VOTES FOR WOMEN

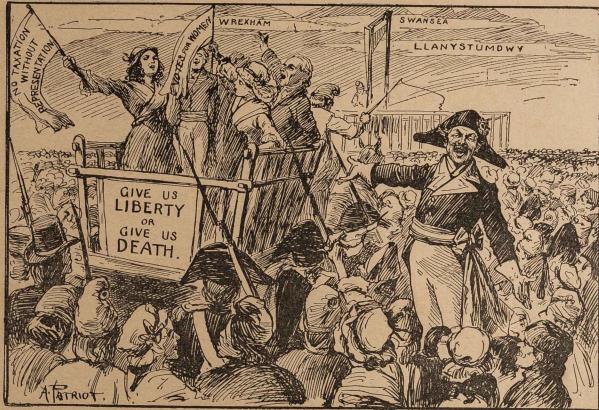
EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1912.

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FREE TUMBRILS FOR SUFFRAGETTES



CONDEMNED SUFFRAGETTES (singing the Marseillaise): "To Freedom's cause till death, we swear our fealty!" MR. LLOYD GEORGE (Robespierre): "Those are not martyrs! Why, they've been provided with free tumbrils!"

(Mr. Zangwill, referring-in a speech to Mr. Lloyd George's remark that the Suffragists thrown out of his meeting had their railway fares paid for them, said it was as though the Frenc's Revolutionists had consoled their victims by telling them they would have free tumbrils to the guillotine.)

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

THE OUTLOOK

Private Members of the House of Commons will have another chance next week of showing of what material their pledges are made. On Monday or Tuesday the vote on Mr. Philip Snowden's Woman Suffrage Amendment to the Home Rule Bill will be taken; and Ministerialists will have placed before them the alternative of breaking faith with women

or of coming into conflict with the wishes of the Government. If they fail women, once again on this occasion, surely the last flickering hope which some women still see in the private Member and his pledged word will have died out! On page 68 will be found a special interview with Mr. Snowden, and the nature and prospects of the amendment are further discussed in our leading article.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's Defence

A frantic effort has been made by the Labour Party in the House of Commons to prove that it is doing its duty by women, and that the hostile attitude towards it of the W.S.P.U. is wholly unreasonable. "When you have a bad case slang your opponent" is a well-known rule of controversy; and how bad Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's case must be may therefore be judged by reading his fulminations against the Women's Social and Political Union, extracts from which we print on page 76. The question at issue is whether the policy being pursued by the Labour M.P.'s is right or wrong. The question of the constitution of the W.S.P.U. is entirely irrelevant.

The Policy of the Labour Party

Now what are the facts? The Labour Party has been returned to the House of Commons pledged, among other things, to Woman Suffrage. It finds

itself an integral part of the Coalition, the other two sections of which are the Liberal and Nationalist Parties. In each of these two sections there is a majority of individual Members pledged to Woman Suffrage, yet for their own purposes the leaders of the Liberal and Nationalist Parties claim the right to block Woman Suffrage, the Nationalists frankly stating that they are prepared to vote solid against it solely in the interests of Home Rule. In these circumstances the Labour Party have a plain duty to perform. Being individually united on the principle of Woman Suffrage, they ought as a solid Party to deliver an ultimatum to their colleagues of the Coalition; in this ultimatum they ought to make it clear that they are not prepared to allow the principles for which they stand to be subordinated to the interests of their colleagues, and that unless the two can be reconciled their support of the Coalition is at an end. This course they have refused to take, and in consequence they have become merely the tail of the Liberal dog, to be wagged to the right or the left as the dog wills. We are convinced that such a policy does not commend itself to those who have sent them to the House of Commons to make a fight for their principles.

Selling up Mr. Pethick Lawrence

On Thursday after we had gone to press the sale at The Mascot, Holmwood, Surrey, of the furniture and effects of the Editors of this paper was due to take place. From the special article by Mr. Pethick Lawrence, printed on page 72, our readers will understand what this sale means, and why Mr. Pethick Lawrence is placing every obstacle that lies in his power in the way of the Government's securing the money. In view of the fact that the sale is not likely to realise the full amount demanded, and that

The Case of Miss Gladys Evans

the massignary latest. The magnetic revoke her license, and she is therefore again at liberty. It is well, however, that the public should realise just what the Government proposed, because we are well aware that it is only public opinion that prevents them from proceeding to any lengths, how-ever cowardly and dishonourable, in their dealings with women. Miss Evans was sentenced, it will be were determined that their rule should be remembered, to five years' penal servitude; she refused to be treated as a common criminal, and adopted the hunger strike. After a long process of adopted the hunger strike. After a long process of canada, in defiance of the law? Had he not, with murder with great composure of mind and cheerfulpoint of death, she was at last set at liberty. But the Government, following the suggestion of an anonymous letter-writer to the *Irrish Times*, instead of releasing her upper liberty. The suggestion of an anonymous letter-writer to the *Irrish Times*, instead of releasing her upper liberty. and, with the forlornest of forlorn hopes, seized expedient of releasing her unconditionally, adopted the expedient of releasing her "unconditions" of her license, and was arrested on Wednesday in last week and sent to prison for a week under remand. We understand she adopted the hunger strike, and on her appearance in court was nunger strike, and on her appearance in court was in a terribly weak condition. The words of the magistrate are remarkable. It was difficult, he said, rest quietly and wait patiently while men and women to carry out strictly the law in the case of people who of the negro race were denied their freedom. For were absolutely reckless of the consequences, for whom punishment had no terror, and penal servitude of the negro race were denied their freedom. For fifty years the thing had been denounced, while good no shame. He could not entertain the idea of sending people talked of "moral suasion," and trusted to the prisoner back to penal servitude by revoking her license. The prisoner had brought more suffering on herself than the most merciless law could impose, and he thought the six days she had been in prison on reason would suffice without strong action, and, con- the question of slavery. Another two years passed, remand were sufficient punishment for non-com-pliance with the law, possibly through a mistake. He therefore discharged her.

A Healthy Independence

An illuminating article appeared in the columns of the Daily Chronicle last Monday relating to the position of Woman Suffrage in the United States. After discussing the attitude of the women who were prepared to throw in their lot with one of the great parties, the writer came to the Women's Political Union, and of them she says:—

Indeed the writer came to the women's Formanion, and of them she says:—

I found myself amongst women who were Suffragists fill they got the vote. I am careful to make that time limit, for so it is that the women who are working all the time for the Suffrage limit the time of their non-partisan existence. When questioned as to their politics, their answer is, "We have no politics till we have some use for them. Politics without a vote is like having something to say but being dumb. Give us the vote, and then by our ballots themselves we will answer your question!" In taking up this non-partisan position the "Suffragist first" women are showing keen sagacity and a real talent for political manipulation and wire-pulling of the smartest kind.

How refreshing it is to read in our Liberal papers.

How refreshing it is to read in our Liberal papers.

I found myself amongst women who were Suffragists first in the limit, for amusement or the improvement of his mind. Would you do a benefit to the horse or the ox by giving him a cultivated understanding and fine feelings?" The same pro-slavery advocate, Chancellor Harper, of South Carolina, went further still in defence of all that made slavery unspeakably horrible:—

The law has not provided for making the marriages of slaves indissoluble, nor could it do so. It may perhaps be said that the chastity of wives is not protected by law. The URBITOR, under these conditions, is invaluable. No other overcoat or weatherproof offers so

Release of Miss Helen Craggs

As we go to press we learn that the Home Secretary has ordered the release of Miss Helen Craggs, who has thus served exactly ten days of her nine month's sentence. The reasons given by Mr. McKenna in the House of Commons for her release are that "she refused to take food and had to be fed artificially," and, further, that "he regeneral health was weak and dangerous consequences might ensue." To us who can now read so easily between the lines of the official explanation, this answer of the Home Secretary simply means that another gallant soldier of the militant Suffrage army has been fighting the women's hattle for ten days, alone behind prison bars, and her life has been the weapon with which she fought. That she has won through and regained her freedom, though so ill that "dangerous consequences" are feared, is matter for deep thankfulness on the part of all who know and admire her, and of all those for whom she fought. That a Liberal Government should have resorted once again to the hideous process of forcible feeding, which has now been denounced as torture on high medical authority, shows to what shifts they are reduced in their ignoble fight against women's liberty.

millions in our country who would otherwise never have ency to the at that other as that other animals should enslave each tother as that other animals should enslave each other.

Was there not provocation for militant deeds in the face of this morality, when to be known as an abantan?

The general manual transpace of the official explanation, this answer of the Home Secretary semble means that another gallant soldier of the militant Ruffrage army has been fighting the women's battle for the does not manual transpace of the militant Ruffrage army has been fighting the women's battle for the does not manual transpace of the militant Ruffrage army has been fighting the women's have a search that the state of the militant Ruffrage army has been fighting the women's have the had been pronounced, he would not admit tha

JOHN BROWN, THE LIBERATOR

By Joseph Clayton

The dastardly attempt of the Government to make Miss Gladys Evans serve a further term of imprisonment has signally failed. The magistrate has refused and a pro-slavery judge in Virginia, U.S.A., in that year of grace?

arrested the advance of slavery in Kansas only a few | Ferry ended, heavily chained in Charlestown Prison, years before, at the very time when the slave-holders from October 17 till December 2, and then they were determined that their rule should be extended? | hanged him; but "his soul went marching on." time and reason to end the wrong. John Brown had no such confidence that moral suasion, time, and South and North in America were at civil war on vinced that on him was laid the burden to strike the and Abraham Lincoln, the President, proclaimed the blow for freedom, he struck, and all America felt the abolition of slavery. Finally, in November, 1865, shock. Consider the provocation.

It was argued that slavery must be continued because it was "a principal cause of civilisation"; soul of old John Brown go marching on. that education was not to be given to the slave because "he who works during the day with his hands does not read in intervals of leisure for THE URBITOR

How refreshing it is to read in our Liberal papers this commendation of a healthy independence. But then we must remember it only relates to a foreign tempt and find gratification in the easy chastity of the tempt and find gratification in the easy chastity of the tempt and find gratification in the easy chastity of the many advantages. then we must remember it only relates to a foreign country!

This Week's Paper

We draw the attention of our readers to the letter from Mrs. Pethick Lawrence on page 68, in which she calls upon them to form a Vores For Women Fellowship. They will be interested also in the special account given to our representative by Frau Rosika Schwimmer of the political situation in Hungary, and of the militant action taken by Hungarian Woman Suffragists in the course of the last three years. An interview with Mr. Philip Snowden, in which he discusses the chances of the Suffrage amend ment to the Home Rule Bill, appears on another page; and among the lighter features of the paper will be found an account of Miss Margaret Morris, the youngest of our present-day women theatrical managers.

Release of Miss Helen Craggs

As we go to press we learn that the Home Secretary

As we go to press we learn that the Home Secretary enjoyed it. It is as much the order of nature that men should enslave each other as that other animals should weight of water to be

On November 2, 1859, just fifty-three years ago, old | that class-and suffered and sacrificed what I have John Brown, having been found "guilty of treason | in this interference, it would have been all right; there are also other claims outstanding, further and of conspiring and advising with slaves and and every man in this court would have deemed it and others to rebel, and of murder in the first degree," act worthy of reward rather than punishment. I believe that to have interfered as I have done—as I was sentenced to be hanged. What other verdict and have always freely admitted I have done—in behalf

sixtieth year, could not be moved. They kept him, Had not John Brown, with his sons, forcibly badly hurt as he was when the fight at Harper's

to death.

In Europe Victor Hugo hailed John Brown as a Liberator, and foretold truly enough that the achievement and death of John Brown made future compromises between slavery and freedom impossible in the United States.

Less than two years after John Brown's death and Congress declared slavery ended for ever.

And still, wherever men and women are struggling "to make the bounds of freedom wider yet," does the



MISS GLADYS EVANS FREE

MISS GLADYS

A contact the first production of the contact of the

NOVEMBER 1, 1919

should never be treated as criminals in the ordinary sense

In the House of Commons
In the House of Commons on Monday last, Mr. Lansbury asked the Chief Secrelast, Mr. Lansbury asked the Chief Secrelast, Mr. Lansbury asked the Chief Secrelast, Mr. Lansbury asked the Chief Secrelast Mr. Lansbury Mr. Lansbury asked the Chief Secrelast Mr. Lansbury Mr. Lansbury Mr. Lans

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TO ALL WOMEN WORKERS.

The woman worker is everywhere to-day, and the field of feminine labour is being extended daily. The girl who earns her own living is naturally proud of the "glorious privilege of being independent"; but sometimes she forgets that overwork and lack of proper nourishment do not go well in harness ogether. The "haphazard diet" habit holds many of them in thrall, so much so that they take large quantities of indigestible or unsuitable foods into heir sensitive systems every day. Mr. Eugen Sandow, the great physical culturist and health specialist, has done women workers a great service by introducing a cocoa that is at once light, palatable, easy of digestion, and far superior to tea or coffee as an appetising and healthgiving stimulant. Sandow's Health and Strength Cocoa is an ideal beverage for all women workers, for it is not only an ideal refreshment, but is rich in the elements of nutrition, and is good all through. Special "wind-sifting" and other secret processes are employed in its manufacture which remove all the objections usually advanced against cocoa, and all workers should at least give Sandow's Cocoa a trial. It can be obtained everywhere in various quantities at 3d., 4½d., 7½d., and 1s. 3d. Anæmic girls who lack "beauty's ensign," the red lips and the rosy cheeks, will find Sandow's Cocoa a splendid tonic and blood-maker.

(Cambridge: W. Helfer and Sons, Itat. Price, 6s. 1et.)

"The Light Side of London." By E. B. D'Auvergne. (T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., Clifford's Inn, E.C. Price, 6s. net.)

"The Wooing of Mifanwy." By Edith C. Kenyon. (London: Holden and Hardingham. Price, 6s.)

"Lloyd George's Supper Party." By the Member for Britain. (London: Simpkin, Hamilton, Kent, and Co., Ltd., Price, 1s.)

"The Men's League Handbook on Women's Suffrage." (London: The Men's League for Women's Suffrage. Price, 6d. net.) processes are employed in its manufacture which a splendid tonic and blood-maker.

OUT OF DARKNESS INTO LIGHT

A wonderful book is the story of a Russian child emigrant to America which has just been published under the title "The Promised Land," by Mary Antin—a living, breathing story of a child's soul, with all its little faults and vanities, all its longings and aspirations set down with sympathy and humour. And Mary Antin can write so of herself because it is of another person she is writing; the little Jewish girl in Russia, the ambitious foreign schoolgirl in America are not the Mary Antin of to-day, though they made her.

Her childhood was passed in the Middle Ages; in a community of Jews who were despised and oppressed, who were ground down by unjust laws, who lived in fear of massacre, and to whom the Christian Cross was the dread symbol of cruelty and intolerance. This little set, allowed only to live in certain districts, and bound together by common sorrow, followed strictly the Jewish ritual, and believed study of the Mosaic books to be the only learning. For the schooling of her boys the Jewish mother borrowed and begged, pawned and starved, and often carried her boy to school barefoot in the snow. The girls were not taught, as a rule, and although Mary Antin's father had more liberal ideas, her little bit of education was cut short by misfortune and poverty. At last some harder oppression than usual led her father's thoughts to America; and after three years of struggle and poverty his family received from him the money wherewith to join him. At a stroke fate cut the cords that bound Mary Antin little, living, pulsating, thinking child of twelye, to the sad and hopeless fate of her ancestors, and she became a citizen of that great republic which gives opportunities to all.

"So at last I was going to America! Really, really going at last." The boundaries burst. The arch of

the sad and nopeless take of her hackstother gives opportunities to all.

"So at last I was going to America! Really, really going at last. The boundaries burst. The arch of heaven soared. A million suns shone out for every star. The winds rushed in from outer space, roaring in my ears, 'America! America!'."

The woman who wrote that, the child who felt it, was ready for the golden chance that America holds out. Although poverty lingered long, although dirt and squalor and ugliness were the externals, the spirit had to rise triumphant. The girl to whom learning was denied in Russia finds it free and waiting her in America; from elementary school to college the way is open, and she walks it fearlessly. Her impressions of America give us a clearer picture of that land than a dozen guidebooks: "In America then everything was free. Light was free. Music was free. Light was free. Music was free. Light was free. The doors stood open for every one of us. The smallest child could show us the way."

We are told of her first essay written in English at the age of twelve; her "poem" on George Washington which she took to an editor and which was printed—though not across the front page, as she had hoped; her attempt at canvassing for newspaper subscriptions, and through it all we see the shining, living soul that strove towards the light and found it.

The book is a marvellous human record; it may be,

shining, fiving sout that set over example found it.

The book is a marvellous human record; it may be, as Mary Antin says, the story of many unwritten lives, but only she could have written it. "The endless ages have indeed throbbed through my blood, but a new rhythm dances in my veins. . The past was only my cradle. No, it is not I that belong to the past, but the past that belongs to me. . I am the youngest of America's children, and into my hands is given all her priceless heritage, to the last white star espied through the telescope, to the last great thought of the philosopher. Mine is the whole majestic past and mine is the shining future."

THE RELIGIOUS ASPECT †

THE RELIGIOUS ASPECT †

During the month of June last a series of addresses was given in the Queen's Hall, London, on the religious aspect of the Woman's Movement. These addresses, with the full proceedings of the meetings, have now been published in pamphlet form. As the two most noteworthy and striking speeches we would single out those of Miss Royden and the Bishop of Oxford. In referring to the movement as "freedom for women in self realisation," Dr. Gore shows that he understands and sympathiese with the realities of this great fight. Miss Maud Royden, speaking of the social evil, with a fine scorn asks those who say that there must be a class of outcasts, how they can think that chastity bought at such a terrible price can be a virtue in the eyes of the Spirit of Truth? She continues in a vein which is refreshing and vigorous. The whole makes an excellent pamphlet, which should do much to bring religious people who do not yet know the movement into closer touch and understanding of it.

+"The Religious Aspect of the Woman's Movement." (Published by the Collegium. Temp. address, 232, Evering Road, Clapton, N.) To be obtained from the Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C. Price 6d.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Woman and To-morrow." By W. L. George. (London: Herbert Jenkins. Price, 2s. 6d. net.)
"The Story of Newnham College." By I. B. J. Sollas. (Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, Ltd. Price, 6d. net.)
"The Light Side of London." By E. B. D'Auvergne. (T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., Chifford's Inn, E.C. Price, 6s. net.)



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The problem of unemployment, to be rightly under tood, must be studied in all its many aspects, for tood, must be studied in all its many aspects, lot toos not arise by any means from one cause only thong the diversity of causes at work none is more otent than child labour, and the authors of English Apprenticeship and Child Labour ave gone as far back into history as the an reach, confining themselves to this offe aspect of ndustrial life in its various phases and maniestations.

so often thrown out at women that they have so have distinguished themselves in branches of activity open to them.

The decline of apprenticeship, owing to various causes clearly set forth in this book, began in the eighteenth century, and it seems to have come finally to an end in the nineteenth, when a new order came into being, that of Child Labour, bringing in its train all those horrible abuses and sufferings so valiantly attacked by Robert Owen and Lord Shaftesbury. This problem, however, is by no means done with, for though the horrors of Child Labour, as it then existed, are happily things of the past, we still have the problem in the form of juvenile labour as it affects the after life of the individual. In the case of boys in particular, their first form of employment other consists of "blind alley" work, which ends in fitting them for nothing, and they drift into the large army of casuals and unemployables. This question, like every other, must occupy the minds of thinking women, for the whole subject is a potent cause of race deterioration, and it needs to be faced and seriously thought out.

The book under discussion is a most sincere and painstaking effort to throw light on every aspect of the question from every available historical source. It is interestingly written and copiously supplied with notes and references. We can heartily recommend it, not only to those who are making a special study of these questions, but to all who are interested in the various problems that beset our age; for the ultimate solution of them all is the welfare of the race, and that welfare can only be successfully accomplished by a judicious training and preparation of the future citizen for the part he or she is to play in life.

*"English Apprenticeship and Child Labour." A History by Jaceslvo Dunlon and R. D. Deuman, M.P. (London: Fisher

"CAPTAIN BRASSBOUND"

"CAPTAIN BRASSBOUND"

We gather that in writing "The Conversion of Captain Brassbound," now being played at the Little Theatre, Mr. Bernard Shaw was influenced by two remarkable personalities, Miss Mary Kingsley and Mr. Cunningham Graham. There is only one woman in the play, and the psychological interest centres in her methods of smoothing her own and other people's paths in life by her sheer eagerness to see good in everyone and everything, and by her determination to treat every individual she meets, good, bad, or indifferent, as a human being. All who are familiar with this very amusing play know how these qualities lead Lady Cicely Waynfleet into difficulties, and how cleverly she extricates herself from them, and to those who are not familiar with the play we say: "Book seats immediately at the Little Theatre, and see how charmingly Miss Gertrude Kingston plays the part!" Having carefully explained that Mr. Cunningham Graham is not the hero of the play, Mr. Shaw characteristically devotes several pages of his notes in the book of the words (Constable. 2s.), to a study of that wonderful combination of Scottish laird and Spanish hidalgo, and leaves us to make what we like of it. Captain Brassbound himself is, however, eclipsed in sheer human interest by Felix Drinkwater, that inimitable product of the Waterloo Road, of whom "Nature, a Board School education, and some kerbstone practice" have made something of an orator. Several of the other characters, needless to remind our readers, seem to have stepped bodily from the "Arabian Nights" into the Shavian brain, and that they are all delightful goes without

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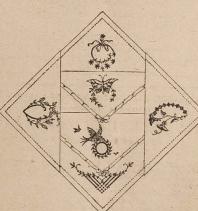
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Mrs. NEVINSON. Mr. G. E. O'DELL. The Chair will be taken promptly at 3.30 by Miss ANNA MUNRO.

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interested in the Suffrage Movement has now been formed, and

premises have been taken at 3, YORK STREET, ST. JAMES', S.W.

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RECEPTION

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MONDAY, NOVEMBER 18th. 8.45 P.M. ickets, 2s. 6d. Apply—THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY, 8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

VOTES FOR WOMEN. Men's Political Union For Women's Enfranchisement.

PUBLIC WELCOME

KENSINGTON TOWN HALL, On FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 8th, 1912, At 8 p.m. Boers open at 7.30.

Mr. F. PETHICK LAWRENCE

Mr. CHARLES GRAY, her Speakers: Mrs. LAMARTINE YATES, Mr. HENRY D. HARBEN, Mr. REGINALD POTT, CHAIDMAN, Mr. H. W. NEVINSON.

ADMISSION FREE. Reserved and Numbered Seats, 2s. Reserved Seats, 6d., 1s. ETS—can be obtained from the Men's Political Union for Women's hisement, 13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.; Kensington I. Shop and Office, 143, Church Street, Kensington; other local Offices and at the door.

4-7, RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1912.

A TEST DIVISION

Tuesday the ninth clause of the Home Rule Bill will be under discussion, and to that clause a Woman of the Home Rule Bill will be under discussion, and to that clause a Woman of the Home Rule Bill will the less effective, pressure from the Government, once more pocket their principles and betray the cause which they profess to have at heart? Suffrage amendment is to be moved by Mr. Philip If they stand firm on this occasion and vote straight Snowden.

of the Irish Parliament is to be elected by the same | they vote crooked, or if they have colds and stay electors as elect the Imperial House of Commons. As away, the amendment will be defeated and one more the clause would stand if amended the electors for the Irish House would be the same as the Irish Local Government electors; that is to say, women who possess the same qualifications which entitle men to you would also be electors. The amendment would watch carefully and critically the SUFFRAGETTES.—Save time and temper.

dling, Smart Hat (made to order, from 6/11. Ready to look sent on appro. Orders by post receive prompt attention.

vote would also be electors. The amendment would, in fact, bring about the same position with regard and will be prepared to take vigorous action if they sar, 411. Box sent on appro. Orders by post receive prompt attention.

CLARA STRONG.

84, ELSPETH ROAD, CLAPHAM JUNCTION, S.W. to the Irish Lower House that would have been are once again betrayed.

brought about in the Imperial House of Commons nad the "Stanger" Bill been carried in 1908.

NOVEMBER 1, 1912

As will be seen from an interview published in another column (page 68), we have Mr. Snowden's authority for stating that the rumour that this amendment may be withdrawn is absolutely unfounded. It is further regarded as unlikely that the Government will attempt to get out of their difficulty in the matter by inducing the Chairman of Committees to apply the "kangaroo" closure and leap over this amendment. The debate will therefore take place and a division be taken. It is of the utmost mportance that those who support the enfranchisement of women should concentrate all their energies for the few days that remain upon this amendment, and should give Members of Parliament clearly to understand that their votes upon it will be very carefully scrutinised. Every Member of Parliament should be seen by all those who have any influence with him, and he should receive a full correspondence on the subject from his constituents.

In saying this we do not in any way overlook the There are still vacancies for members at £1 ls. and fact that the Government's Reform Bill is still the pièce de résistance of the Session from the point of view of Suffrage. But the debates on the Reform Bill are still a long way off; the Committee stage is not expected till the beginning of next year. Moreover, the Bill may after all be turned into a Plural Voting Bill, some fresh excuse being offered for a breach of all the Government's pledges. In any case, the prospect of securing Woman Suffrage under the Reform Bill, except by the direct submission of the Government, is so remote that it would be exceedingly foolish not to take advantage of the present ituation to secure a franchise on equal terms between men and women on the Irish Bill.

> What are the prospects of success? Good enough, provided Liberal and Labour M.P.'s can be relied upon to keep their pledges. Hopeless if these pledges are to be once more broken. The Irish Party, it is known in advance, will vote solidly against the amendment on the ground that it is a question which ought to be left to the Irish Parliament to decide. In other words, they desire frankly to place the government of their country for the first three years solely in the hands of their men, and to leave them decide (subject to the intrigues of the Party in power) whether at some remote date women shall be included. Conservative Suffragists will support the amendment, and may carry with them into the lobby some of their Anti-Suffragist colleagues either for tactical reasons or because they regard the Irish Bill in the nature of local self-government in which they have already expressed themselves willing to see women included. Labour Members ought to have no difficulty in giving their votes solidly in its favour, though there seems to be a considerable doubt whether they will actually take this course

But the fate of the amendment will really rest with the Government and their Liberal supporters. The Government can be counted on to throw their whole weight either openly or secretly against the amendment with a view to securing its defeat. But will the rank and file Liberals who talk so finely about their An important debate and division is expected to | belief in Woman Suffrage come out boldly and give take place next week in the House of Commons on | their votes in its favour, or will they, in obedience the question of Woman Suffrage. On Monday and to the Party Whip, or to more secret, though none

the amendment will be carried and Woman Suffrage As the clause stands at present the Lower House | become an integral part of the Home Rule Bill. If

TO BE SOLD UP

By Order of the Liberal Government

When my wife and I stood together in the dock at Bow Street six months ago, and when witness after witness came forward to disclose to the public every incident and every transaction of our past life, she whispered to me, "This is like the day when 'that past seven years to bring the Government to reason.

Government. The women have refused all food, saying in effect to the Government, "I will stake my life on the justice of my demand; if necessary I am prepared to die, but you do not dare let me die, because you know that you are in the wrong, and you cannot face the public with my death in prison upon your which is hidden shall be brought to light and that which is secret shall be made manifest."

It is with somewhat similar feelings that we return erected in our garden giving notice that "the conon Thursday, October 31," and to see similar notices pasted all along our front fence in the main road. seems almost as though we were dead and had come back to this world as disembodied spirits to witness the disposal of our effects among those who are still inhabiting the planet.

The furniture and belongings of one's home are like a kind of outer skin, one has grown so used to living with them that one has come to regard them as an integral part of one's very self. To have them suddenly torn away and put up to public auction is almost as though a part of one's very body were being wrenched off.

It is with a very strange feeling that we pick up the catalogue and read some of the items which are offered to the public as choice morsels for their delectation. Some of our possessions date back to our childhood or early years There is the "museum of curiosities" collected by myself while I was still in the nursery containing coins and a Chinese idol of soapstone, and "feathers from the peacocks in Warwick Castle"; there are the books which I won as prizes at Eton and at Cambridge. Then there are four bound volumes of Votes for Women, and six reports of the W.S.P.U., and all the W.S.P.U leaflets; there is a croquet set, a lawn-tennis net, and all the tools belonging to the garden.

Our dog Peter, the wonderful tree-climber, whose passionate attachment to the game of a stick has won a tribute of affection from every visitor, is to have his house sold over his head. We hope that some friend who is a true lover of dogs will buy it in so hat he may not be altogether homeless. We cannot but be glad that our first love, Podger, the old bullterrier, who was prouder of The Mascot even than we are ourselves, sleeps in peace beneath the ground. On more than one occasion he has figured in the newspapers as the friend of the Suffragettes. His great art would have been smitten with uncontrollable grief if he had heard the tramp of strange feet in his master's home, and had learnt that his own house was to be knocked down to an outsider by an auctioneer's hammer

But there are some things which the Government have not got because of their greedy haste to strike at us while we were still ill and altogether unable to attend to business. They have not got my motor-car. because it happened, during my absence, to be away being repaired. They have not got the billiard table which I had intended to buy for my new room. They have not got the curtains and carpets and other household furnishings which were to have been bought new for the house to have it ready against

And there are other things, too, for which we are profoundly thankful. The auctioneers cannot sell in which we have often slept on sultry nights in the nmer; that is a fixture and cannot be removed. They cannot sell our Dutch garden, because that is of brick and masonry; they cannot tear up our little lawns or pull down our trees or root up our flowers. And far above and beyond all this, they cannot take away from us so much as a single one of those real things of life which we value far above all material

different shapes and forms. In October, 1905, it was to our home in the country to find a great board | begun by two women who went to Sir Edward Grey's meeting in Manchester to obtain from him a definite tents of this well-furnished residence are to be sold | answer as to what the incoming Liberal Government would do for women; these two pioneers suffered themselves to be ill-treated, flung out of the meeting, and imprisoned, rather than tamely submit to have their question ignored. Since then many women have been flung out of Liberal meetings, beaten and battered and insulted because they knew that it was front Cabinet Ministers with their falsity to their

Facsimile of the Auctioneer's Announcement.

The Director of Public Prosecutions v. F. W. Pethick Lawrence.

" The Mascot,"

HOLMWOOD, SURREY, NEAR DORKING.

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Will Sell by Auction as above on THURSDAY, OCTOBER 31st, 1912, At ONE o'clock precisely,

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tion to the Prime Minister have been set upon by the police, and after being knocked about have been arrested and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment as common criminals on the charge of "obstruc tion." Many women on "Black Friday," Novemour nest in the old oak tree at the back of the garden, ber 18, 1910, faced with calm determination a howling mob, and, themselves entirely unarmed and utterly defenceless, were kicked and flung down and assaulted in indescribable ways rather than consent to turn back and give up their mission. Several of those women have not yet recovered from the injuries which they received, and more than one is dead Again, in November, 1911, and March, 1912, there were demonstrations of women in the streets, and things of life which we value far above an inactive wealth; they cannot deprive us of the love of friends, of our own sense of honour, of our freedom of soul, of our fidelity to the great cause which we demonstrate the glass windows of London, and for that were the glass windows of London were sentenced to several months? these women, refusing to face the brutality of Black would also in all probability be much the cheapest for

past seven years to bring the Government to reason.

From the day when first the standard of revolt was raised down to the present day that fight has taken different shapes and forms. In October, 1905, it was begun by two women who went to Sir Edward Grey's meeting in Manchester to obtain from him a definite answer as to what the incoming Liberal Government. result should ensue and the Government, in their blood-guiltiness, should be hounded from office. Against those who were strong the Government decided to proceed to further extremities before giving in. They had the women tortured in prison by forcible feeding. The women stood out. It would have been much easier for them to give way, to consent to accept the prison treatment as ordinary criminals, or when the Government offered a company of the state of th principles with regard to women. Many women going peacably to the House of Commons on deputational graduates and they are fighting on until they win not merely political status in prison for themselves and for those other men and women who are fighting the same battle, but a great tradition which will be handed down for all time.

Why I make this Stand

Why I make this Stand

The particular fight which I am waging with the Government at the present time arises out of the stone-throwing protest of last March. It will be remembered that Mrs. Pankhurst, my wife, and I were arrested on that occasion and tried at the Old Bailey, and that the jury decided by their verdict that we as leaders were guilty of a conspiracy to procure the breaking of windows, that we incited others to break windows, and that acting through the medium of others, we had actually spiracy to procure the breaking of windows, that we incited others to break windows, and that acting through the medium of others, we had actually broken windows on that occasion. The judge sentenced us each to nine months' imprisonment in the second division, and in addition he took the unprecedented course of imposing upon Mrs. Pankhurst and myself a fine concealed in the shape of an order to pay the costs of the prosecution. It will be remembered that we all went to prison, that after four weeks we all adopted the hunger strike (as a protest against the treatment of our fellow prisoners), that my wife and I were fed by force, and that we were all released when the Government recognised that to keep us longer in prison would be to risk our lives and thereby their own reputation.

Not long after our release, while we were on the eve of our departure abroad, and still too ill to attend to business, the Government presented their bill of costs to our solicitor, amounting to about \$2000—to which was subsequently added a further \$200 on account of the expenses of prosecution

£200 on account of the expenses of prosecution

Now on its strict merits I regard this claim as fundamentally unjust (there is, I believe, no precedent for it, and it has only become possible since the passage of an Act of Parliament in 1908), and as such passage of an Act of Parliament in 1908), and as such to be vigorously resisted. But over and above this it has to be resisted (as have also all the claims for damages brought against us in civil suits) as part of the militant campaign for the enfranchisement of women. The warfare between us and the Government has been carried on to the financial plane as well as on to the plane of personal ill-treatment on which it has been raging all these years.

Just as in the case of the fight for prison treatment by means of the hunger strike the battle takes a different shape according as the prisoner is physi-

by means of the hunger strike the battle takes a different shape according as the prisoner is physically weak or physically strong, so in the case of the financial battle with the Government, the struggle takes a different shape according to whether the persons attacked are financially weak or financially strong. The right method to be adopted by the former is to make themselves immune altogether by withdrawing any money which they may possess from possible attack. But the latter are prevented from adopting this course, and have to carry on the fight possible attack. But the latter are prevented from adopting this course, and have to carry on the fight in a different way, by placing every conceivable obstacle in the way of the Government obtaining the money which they demand.

When on my return from Canada I found the bailiffs in possession of my house at Holmwood, I knew that the easiest course for me to adopt, which would also in all prohability be much the observer for

What the Fight is about

This fight which we are making against the Government in our own village of Holmwood is an integral part of the great struggle which is being fought out to a finish in this country between those who believe that the fundamental principles of liberty apply to women equally with men, and the so-called Liberal Government which has set itself to

MEN'S INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS

The first congress of the Men's International Alliance for Woman Suffrage has been held during the week in London, Delegates attended from various countries, including Great Britain, Holland, France, Hungary, United States, Sweden, Germany, Denmark, Russia, and Japan, and the following resolution was passed at the opening meeting on October 21:—

The first congress of the Men's International Mr. Israel Zangwill was in his usual

Wages and the Vote

Socialists were its open enemies. It was like an echo from home to hear from the Swedish delegate, Mr. Ernest Beckman, that his Government was a Liberal one, and the women "were not without hope" that their Bill might soon become law.

Allusions to Militancy
In spite of the tendency of this, as of all international conferences, to avoid matters infringing on practical politics which might wound the sensitive political feelings of those present, some allusions were made in the course of debate to the militant Suffrage movement in England. Sir John Cockburn, in his opening address, seemed to coquette with the subject in his remark that "women were not naturally belicose, but the meekest of mortals would turn under such a palpable injustice as the denial of the vote," and Mr. Laurence Housman deservedly aroused applause for his defence of tax resistance, and his references to the plucky law-breaking of Dr. Elizabeth Wilks- and her husband. Earl Russell made an open attack upon militancy, declaring that the cause in this country was now suffering from the effects of militancy. Since, in his subsequent remarks, the speaker said he "did not wish to dwell upon the tactics which brought the Franchise Bill forward to the time when the Conciliation Bill was under consideration," it earnot be said that the case for militancy was put

Lord Lytton on the Militant Disorders

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A committee of six of the most popular actors—Gerald du Martier, Allen Aynesworth, Panis Eadie, Herbert Sleath, Henry A. Lytton G. P. Huntley—will act as judges of the names selected, and prizes will be awarded in order of merit as they decide, and whose decision must be accepted as final. Winners' names will be published in 'Dauly Mirror,' Dec. 21st, 1922. The competition will close December 14th, but to ensure prompt delivery it is advisable that orders should be publiced at once.

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	and the three most manly names	for a boy are:	
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A WOMAN'S THEATRICAL PRODUCTION

Miss Margaret Morris's Troupe of Child Dancers at the Little Theatre

Theatre, Miss Lillah McCarthy at the Savoy, Miss Lena Ashwell at the Kingsway, and Miss Margaret Morris at the Court Theatre, we have four theatrical productions in London now being managed by women, and the youngest (in every sense) of these four enterprises is that of Miss Margaret Morris. Readers of Votes for Women should be especially Readers of Votes for Women should be especially interested in her venture at the Court Theatre, for Miss Morris, some two or three years ago, sold the paper for the sake of the Cause at Ludgate Circus, and is still as keen a Suffragist as ever, and in full sympathy with the militants, though too busy at the moment to take an active part in the campaign. When asked, on the eve of her production, last Monday, whether she had any particular reason for being a Suffragist, her reply was that the economic side of the question was the one that appealed to her most strongly. While admitting that in the theatrical profession women, when once established on the stage, were on an economic equality with men, she attributed to the economic helplessness of women the very uphill work that faced them when first entering the profession. Pointing out that there were always fewer men's parts than women's parts to be filled, to begin with, she added that there were always more women than men seeking theatrical engagements, because men as a rule went on the stage only if they had talent, but women largely because they had to earn their living and had not such a wide choice before them as the men have. This surplusage of untalented actresses would be reduced, in Miss Morris's opinion, if all the professions were thrown open to women, and they had a free choice in the matter of employment.

Miss Margaret Morris has been in the profession erested in her venture at the Court Theatre, for

matter of employment.

Miss Margaret Morris has been in the profession herself since the age of eight, when she appeared in a Plymouth pantomime. Then she joined Mr. Ben Greet's company, playing Puck when only ten years old, and remained with him until he went to America; later she joined the Benson company. Four years ago she met Mr. Raymond Duncan, whose sister, Miss Isidore Duncan, has established a school of classical dancing near Berlin, and studied with him. learning all the classic poses which years of him, learning all the classic poses which years of research in European museums had enabled him to accumulate from Greek statues and vases. On this



MISS MARGARET MORRIS

system of his she based her dances, all of which are her own invention, though each pose in them has its counterpart in some known classic drawing or design. Some of her dances are her expression of the music o which she dances, as in the the case of Debussy's

Arabesque, for instance; in others, the music acts merely as an accompaniment.

Eighteen months ago Miss Morris started her dancing school for children in Endell Street, and has now a troupe of fourteen children, besides many grown-up pupils. She is a true democrat, for she chooses her dancers from every class, rich and poor, and finds them equally delightful to teach and to dance with As a rule, she thinks children learn her dances sooner than her older pupils, and attributes this to the fact that they are all based on Greek postures into which children fall naturally. We reproduce a portrait of Miss Margaret Morris in a Funeral Dance. The pose in the picture is taken from a Tanagra statuette.

The first night was a triumphant success, and one left the Court Theatre with mental visions of exquisite colour-pictures in strange contrast with the mud and rain outside! Very beautiful and poetic is Mr. Maurice Hewlett's "Callisto," in which the plot is unravelled entirely by gesture, and in which the dancing of the little Suffragette, Iris Rowe, as Callisto's child was so delicious that one could not really blame the playful Fauns for carrying her off! The other important piece was Mr. John Galsworthy's "Little Dream," which has already been seen in Manchester. For the dances in this play also, and for the selected ones which followed, the house had nothing but praise. The "Death Dance of Graine" may be singled out as one of the most beautiful, both in colour and dignity of movement, while by their spontaneous gaiety in Grieg's "Rigaudon" and Beethovên's "Dance of Bacchanals" the dancers left one almost breathless. The "Robe of Feathers" is of another type, and it is difficult to imagine anything more fairy-like than Miss Morris as the fairy, or more grotesquely Miss Morris as the fairy, or more grotesquely Japanese than Mr. J. Fraser Outram as the fisher-man. At the matinées it is intended to have more children's dances than are allowed by the magistrate's license at the evening performances.



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THE LABOUR PARTY AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE

76

mated by the desire to accentuate class distinctions.

We regret, moreover, your failure to point out that the hostile attitude of the like the content of the fovernment. Lord Haldane, was the like the sexplained by the fact that the Government, contrary to their pledge to take no sides, are putting pressure on them by a threat that Home Rule will be endangered if a woman suffrage, and it is a danger which can only be averted by prompt and decided action by the Labour Party. They have it in their power to make it known that the position of the Government, and with it the Home Rule Bill, will be endangered also by the maneuvres of Mr. Asquith and his friends behind the scenes to exclude women from the Reform Bill. We do not akk the Labour Party to vote against other Government measures in which they and their constituents are interested. We do ask them to make it known without further delay that they will oppose the third reading of any Suffrage Bill from which women are excluded.

On behalf of the Suffrage Committee of the Fabian Women's Group,

CHARLOTTE M. WILSON,

CHARLOTTE M. WILSON,

In a letter to the Daily Citizen discussing the new W.S.P.U. election policy, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, after attacking the actual constitution and personnel of the Union, proceeds as follows:

The whole conception of the thing is tragi-comedy. It seems to be a cynical skit on the mind of women, devised by some imp of a person who holds woman in low esteem. From its sorry inception at that meeting in Manchester some years ago until its last depressing demonstration in the Albert Hall, it has gone from blunder to blunder.

In its early days it seemed to those who

rly days it seemed to those who

The determination of the Women', Social and Political Union to oppose the Labour party continues to accuse great interest in an order to the property continues to accuse great interest in an order to the property continues to accuse great interest in an order to the property continues to accuse great interest in an order to the property continues to accuse great interest in the party continues to accuse the property continues to accuse great interest in the party continues to the Wig.P.L. The party is impelled both by domonal women's drough has appeared in the Daily Clitica."

Sir.—The Suffrage Committee of the Palain Society (common in group) have read Mr. Ramany MacDonald's letter in your issue of the Daily (common in the property of the

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MR. PETHICK LAWRENCE AT one iota, and that the only course for Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence was to leave

NOVEMBER 1, 1912

MR. PETHICK LAWRENCE AT SHEFFIELD

Speaking at Sheffield on Tuesday last, Mr. Pethick Lawrence said that as the outcome of the struggle and conflict of the last few years the soul of womanhood had been given birth, and that in all the details of life this new awakening was being made manifest. Women were claiming their part in the great world, and were going to bring them all that they had to give of beauty, of grace, and of tumanity, instead of confining these things to the narrow limits of their domestic circle.

House of Commons "Morass."

Mr. Lawrence spoke very strongly in support of militancy. He declared that the House of Commons was one morass of intrigue and double-dealing on this question. There had been trickery, humbug, and sharp practice, when there had not been absolute lying and deceit. (Applause.) They found that something other than addylike behaviour and polite treatment was necessary to force the question through to a satisfactory issue.

He gloried in the window-smashing of last March. As long as the women were reachery, this selling of the pass to the enemy. It made him sick at heart. The little difference between them and the other wow kno had built up the Union with them, and he hoped that nothing would cocur which would make it necessary for them to criticise the policy of the Union which them to riticise the policy of the Union were reacher at a criticise the sattle necessary. He and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence was for the Union were rendering the battle necessary. He and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence was to leave the wow had built up the Union with them, and he hoped that nothing would cocur which would make it necessary for them to criticise the policy of the Union were reacher against these difference between them and the other wow who had built up the Union with them, and he hoped that nothing would occur which would make it necessary for them to criticise the policy of the Union which them, and he hoped that nothing would occur which would make it necessary for them to criticise the battle neces

MR. GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P.

died, some had not yet recovered omen were absolutely determined face such a thing again, and this are reason why they went out and stones.

Mr. Lansbury's resolution "condemning the Government for introducing a referred to his own imprisonment in the state of the

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MORALITY PLAY SOCIETY

The Morality Play Society, which last year produced under Mrs. Percy Dearmer's management her play, "The Soul of the World," is now rehearsing a new play by the same author, "The Dreamer." A reading of the play will be given on Thursday evening, November 7. The performance of "The Dreamer will be given on the Friday evenings and Saturday afternoons of the Advent season, beginning on November 29, at the King's Hall Theatre, Covent Garden. The music has been written by Mr. Martin Shaw. Among those taking the principal parts are Miss Lilian Braithwaite, Miss Henrietta Watson. Mr. Otho Stuart, Mr. Harcourt Williams, and Mr. Acton Bond, and there will be a large orchestra and a chorus of a hundred performers. The Egyptian dances have been arranged by Miss Annie and hundred performers. The Egyptian dances have been arranged by Miss Annie dances have been arranged by Miss Annie dances have been arranged by Miss Annie dances have been arranged from the Secretary, Morality Play Society, 7, Elsworthy; Road, N.W., from whom also tickets for the Reading (5s., 2s. 6d., and 1s.) can be obtained.

Our readers will sympathize very deeply with Mrs. Pertwee, who, with her sisters, Miss Eva Moore, Miss Decima Moore, and Miss Ada Moore, has worked so long and so gallantly for the Suffrage cause, will continue her work of organising the matinée to be held by the Actresses Franchise League on November 29, hut will not for the present fulfil any speaking engagements.

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NOVEMBER 1, 1912

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