr. Bodkin also observed that when Mrs. Drummond was last before the Court she declined to give any undertaking as to her conduct in the interim. He would not now ask her to give any undertaking, and if any charge were proved against her in future that fact would be taken into consideration.

A Dialogue with the Bench

Mrs. Drummond—Am I to understand that the case against me is withdrawn? The Magistrate—They do not wish to press the case. I do not think you are in a fit state to undergo a prolonged trial, and I am going to adopt the suggestion made.

The Magistrate—You may speak, but you ought not to say. No curb will be placed upon you if you keep within the law. Mrs. Drummond was then discharged.

MR. HOUSMAN ON "BODKINISM"

In the London Budget last Sunday, Mr. Laurence Housman made a witty and at the same time scathing exposure of the methods of "Bodkinism" as applied in the case of Mrs. Drummond.

"Mrs. Drummond, we are told to believe," he says, "is in a more serious state of health now, before the life-saving appliances of the Government have touched her, than ever were Mrs. Pankhurst, Annie Kenney, Sylvia Pankhurst, Lillian Lenton, or Mary Richardson, on whom with such beneficent and recuperative results those life-saving appliances have been pressed again and again. They have not yet arrived at the 'letting off stage,' though some of them have been certified by doctors to have been brought by them into imminent danger of death.

"But outside the 'Cat-and-Mouse' Act the 'letting-off stage' has meanwhile quite easily been achieved by a man whom Mr. McKenna's Bill did not trouble to 'mouse'—a man who had criminally assaulted a young child, and who after serving six weeks of his nine months' sentence was set free with the full approval of Mr. McKenna, and is now well enough to have become once more a danger in the locality where he lives.

"The 'letting off' stage is different in different cases. In the case of a violator of young children 'impaired health' is the stage. In the case of Mr. George Lansbury, political exigencies and the fear of an East End riot are the stage. In the case of Mrs. Drummond, her inability, not to undergo ordinary imprisonment, but to be successfully 'moused,' is the stage. That is why Mrs. Drummond does not go to prison—not because she cannot live in confinement, but because she cannot be 'moused.' Mr. McKenna does not want to expose himself to another beating.

Why the Ulsterites are Free Taking the second reason for Mrs. Drummond's acquittal—that her colleagues were convicted—Mr. Housman, with his remorse-

less logic, cries—"But oh! think of the danger Sir Edward Carson and the rest would have run had Mrs. Pankhurst and her fellow-conspirators all been found innocent! For if it is only because the others were found guilty that Mrs. Drummond goes free, then, evidently, had their innocence been proved Bodkin would have had to make his point elsewhere, and the political situation might have been very different from what it now is. Perhaps the jurists who tried the W.S.P.U. leaders did not know at the time that in bringing them in guilty they were saving the political situation for the Government. But now they know. Bodkin has told them."

"So Long Ago" "And finally," says Mr. Housman, "Mrs. Drummond is released because the things she was charged with 'happened so long ago!' But they happened at the very same time as the things that all the other prisoners were charged with—the things for which those other prisoners have ever since been paying a heavy price. . . . 'So long ago!' The offense with which Miss Lenton is to be charged—when the police can catch her—has become quite as respectable in its antiquity as the offences from all charge of which Mrs. Drummond now goes scot free."

A Government, he concludes, which makes such "devastating excuses for its action must surely be in a bad way—either that or a revolution in its treatment of the Militant Suffragists is impending. On its present showing this latest bit of Bodkinism won't wash."

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following cases have been attributed in the press during the last week to Suffragists:— Thursday, October 23.—Bristol University athletic pavilion burnt down, damage estimated at £2,000. Suffrage literature found.

Friday, October 24.—Tube of phosphorus placed in letter-box at Greenwich. Saturday, October 25.—Attempt to fire Northfield and Hagley Road Railway Stations, Birmingham.

Monday, October 27.—Large unoccupied house at Ramshott, Hants, property of Mr. McKenna's brother, destroyed by fire. Notice found: "Mr. McKenna, Coward. Very brave in torturing women, but afraid to touch men. A protest against forcible feeding. Votes for women."

Thirteen letter-boxes fired at Birmingham; a large number of letters destroyed.

Tuesday, October 28.—Shirley Manor, Wylke, Bradford (unoccupied), badly damaged by fire, right wing completely destroyed; damage estimated at £5,000. Suffrage literature found. Supposed attempt to fire unoccupied house at Dorking.

"A MESSAGE TO GIVE MR. LLOYD GEORGE"

At Westminster Police Court, last Wednesday, Miss Freda Graham was sentenced on police evidence only to a fine of £20, or in default two months' imprisonment for an assault on the police. She denied the charge, and refused to pay the fine.

The occasion was the Baptist meeting at Westminster Chapel on Tuesday night, which was addressed by Mr. Lloyd George, and the alleged assault took place outside the chapel when the Chancellor was leaving by a side entrance. Sub-divisional Inspector Spilker said he was keeping back the crowd when some white powder was thrown, partially blinding him. Police-constable James said he saw the defendant throw the white powder, from which came the cloud of powder that fell over the inspector and himself. Another constable also said the package struck him on the helmet.

The defendant denied throwing any powder, but admitted throwing Suffragist papers at the Chancellor. "I had a certain message to give to Mr. Lloyd George," she said, "but they would not let women into the meeting, so I had to give him my message outside in the form of leaflets. The police were very officious, and I had to get at him as best I could by throwing them at his head."

Mr. Alexander Lidiard, charged with obstructing the police on the same occasion, was bound over.

OTHER PRISONERS

Miss Rachel Peace is being forcibly fed three times a day in Holloway Gaol. Miss Dulcie West, who was re-arrested on October 21, has not yet been released. It is feared that she is being forcibly fed. Miss Cissie Wilcox, charged on Wednesday at the Whitley Petty Sessions with being found with inflammable materials on the premises of a school, was sentenced to 20s. or a fortnight, and went to prison.

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FURTHER INTERSESSION FOR SUFFRAGISTS

Last Sunday prayers were again offered for Suffragists in several churches by members of the congregations. At Westminster Abbey, at the ten o'clock service, during the third Collect, a number of women sang the following words: "God save Mary Richardson and Rachel Peace who are being forcibly fed in prison. Open the eyes of Thy Church that it may turn against this torture." They were immediately requested to leave, which they did in an orderly manner, but at the end of the service some other women prayed for Annie Kenney and Sylvia Pankhurst; they also were asked to leave.

At St. James's, Piccadilly, in the evening, the service was twice marked by the repetition of these prayers. At St. John's Church, Hantsstead, two women unfurled a flag in the gallery; it bore the words, "Oh God, save Thy tortured women, and awaken the consciences of Thy people." After fixing the flag the women quietly left the church.

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CORROBORATIVE EVIDENCE

Jury Object to Judge's Direction

Another instance of acquittal for want of "corroborative" evidence, in a case of indecent assault, occurred at the Northamptonshire County Assizes last week, before Mr. Justice Rowlatt. It was the occasion on which the order for the exclusion of women from the court, which had been given by the superintendent of police, was rescinded by the judge.

Uneasiness in the Minds of Women

We do not allege (not having been present and heard the evidence) that the verdict in either of these cases was necessarily a false or unjust one. But we do allege that the circumstances of both trials, as related in the Northampton Mercury and quoted here by us, give rise to the utmost uneasiness in the minds of women as to the way that cases of this particular kind are conducted in the Courts. It will be remembered that in the case of the acquittal of a police constable at the London Sessions on September 11, the Common Sergeant similarly directed the jury to bring in a verdict of Not Guilty in the absence of corroborative evidence of assault upon a girl of 14, and the jury did so, but stated they were "not satisfied."

Where Women are Voters

It is important to remember that in the State of Washington, where women now have the vote, the Legislature recently amended its corroborative evidence law so that the jury, in assault cases, is now free to accept the evidence (without corroboration) of either a boy or girl victim of outrage. Formerly a boy's evidence could be accepted in such cases, but a girl's was not held valid in law.

ASSAULT CASE IN CROATIA

A reader of Votes for Women in Croatia, Austria-Hungary, sends us the Agrarier Tagblatt with a report of a case of assault by three boys on a little girl of twelve. Although the boys did not succeed in harming the child, they were each sentenced to two years' hard labour. Perhaps nowhere else than in this country are the penalties dealing with assault on women and children so light, or convictions so hard to secure.

CORRESPONDENCE

"CHURCH AND STATE"

To the Editors of Votes for Women. Dear Editors.—Your leading article in the issue of October 24 has worried me. No doubt this is my own fault, and I have probably read into it what you did not mean, but it seems to me that you consider that for the Church "to arouse and organise the conscience of the nation" is "leaving the political warfare to be accomplished by others." Is this quite the fact? Does not the great value of the work of the various sectarian Suffrage Societies consist in emphasising unflinchingly—as they are doing—that to-day the religion of each one of us results in our political activity? To many of us our religion is our politics because our politics is our conscience. That the meaning of the words has been narrowed until religion means sentiment or dogma, and politics party politics, does not alter the truth.

lore. They wish, by righteous legislation, to feed, clothe, and comfort the oppressed. When the nation realises the righteousness of politics, when good men and good women are truly politicians, then we shall not talk of "Church and State," for the whole State will have become a Church—a Heaven on earth. In the New Jerusalem we read, "I saw no Temple therein"; one was not needed, the whole city was a Temple.—Yours, &c., E. E. APPLETON. Sec., C.L.W.S., Bootle.

If our correspondent will look again carefully at that part of the Bishop of Kensington's speech which states immediately under the heading "Not wholly Political," and will also re-read the leading article, "Church and State," and will note the context in relation to the sentence which he quotes, he will see that the phrase "political warfare" signifies in this particular instance political militancy, or political rebellion, and not the constitutional exercise of the political vote. To "fight" the Government figuratively in the name of conscience on the political field by means of the ballot-box is one thing, while to defy the authority of the realm by passive or by active resistance to the law is another. Our point was that both the constitutional and moral forces and the forces of rebellion had operated together in similar movements in the past, and both forces were needed to-day. Nothing in the speech of the Bishop of Kensington, or in the article "Church and State," controverts the claim of our correspondent, which we heartily endorse, that all men who have the vote are in duty

bound to express their convictions upon the question of "votes for women" through the ballot-box, and that the value of all the various Suffrage Societies is ultimately to be tested by their influence on the result of elections. In fact, we are convinced that nothing is more needed at the present moment than a great revival of directly political work carried on in every Parliamentary constituency throughout the whole country.—Ed. VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

THE BISHOP OF KENSINGTON'S SPEECH

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Dear Editors.—With a great deal of the Bishop of Kensington's speech I am in sympathy, though I don't go all the way with him or you. There is, however, one point which I challenge.

The protest against the leniency of the sentence on Queenie Gerald is justified, but I suggest that the grievance about the non-prosecution, or the non-publication of the names, of the men mentioned in her books should be dropped. To what purpose would it be to prosecute without evidence, or are we in cases of this sort to dispense with evidence and punish on accusation and allegation alone? What a paradise for the blackmailers!

And who is to publish the names, and where? Is it to be done in the privileged House of Commons, and would that be fair? If the Bishop knew them would he dare to publish them? I don't mean that he might fear proceedings for libel. He would doubtless—for I know him well—risk that danger if he thought his duty called on him to do it. But again, would it be fair to the men? Queenie Gerald is quite clever enough to protect herself by ensuring that all sorts of prominent men's names should be included in her premises. The finding of a name there is no sort of evidence—legal or inferential—against the bearer of that name. It might be a ground for the police to watch the proceedings of that man, but no more than that.

I have discussed the matter with a convinced and active Suffragist, who agrees

with me that the point is a bad one.—Yours, &c., ARTHUR T. FORKINS. Moortown, Leeds, October 20, 1913.

It was impossible for the Bishop of Kensington to tell the whole story in his speech of the Queenie Gerald case. It is probable that our correspondent is not aware of the facts. The first statement of the solicitor in the prosecution, Mr. Travers Humphreys, as reported in the Times, was that when the flat was raided "a number of letters was seized which made it quite clear that, apart from prisoner's earnings, and apart from the three girls, she had been carrying on the trade of a procurer. There was a copy of a letter, which the woman herself had written, which made it abundantly clear that she was guilty of procuration." Mr. Keir Hardie presented a sworn statement in Parliament from one who had been employed as one of the jury which describes the way in which the counsel for the prosecution and for the defence co-operated with the judge in the suppression of all names and addresses that were in the hands of the police. Mr. Keir Hardie has published a full exposure of the case in the form of a pamphlet, which can be had for one penny.—Ed. VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

NOT NOTICE—BUT TRUE

The "Daily Herald's" Way of Putting it On Saturday, November 15, Mr. Winston Churchill, that great democratic leader—who hopes to become still greater—will address his friends at the Alexandra Palace. We say "friends" advisedly; for such is the unpopular nature of democratic leadership that no woman can be admitted into this meeting; and only a picked lot of men, who are guaranteed to swallow anything that is ladled down with the Liberal spoon. The usual Liberal rule at present is: "Men only." The time is soon coming when it will be necessary to modify this to "Sheep only." It won't sound nice—but it will be true.

NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

President: Mrs. Cecil Chapman. Miss Lena Ashwell and Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck were the speakers at our "At Home" on Tuesday. Miss Jean Forsyth took the chair.

Commenting on the appointment of Sir Rufus Isaacs to the post of Lord Chief Justice, Miss Ashwell said it seemed strange that a man who had so recently been connected with a very grave scandal should be promoted to a position which necessitated in its holder an absolute equity of mind and a perfectly balanced judgment. If the Government held the view that Sir Rufus Isaacs had had no desire to be unfair towards the country in using the knowledge he had acquired, what about people who had no money and no power? If the Government was going to take intention into account, it should reconsider its attitude towards Miss Annie Kenney, Mrs. Pankhurst, and the other militant women. It was intolerable that there should be one standard for men and another for women.

Reading By-Election.—The N.C.S. is conducting a vigorous campaign against the Government. Magnificent meetings are being held, and great sympathy is shown for the cause. So far the speakers have met with practically no opposition.

Wantage Campaign.—A series of meetings are being arranged in Wantage, Miss Fry, organiser in charge, would be very grateful for help. We appeal particularly to Suffragist residents in Berkshire, who also believe in our anti-Government policy, to write to Miss Fry at "Redlands," Ormand Road, Wantage.

Concert.—As readers of this column are aware, a concert in aid of the funds of the Society has been arranged for November 21. Very distinguished artists have promised their services, and purchasers of tickets will not only have the satisfaction of helping the cause, but of getting full value for their money in the great musical treat that is being provided.

FUTURE MEETINGS AND EVENTS

Sunday, November 2.—Hyde Park, noon. Mrs. Merivale Mayer. Tuesday, November 4.—143A, Park Mansions Arcade, 3 p.m. Miss Margaret Douglas, "Fraudulent Social Reform," Mrs. Sarah Naidu, "From an Eastern Woman's Standpoint."

Bazaar, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge. Countess Brassey, December 2. Miss Lena Ashwell, December 3.

THE STIGMA OF BEING NON-VOTERS

The Church League for Women's Suffrage, hearing that no women were to be allowed to take part in next Saturday's procession at Manchester in protest against the Welsh Church Bill, demanded an explanation and received one from the honorary secretary of the Manchester Diocesan Society for Church Defence. In the course of this reply it is stated that "My Committee do not desire that many women should walk, but this is because it is desirable that the procession should move expeditiously, and because it is also desirable that the procession should escape the stigma of being largely composed of non-voters."

The italics are ours. It is not often that the inferior status of the voteless woman is thus frankly stated, and we hope that the above passage will open the eyes of those Churchwomen who are not yet Suffragists.

THE REGISTRATION OF NURSES

Status Lost in England. In an interesting interview with Miss A. H. Holford, matron of St. Helen's Maternity Hospital at Dunedin, New Zealand, a recent issue of the Nursing Times emphasises the loss of status that is suffered by a nurse or midwife who comes to England from that country. For in New Zealand—where, as the Nursing Times reminds Miss Holford, "women are citizens who live to make the laws controlling their lives"—both nurses and midwives are registered, and consequently lose their status on coming to Great Britain, where this reform still lags behind, in common with others that have only women without votes at the back of them.

"Imagine," says Miss Holford, "if our first-rate medical men on their visits home were divested of all professional status at London Docks, and degraded to the position of quacks! That is practically how the registered nurses and midwives of New Zealand are treated by the Home Government."

And so they will be treated till the Home Government has the sense to follow the example of its enterprising offspring beyond the seas, and to enfranchise its women.

COMING EVENTS

The London Society (N.U.W.S.S.) will hold a public reception at the Westminster Hotel 4-to-day (Friday), from 3.30-6.15 p.m. Speakers: Miss Rosamond Smith and others.

The Daily Herald League will hold a demonstration at the Albert Hall to-morrow (Saturday), at 8 p.m., in aid of the Dublin Strike Fund. Chair: Mr. George Lansbury. Tickets: Daily Herald League, 21, Tudor Street, E.C.

The Jewish League announce a meeting at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, on November 3, at 8.30 p.m. Speaker: Lyon Blease, Esq. Chair: Herbert Jacobs, Esq.

The Forward Cymric Suffrage Union will hold a public meeting at the Caxton Hall on November 3, at 8 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Hylton Dale, Mr. C. Mansell-Moulin, F.R.C.S., and Miss Margarita Jones.

There will be a Votes for Women Fellowship meeting at the Institute, Hampstead Garden Suburb, on November 4, at 8.15 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mr. Greenhalgh, and the Rev. Rushbrooke. Tickets: 1s. and 6d., free seats.

A dramatic version of Longfellow's "Hiawatha" will be given by the Women's Freedom League on November 4, at 3 p.m. and at 8 p.m., in the Cripplegate Institute, Golden Lane, E.C.

At the Suffrage Club, on November 4, at 3.30 p.m., the National Political League will hold a meeting. Speaker: Miss Margaret Lewis Parry, M.A. Chair: Miss M. A. Broadhurst, M.A.

At the International Women's Franchise Club, on November 5, at 8.30 p.m., there will be a discussion on "The Cure of Poverty." Speakers: Miss Mabel Atkinson and Dr. C. V. Drysdale.

The United Religious Women Suffrage Societies will hold a public meeting at the Caxton Hall, on November 6, at 8 p.m. Speakers: Miss Abadam, Rev. C. Himscliff, Lady Frances Balfour, and others.

The Actresses' Franchise League will hold a meeting and reception at the Shaftesbury Theatre on November 18, at 3 p.m. Speakers: Professor Bickerton, Rev. L. Donaldson, Mr. Roy Horniman, Mr. Zangwill, and others. Tickets: A.F.L. 1s.

NEXT SUNDAY'S SERVICES

NATIONAL WEEK OF PRAYER.—Church League Service, Wednesday, November 5, 8.30 p.m., St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside. E. C. Preacher, the Rev. Canon J. H. B. Masterman.

ST. ANNE'S, SOHO.—Preachers and Music for Sunday next: 11 a.m., "The Deeds of Judgment, Wesley in Exile, "If We Believe" (Goss); Communion Service, Wesley in Exile; Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis, Atwood in G. Anthem, "We are Ambassadors" (Mendelssohn); Organ Voluntary, Prelude and Fugue, C. m. (Bach); Preacher, Rev. Dr. W. S. Macrowan.

ETHICAL CHURCH, Queen's Road, Bayswater.—Next Sunday at 11, Dr. Stanton Coit, "The Inside of the Cup." Membership Lunch at 1.30. Evening at 7, Dr. Stanton Coit, "What is Beyond Good and Evil."

KINGSWAY HALL, W.C. (WEST LONDON MISSION).—Sunday, Nov. 2. Preacher (11 a.m. and 7 p.m.), Rev. E. Rattenbury. Morning Subject, "THE TWELVE APOSTLES" (7 John); Evening, Mr. Rattenbury commences series of sermons on "IS JESUS GOOD ENOUGH FOR THE TWENTIETH CENTURY?" No. 1, "The Claims of Jesus on the Modern World," 6.30 to 7 p.m. Musical Service, Soloist, Miss Rose Molyneux; Organ, Mr. FRANK IDLE, A.R.A.M. 3.30. Fellowship; Speaker, Thomas Dutton, Esq., M.D., M.B., F.R.C.P.; Subject, "The Crime of Food Faking."

NEW THOUGHT CHURCH.—11.15, at 1, Steinvay Hall, Lower Seymour Street. Preacher: Miss Marie Lepper, 7.15, at 78, Edgware Road, Mr. John Green.

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WESTBOURNE PARK CHAPEL (opposite to Royal Oak Station), Porchester Road, W.—Dr. C. H. Watkins, M.A., at 11; Dr. J. Clifford, M.A., at 7.

PRODUCTION OF "HIAWATHA." The dramatic version of "Hiawatha," by K. Harvey, will be given by the same company who gave the dramatic performance at the International Suffrage Fair in December, 1912. A special feature will be the dresses, which are all of the period and very beautiful, while the moving tableaux to illustrate the connecting scenes are to be very striking. An interesting characteristic of the music is that it will be hummed to a drum accompaniment only.

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## WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

**LONDON SOCIETY (N.U.W.S.S.)**—Public Reception, Westminster Palace Hotel, October 31. Miss Rosamond Smith, Mrs. Heitland, Dr. Florence Willey, Mr. Cholmeley.

**FORWARD CYMRIC SUFFRAGE UNION**—Protest Meeting, at Caxton Hall, Westminster, Monday, November 3, 8 p.m. (during Suffrage Week of Prayer). Speakers, C. Mansell-Moulin, F.R.C.S., on "Foreable Feeding." Mrs. Hylton Dale, Miss Jones. Chair, Mrs. Davies. All seats free. Special collection for Senghnydd widows and orphans. Do Come and Support us.

**JEWISH LEAGUE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE**—Lecture at Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, November 3, at 8.30. Lyon Blease Esq., chair, Herbert Jacobs, Esq., "The History of the Woman's Movement." Tickets, Miss Mildred Marsden, 82, Redcliffe Gardens, S.W.

**THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE** holds regular Public Meetings at Caxton Hall every Wednesday afternoon. Speakers, NOVEMBER 5, Mrs. Cobden Sanderson on "The Child in Hungary," and Miss Nina Boyle. The Chair will be taken at 3.30. Admission free.

**INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB**, 9, Grafton Street, W.—Wednesday, November 5, at 8.30 p.m. Discussion, "The Cure of Poverty," Miss Mabel Atkinson, Dr. C. V. Drysdale, D.Sc., M.I.E.E., Chair, Rev. Dr. Joseph Hochman.

**WOMEN'S TAX RESISTANCE LEAGUE**—Lecture, "The Worship of Athens" (with lantern illustrations from Greek sculpture and vase-painting), by Miss Katherine Raleigh, at Caxton Hall, Monday, November 10. Chair, Mrs. Marie C. Stopes, D.Sc., Ph.D., F.L.S., &c., at 5.15 p.m. Tickets, 2s. and 1s.

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