

"The Suffragette," October 18, 1912.

THE SUFFRAGETTE

Edited by **CHRISTABEL PANKHURST, LL.B.**

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"If this Session is to end without a measure of Votes for Women passing the House of Commons, then the sooner the Liberal-Labour-Nationalist Coalition is overthrown, and this Parliament dissolved, the better."—*W.S.P.U. Election Policy*, p. 7.

FOREWORD.

"The Suffragette," of which this is the first issue, is the Official Organ of the Women's Social and Political Union, the militant organisation for obtaining Votes for Women. The name Suffragette, first applied to members of the W.S.P.U. by the Newspapers, has, by use and association, been purified of any opprobrium or distasteful significance it may have borne in the past. It is now a name of highest honour, and women in ever-increasing thousands bear it with pride; and until a better is invented it stands as no other word does for the independence, courage, public spirit, and, we may add, humour, which are the attributes of the really womanly woman. The Suffragettes are women who have profited by the freedom won for them by the pioneers of the movement. They are the advance-guard of the new womanhood. The Suffragette has come to stay! That is why we have called this paper by her name.

CONTENTS.

Cartoon 1
Foreword 2
Review of the Week 2
A Word to the Commons 3
Confucius and Women 3
Miss Naylor at the Stelway Hall 4
The Winter's Tale 4
Book Review 5
Leader: Policy of the W.S.P.U. 6
The W.S.P.U. Election Policy 7
Mr. Gould at the Pavilion 7
The Labour Party and Woman's Suffrage 8
Independent Labour Party 8
Deputations to Liberal and Labour Members 9
The East-End Campaign 9
Irish Notes 10
American Notes 10
The Llanystumdwy Outrages 10
A Protest by Welsh Suffragists 10
Another Abuse of Justice 10
The Case of Mr. Wilks 10
Violence a Sacred Weapon 11
Questions in the House 11
The Sale at Holmwood 11

REVIEW OF THE WEEK.

As announced on another page, the association between Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and those who remain in control of the W.S.P.U. has come to an end owing to divided views concerning policy. More good movements have been ruined by divided counsels than by any other cause, and when such divided counsels arise, separation is inevitable.

The Women's Social and Political Union will continue to occupy the premises at Lincoln's Inn House, and as it is essential that there shall be an official organ to expound the Union's views and intentions, this paper, THE SUFFRAGETTE, has been founded. Mrs. Pankhurst will act as honorary treasurer of the Union and Mrs. Tuke as honorary secretary.

The service done by Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence for the suffrage cause is known to all.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence joined the Women's Social and Political Union six years ago, soon after the Union established itself in London. Mrs. Lawrence at once accepted the office of honorary treasurer, which office she has held with brilliant success until the present time. She has been three times arrested and sent to prison for her share in the militant work of the movement. On the last occasion she was a defendant in the conspiracy trial, was sentenced to nine months imprisonment, and upon her adoption of the hunger strike as a protest against the treatment of fellow prisoners she was forcibly fed and released in a dangerous condition of health.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence became directly interested in the Union soon after Mrs. Lawrence's official connection with it began. Among his other contributions to the success of the movement was his establishment, jointly with Mrs. Lawrence, of the paper "Votes for Women," which was afterwards given to the W.S.P.U. Mr. Pethick Lawrence was, like his wife, a defendant in the conspiracy trial, and his sentence and his experience in prison were the same as hers. In addition, he was called upon to pay the costs of the prosecution, and the Government are at the present time in possession of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's home in the country in order that payment of the costs may be compelled. Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who have resumed the proprietorship and full control of "Votes for Women," will continue to issue that paper, which will represent their view of the situation.

MR. MACDONALD'S PLEDGE. On Thursday, October 10, Mr. J. R. MacDonald, so the "Manchester Guardian" reports, delivered a lecture in the Caxton Hall on the woman's movement at home and abroad, in the course of which lecture he seems to have said little about Woman Suffrage and nothing as to what he intends to do to get it. On the very next night the audience waiting at the Albert Hall to hear whether he will keep his pledge to throw the Government out on Woman Suffrage were informed that Mr. MacDonald was too unwell to appear. In Mr. MacDonald's absence, the question concerning his pledge and its fulfilment were put to Mr. W. C. Anderson, who presided, and to other speakers, but the desired assurance were not forthcoming. As shown by the interruptions, the rank and file of the Labour Party are far more in earnest on the Votes for Women question than are the Labour M.P.s. We are informed that the Labour members are being deluged by resolutions from Socialist and Labour organisations calling upon them to oppose the Government.

W.S.P.U TO OPPOSE LABOUR CANDIDATES.

The Labour Party will not oppose the Government in the House of Commons, and therefore the W.S.P.U. has decided to oppose the Labour Party at the by-elections. A Labour Member is just as much a supporter of the Government as is a Liberal Member, and therefore it is just as important to prevent the election of Labour candidates as it is to prevent the election of Liberal candidates. No more elections shall be won by the coalition if the W.S.P.U. can help it. Women have been very patient with the Labour Party, but patience would now be weakness. This new development of the anti-Government election policy is more fully discussed on another page.

WILL THERE BE A MANHOOD SUFFRAGE BILL?

Mrs. Fawcett's criticism of the Prime Minister's tactics must have finally disillusioned all who have thought it safe to depend on private members' amendments to the Manhood Suffrage Bill. Not only have the Government devised means of wrecking the amendments, but those amendments may never be moved, owing to the withdrawal of the Manhood Suffrage Bill. We notice that Mr. Percy Dillingworth, the new Chief Government Whip, referred, in a communication read on Saturday, October 12, at the half-yearly meeting of the Yorkshire Federation of Liberal Clubs, to the forthcoming enactment of the Plural Voting Bill. The "Nation," which imagines a discussion of the Home Rule Bill more prolonged and detailed than the Government have proposed might have a conciliatory effect upon Ulster, says: "We hope to see the Government's time-table [for the Home Rule Bill] enlarged, even at the cost of a less ambitious amendment of the Suffrage than was at first designed." The moral of it all is that unless the Suffrage agitation is a continuing and unceasing nuisance to the Government, nothing will be done for women.

IT IS NOT A STRAIGHT FIGHT.

The half-yearly Council Meeting of the N.U.W.S.S. was chiefly remarkable for Mrs. Fawcett's statement on the attitude of Mr. Asquith and the Government. She said:

Last November Mr. Asquith gave the women certain promises and pledges in regard to which Mr. Lloyd George in February said that the idea of Mr. Asquith going back upon them was a "imputation of deep dishonour which he for one declined to consider. In spirit, at any rate, Mr. Asquith had gone back upon those promises. He said the Government would not oppose an amendment of the Reform Bill that would enfranchise women, yet he gave the task of introducing the Bill to an anti-Suffrage member, and when the second reading came on he entrusted the Bill to another anti-Suffrage member. And on another occasion Mr. Asquith said it was inconceivable that the House of Commons would stultify itself by going back upon a considered judgment it had given earlier in the Session. That was not an honourable interpretation of the pledge Mr. Asquith gave."

Mrs. Fawcett is reported to have said further: "It is not a straight fight, as we were given to understand it would be. No stone will be left unturned by Mr. Asquith to defeat our amendments."

STAGE LIGHTNING AND THUNDER.

Mr. MacDonald is too ill to speak on Woman Suffrage, but he seems to have found strength to inspire a leading article in the "Daily Citizen," answering the demand that the Labour Party shall adopt an anti-Government policy in the interests of Votes for Women. This policy is rejected in the following terms: "The Labour Party must stand firmly by the women's cause, but the fighting must be real fighting and not stage lightning and thunder." We maintain that an anti-Government policy is real fighting and that Mr. MacDonald and his colleagues who keep an anti-Suffragist Government in power while protesting their belief in Woman Suffrage are making a sham fight and are indulging in mere stage lightning and thunder. Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., writes in an article which appears in the "Daily Citizen" in much the same strain, and says, "I believe that the great object we have in view can be secured during the Committee stage of the Bill." The women's answer to Mr. Henderson is, that he insults their intelligence by asking them to trust to unofficial amendments in Committee. We know if he does not that the Government have provided for their destruction.

MR. PHILIP SNOWDEN ON THE SITUATION.

Mr. Philip Snowden is not, so far as we know, prepared to adopt an anti-Government policy, yet his speech at the Suffrage meeting in Manchester was, whether he realised it or not, an argument for the adoption of such a policy. Mr. Snowden declared that the passage of a Manhood Suffrage Bill would "indefinitely postpone the enfranchisement of women." He then said that he "could not see how some amendment for the enfranchisement of women could fail to be carried." Everyone else sees perfectly well how it can fail to be carried. It will be defeated by Government intrigue. How has Mr.

Snowden contrived to remain in ignorance of what is going on? Referring to the Irish danger, Mr. Snowden said that Mr. Redmond must be made to realise that for the carrying of Home Rule he has to rely upon the votes of those who put other questions before Home Rule. There we entirely agree with Mr. Snowden, but would point out that it is only by voting against the Government on the Home Rule Bill and other measures that the Labour Party can teach Mr. Redmond this lesson.

IF WE ENFRANCHISE WOMEN.

Mr. Acland, a member of the Government, is reported to have made the following statement at a meeting in Manchester: "If there were a total stoppage of militancy and if in consequence we in our Reform Bill enfranchised women—as we should if there were a total stoppage of militancy—it would be the very finest thing that could happen." If they were taken literally, these words would mean that the Government were prepared on condition that militancy ceased, to assume the responsibility of including a Woman Suffrage clause in the "Reform" Bill. But what Mr. Acland really means to convey is, of course, the false suggestion that militancy is the obstacle to getting an unofficial Woman Suffrage amendment carried. The truth is that Government pressure will secretly and dishonestly be applied to induce the House of Commons to reject the women's amendments. Speeches such as Mr. Acland's are intended to keep the public in ignorance of the Government's dishonourable anti-Suffrage tactics. It is not easy to decide who are the worst offenders in the Government ranks, our open enemies such as Mr. Asquith and Mr. Harcourt, or our so-called friends such as Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Acland.

THE LLANYSTUMDWY OUTRAGE.

Mr. Lloyd George has been deeply disgraced and discredited by the Llanystumdwy outrage, but his denial of the facts attested by the camera and by many independent witnesses brings further disgrace and discredit upon him. Mr. Morley Roberts expressed the feeling of all right-minded men when in his article in the "Standard" he wrote, "After what has recently happened in Wales the merest vestige of personal honour should prevent anyone associating his name, however remotely, with a party which boasts Mr. Lloyd George as one of its leaders. . . . For these outrages in Wales Mr. Lloyd George should be held personally and politically responsible." The Government still neglect to prosecute those who committed the assaults. If a crowd of Suffragists had seized Mr. Lloyd George and torn his hair out by the roots we are convinced that the Government would have managed to identify the assailants and punish them.

A MATTER OF URGENCY.

The Home Rule Bill is now in Committee. On the twelfth or thirteenth day of the Committee stage Mr. Philip Snowden's Woman Suffrage amendment will be discussed unless the Government contrive by some means to prevent its discussion. The Irish Suffrage Societies are at work in support of the amendment, as is the special committee of Irishwomen resident in England. Every member of the W.S.P.U. and every reader of this paper will be anxious to help the Irishwomen to get the amendment carried. Members of Parliament should be written to and should be visited at the House of Commons in order to secure their vote for the amendment. The matter is very urgent and only a few days remain in which to apply the final pressure.

THREE MONTHS IN THE FIRST DIVISION.

Miss Jane Short is the first "window-breaker" in England to be placed in the first division and to be thereby recognised as a political offender. The Chairman of the Herford Quarter Sessions, in sentencing her to three-months' imprisonment for having broken the windows of the Baldoek Post Office as a protest against disfranchisement, said the Court would take a course which so far had not been adopted by any other Court, and which, without in any way sympathising with the defendant's conduct, they thought would be wise and politic, namely, send her to prison for three months in the first division, and they hoped she would not abuse that lenient sentence.

It now remains to be seen whether the rules for the treatment of first division prisoners will be interpreted in the right spirit and in a manner befitting Miss Short's status as a political offender.

We desire to draw our readers' attention to an advertisement inserted by Messrs. Robinson and Cleaver. Many of the firms mentioned in the writ issued against Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence and Mrs. Pankhurst are in a similar position. Whilst themselves unwilling to injure the women's cause in any way, they are unable to prevent the Insurance Companies responsible for the issuing of the writ from inserting in it the names of all firms insuring with them whose windows were damaged.

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A WORD TO THE COMMONS.

By JAMES DOUGLAS.

Gentlemen.—For forty years women have been asking you to alter their status, to change them from slaves into citizens, to make them equal to men by giving them the vote which is the male symbol of citizenship. Seven times you have passed the second reading of a Women's Franchise Bill. This seven-fold promise you must now either break or keep. If you break it you write yourselves down hypocrites. You cannot plead that you are not free to keep your word, for the Prime Minister has given a solemn pledge to set you free, a pledge which he has promised to keep not only in the letter but in the spirit. He has promised on behalf of the Government not only to accept your free decision, but also to carry it into law. You are free men, and it is in your power to keep that seven-fold promise.

It was not a conditional promise. You cannot plead that it was a Treaty of Berlin promise—made to be broken. A promise is a promise. A pledge is by your own honour. A majority is a majority. You are bound by your own honour. If your votes were honest, you must stand on them. If they were dishonest, you must stand on their backs. If you vote for the nation as common tricksters. If, after keeping the nation of women—for women are a nation within a nation—wandering for forty years in the wilderness, you try to drive them back from the frontiers of the Promised Land, you will turn a political conflict into a sex-war. The nation of women will not go back to the wilderness. They will go over you.

You may think you can tire out the nation of women that is knocking at your doors. You are wrong. There is a fire of faith in that nation which cannot be wearied or crushed, and you know it. Already it has joyfully suffered more than any men in our generation have ever suffered in the service of an ideal. Its patient anguish has been poured out with a splendid heroism that makes men flush with pride even while they blush with shame. Its heroines are women of all ages from the grey grandmother to the trembling girl.

Gentlemen, do not despise these martyrs, for they are your mothers, your wives, your sisters. I sometimes wonder whether the men who defame them and deride them remember that they are their fellow-countrywomen, with good English, Scottish, Welsh, and Irish blood in their veins. It is their blood that cries for liberty. It is their blood that will not let them quail and cower. Happy is the nation that has women so heroic!

Why should you hesitate to make women the equals of men? Are you tyrants who dread freedom, or despots who fear liberty? If so, remember that tyranny rests upon force and despotism upon violence. If you deny the nation of women any share in the making of the law, you outlaw them, and you must not expect outlaws to act as if they were citizens. Therefore you must nerve yourselves to employ force, and force of a kind that degrades you while it sanctifies them. Force which has no moral sanction behind it cannot prevail. Your force has no moral sanction. If you choose you can trample upon the nation of women as the Turks trample upon their Christian subjects. You can imprison them. You can abandon them to the fury of the mob. You can even wink at pogroms of women as Russian despots wink at pogroms of Jews. But there is one thing you cannot do: you cannot break their spirit even if you break their heart.

You have admitted the justice of their demand. How can you deny it? What Chinese wall can you build round the privileges of men? There is no way of escape for you. You may make the vote a conscript vote. You may refuse it to all men who are not soldiers. But who are the mothers of your soldiers? Are they men? You know that every woman who bears a son confronts a greater peril than a soldier under fire.

But the stage of argument is nearly over. You must now decide whether the war between the nation of men and the nation of women is to descend into a war of outrage and barbarity which will poison society with its pestilence. In the past you have taken many a leap into the dark with the torch of liberty in your hands, and that is why you are called the Mother of Parliaments. You have trusted the Dutch and you are about to trust the Irish. What have women done to deserve your distrust? They have struggled for freedom. So have the Dutch and the Irish. How can you make their sex, which ought to be their glory, their enslavement? Has Providence created two kinds of human beings—the free man and the subject woman? What rights are exclusively masculine? Is the soul of a woman like the soul of a man? Or is it like the soul of a bridled horse or a kennelled hound? If the soul of woman be of the same value as the soul of man, how can you deny to woman the one and only key to citizenship? Who are you? The representatives of the people? You are not. You represent only the males. No woman is represented in the House of Commons. Although you tax women you deny them the vote which controls the taxing power. So far as women are concerned you are absolute tyrants whose tyranny is based upon might and not upon right. Your laws are made without their consent. If they break them you cannot punish them as you punish real citizens. You must punish them as you punish dogs or children. In order to invest yourselves with the moral right of punishment you must bring the nation of women within the law. Then, and

not till then, you will be a free Parliament and not a tied tyranny.

If you wish to restore your authority, if you desire to repair the dignity of your laws, you must enfranchise the outlawed nation of women. There is no other way. You can do so by striking out the word "male" from the Reform Bill. Have you the courage, the imagination, and the foresight to do it? We shall see. Remember that you are free men, and that it is the duty of free men to extend the boundaries of freedom and "damn the consequences." Has freedom ever destroyed a nation? If so, where is that nation? Let us be told its name. Who are you that you should deny the right of woman to be free? You might as well deny her the right to breathe the air. The vote is the test. If you deny the vote to a woman because she is a woman, you brand her as a helot, a slave, a vassal under the absolute dominion of a male autocracy. In free England this is intolerable. It cannot be.

CONFUCIUS AND WOMEN.

In two very interesting volumes recently published, Dr. Chun Huang Chang, former Secretary of the Grand Secretariat at Peking, has placed before us a very interesting study of the old régime in China and a survey of the Chinese thought and Chinese traditions which developed independently of the West. It will interest those who are apt to think of ancient China and Chinese thought as in the dark ages where women are concerned, and to imagine that England is the only country in the old world that has had any notion of an enlightened attitude towards women, to read Dr. Chun's summing-up of the teaching of the wise Confucius; China's great moral teacher, born, it will be remembered, in the year 551 B.C. "The position of woman is this: fundamentally woman is the equal of man. But in the disorderly stage the separation of the sexes is advisable, in the advancing stage social intercourse between the sexes is suitable, in the extreme peace stage the absolute independence of woman is lovely and just." He held that the absolute independence of woman meant state maintenance of children. This was the final stage in human development, to which he apparently looked forward, says Dr. Chun. And certainly everything to-day points to the possibility that awakened China may arrive at that consummation before women in England have even arrived at citizenship, for as all know Chinese women have recently been made citizens and are being encouraged in every way to take their full share in national life.

Confucius says, be it noticed, that the sexes must remain socially apart in the earlier stages—that is to say in a stage in which the uncivilised and barbarous natures of the males necessitate a protective seclusion for the females. In proportion in fact as any community is backward or uncivilised will the women of that community need chaperonage and be denied freedom. It is not that woman varies—is not the feminine character eternally the same, and the main civilising force in any community? Her position and circumstances and the scope of her activities vary only according to the degree of civilisation to which the males of her tribe have attained. In a race in which the men have not developed far enough to see in woman anything but a weaker animal to be exploited for their pleasure the more advanced members of that community will build up a religion of taboo, and woman is guarded often in the most unflattering ways, presumably the only ways that can be found effective, by being regarded as unclean in some cases, in others mysterious or bewitched. Whatever it is, she puts up with it patiently as long as she is guarded from abuse and the race preserved. To-day, when religions are weakening their hold on men, woman is seeing that the only substitute for the old taboos, religions, and codes which protected woman, and therefore the race, in the past is the strengthening of the law as it affects offences against women and children. These offences are appallingly on the increase in this country, and they are little or no crime in the eye of the law, incurring only the most trivial of punishments. This is why the thinking woman of to-day is demanding more and more a voice in the legislation of the land, and this is why the granting of that right to a voice is the most important reform before the country at the present time, affecting as it does the very roots of national life and the future welfare of the race. K. T. B.

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MISS NAYLOR

AT THE STEINWAY HALL.

I think it is perfectly true, what we have heard to-night, that public opinion has turned distinctly in our favour. I know quite well that there are a great many people who don't think so. I know that judging from the conduct of the hoodlum, from the conduct of the mob, the ordinary unthinking person in reading that the mob set on suffragists might think that that was just the result of militancy. Well we know that the mob is always with us. The mob that sets upon suffragists to-day is the same mob that set upon reformers in past times. The mob is a degenerate type, not an undeveloped type. It is not simply the undeveloped person that makes the mob. It is the real degenerate. All history shows that this is so. Look back two thousand years ago. We find the mob then crying out "Crucify Him," "Give us a robber in exchange." We find the mob delighted at the flames that are killing Joan of Arc. We find the mob hailing the death of those damnable heretics, who stood for liberty of conscience, and to-day we find the mob doing exactly the same thing. Nevertheless, the attitude of the public is changing, and one particular thing I know has gone out, and that is the delight of the public in forcible feeding. That is to-day distinctly unpopular. I say that, and I say what I know, because I am a street corner speaker. Now we know that we have, as Miss Kenney said at the beginning, a great many victories to count that have been won lately. We have the release of Mrs. Leigh and Miss Gladys Evans. That was a tremendous victory. We are always having questions about Dublin. "Do you approve of committing crime? Do you approve of taking life? Do you approve of doing evil that good may come?" All sorts of questions like that are asked. Well, I always say it will be time enough for us to be called upon to say whether we approve of human life being taken when it has been taken, and to say whether we approve of a crime being committed when it has been committed. At present it is for us to justify what has been done. When I am asked the question whether I approve of taking human life, I feel it is always a little awkward to give a "Yes" or "No" to this question. "Do you approve of doing evil that good may come? Do you approve of committing crime for the sake of getting rights?" The last question was asked me on Streatham Common the other day. Well, the very fact that the man admitted that the crime was committed to get rights showed plainly that somebody was keeping rights away from us. Well, when your rights are being kept away from you I think you are justified in doing something to get those rights. Then as to doing evil that good may come, you will find that even evil is a matter which cannot be settled absolutely. What is evil from one point of view does not seem evil from another point of view. For instance, supposing we were at war with a foreign country—in active warfare—and we want to know something that is going on in the foreign camp, in the enemy's camp. We ask for a volunteer for this service. One or two of the bravest of our men volunteer to go. We consider those men heroes because they are willing to take their lives in their hands and go into the enemy's camp to get the knowledge which is necessary for us in the carrying on of our warfare. But now take the point of view of the enemy. The spy, whom we on our side call the hero, the spy comes into the enemy's camp. Well, the spy is only fit to be shot or to be hanged. That is the other point of view. You see, spying is an evil thing in the opinion of the camp into which he goes to spy, but the spy is a hero to the camp for whose benefit he goes to spy. It is just the point of view and I think you will find it so with nearly everything. You cannot find an absolute right or wrong. You will generally find that we have not to choose between good and evil, between absolute good and absolute evil, otherwise our lives would be a very simple matter indeed, but between two different evils, and make our choice of the lesser of these evils, and when we have made our choice of those different evils we do not call the choice evil but we say we have taken the right course. Let us take as an example the choice that Japan had to take a short time ago when its national existence was threatened by Russia. Japan had to choose a course which certainly is an evil, to choose warfare under such circumstances. They knew that in choosing warfare they would have to choose the annihilation of tens of thousands of their fellow creatures, but they had to choose between that evil and a greater evil, and I think that most of us will agree that Japan made the right choice. When people talk to me about militancy, about the danger to human life, about the destruction of property, and about militancy being right under no circumstances, I always want to know if they believe in "Dreadnoughts and armies. Now then, I would like to ask those people who don't believe in armies and Dreadnoughts if they refuse to pay their taxes, if they don't then they are paying for the upkeep of the Army and the Navy, and what is more, they are sharing in the benefits of what the Army and Navy do for them. We are all living in safety here because some are pledged to go out and take life, and as long as we believe in war and that it is

better to have a war of self-defence than to submit to national annihilation and to live under the heel of a conqueror, so long we believe in militancy. I have heard people say—I have had it said to me, when I have likened militancy to a mild form of warfare—"Oh, but that is quite different. That is in self-defence." But the very fact that a man would say, "Oh, but that is quite different because it is in self-defence," shows me that after all he does agree with fighting, if there is a good motive behind it. The whole thing turns on the motive, if a man says that it is right to go on in self-defence, I say, you justify militancy. I can quite understand people who think that it is a movement simply to put a Liberal in to-day and a Conservative to-morrow, saying that it is not worth the risks, but to anyone who knows what lies behind our movement, to anyone who has given the slightest thought and attention to the White Slave traffic and what that means, or to anyone who has studied the sweating that goes on, and the race degeneration and the diseases that are disseminated in our race, and the causes of those diseases, well, then, I say to them militancy is justified. I think it is often want of imagination which makes people condemn militancy. I know perfectly well that Mrs. Leigh when she went and did what she did, did what she believed she was perfectly justified in doing, and she did it because her conscience told her to do it, because she knew and realised what tremendous issues are involved in this movement. If you have not sufficient imagination to see that we are standing between the oppressed and the oppressor, well, then, I can quite understand the criticism of militancy, but if once you can visualise those helpless creatures whom we are longing to help, well, then, I think there is not the slightest need to defend militancy. Imagine the case, for instance, of a woman who has been brought up as many women are in this country, sheltered and tenderly nurtured, with ideas of what is womanly and ladylike, and what is gentle, suddenly being put on a pincer farm right out in the West, not as the West is to-day, but the West country in America as it was some years back, when a man and his wife and little ones would be living in a log cabin in a clearing in the midst of a wild wood. Then can you imagine how that woman would have to change all her ideas of what was womanly and gentle left in that little log cabin while her husband was far away in the woods. She, with a baby in the cradle and little toddlers about the floor, engaged in doing the cooking and the tasks that she had to do. How her ears would have to be alert for the slightest unusual sound or sign. She would have to have a gun that she had trained herself to use, for perhaps a wild beast was at the door ready to tear them in pieces, or an unfriendly Indian to fire her house. What had changed these women who had been brought up in England? It was the feeling that they stood between the helpless and those who wished to harm them. That is the difference between the militant suffragette and the woman who sits in her easy chair and does not give the slightest attention to the helpless creatures who are being oppressed, but once let her go to meetings and read up all the facts of the White Slave traffic, and the sweated industries, and the terrible sufferings of women, and the unequal laws, and the degeneracy of the race, and I think when she has got a few of those facts into her head she will feel that she can go and be ten times more militant than any.

I want to remind any strangers here who do not believe in militancy how everyone adopts it directly they have a grievance themselves. Here we find Mr. Bonar Law saying that any means are going to be adopted to defeat Home Rule. Any means, and the means which they adopt will be most effective. Then we find Mr. F. E. Smith actually taking the part of the extreme of Jenny Geddes. I thought she was a type of this Union. Why did he not get a man for his type? He said that the woman who threw the stool was the first woman to strike a blow for liberty. All these people believe in militancy whenever they have a grievance.

Mr. F. E. Smith is dead against Votes for Women, and yet he can admire Jenny Geddes. We find that the very men who are against the Ulster men are quite willing that Home Rule shall be carried in spite of militancy. The militancy which has led up to Home Rule has been quite as great as the militancy that has happened at Ulster. Every one of you, I do not care who you are, whether you are a Constitutional suffragist or whether you are an anti-suffragist, you believe in militancy when you yourself have got a grievance. You know in Edinburgh after our smashing of windows two ladies drove up to the W.S.P.U. shop, and they tried to break the windows with their umbrellas, because they were so dead against the breaking of windows; it was such a dreadful thing. Well, they did not succeed in doing it, and so they went off and got hammers, and then got in a motor-car and escaped. That is how they showed what a wicked thing it was to break windows. We all believe in militancy directly we have got a grievance of our own. We all live in security because we are willing that others should go out and be militant on our behalf, and we don't expect them to go out and stand in an altruistic attitude and be shot down by their enemies. If we are fighting for our national existence we are willing to take the lives of others, and what has to be remembered is that we women are not fighting for our national existence, but for our spiritual existence, because this subjection of women is interfering with women's moral and spiritual development, and is interfering with the moral and spiritual development of the whole race; and when people once realise what is behind our militancy, all that they will wonder at is that it has been so light and that we did not take it up long ago.

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"THE WINTER'S TALE."

I confess that I went to "The Winter's Tale" in a prejudiced frame of mind. I was prejudiced because the "vague army of the advanced"—that irritating army whose one idea in life is to advance, no matter where—all thought fit to rave about Granville Barker's production.

But prejudice melts before a fairy-tale. "The Winter's Tale" is a fairy-tale, a gorgeous, sweet, bewitching, enchanting fairy-tale, as full of colour as a July garden, and as fraught with meaning to the twentieth century universe as though Shakespeare had written it from an Adelphi flat.

Chesterton is right—the big things are all fairy things. "The Winter's Tale" could not be what it is were it written of any definite time or place. True, the fairy kingdoms of the play are called Bohemia and Sicilia, but they might just as well be called Rumpelstilzkinville or Eldfom. Granville Barker did beautifully right to stage this fairy play as the fairies would have staged it; to make the people in it dress as the fairies would have dressed, and as we would dress if we had any sense of fitness; he did right to make them wear old Venetian gowns, eighteenth century Irish costumes, Chinese mandarins' robes, classic draperies—anything they happened to fancy. The result is a kaleidoscope of colour as fantastic and as pleasing as a flower-bed or a masquerade. Some critics have said that the effect was gaudy. I quote the Master—Gay, not gaudy. We only think that sort of thing gaudy because we have got into the bad habit of thinking it respectable to be dingy.

As soon as the curtain went up on the variously-coloured figures, I thought of Wells' "The Sleeper Wakes." Graham waking in the new world finds its denizens "brilliantly, even fantastically, dressed, the men as fancifully as the women"; and "everyone's movements seemed graceful." To "the typically stiff people of this typically stiff age" all this seems indecorous; but Shakespeare would not have thought it indecorous. Shakespeare was the gigantic fairy-tale teller of the ages, and Shakespeare would have liked the staging of this fairy-play. He would have liked the soft, friendly light, and would have rejoiced in the omission of the glaring footlights. He would have enjoyed the apron stage with its suggestion of intimacy; he would have revelled in the rowdy, graceful, inspiring dancing and shouting of the harvesters. He would have loved to hear Granville Barker's company speaking like the human beings they are. He would even, I feel sure, have loved the nice, big, furry bear who rose solemnly up on his hind-legs and ate Antigonus just at the right moment. And above all, he would have loved the omission of unnecessary scenery and inappropriate music which left the on-lookers free to think only of the play. I speak, you notice, with authority regarding Shakespeare's predilections: all good critics speak with authority of people who are dead and cannot contradict them.

There was such a joyous sort of child-like abandon about it all. These two dear, little, young things who gambolled and sported with the grace and innocence of lambs and kittens—how far, far nicer they were than the conventional stage lovers of whom one becomes so tired. And how delightful that the real heroine of this real fairy-tale should be a militant suffragette.

For—whisper it low—the real heroine of "The Winter's Tale" is not the dignified, patient, unprotesting Hermione, nor the pretty, affectionate Perdita. Were all women like these two, Hermines would continue to be unjustly degraded, Perditas to be unjustly abandoned. The real heroine of the play is the damnable, potent, unflinching Paulina—the eternal Suffragette whom all the greatest geniuses of all ages have loved to portray. Paulina, penetrating to forbidden chambers and telling tyrants to their faces of the wronged woman and the helpless child; Paulina turning full on the unjust king the flood of her fierce eloquence, while his attendants fawn and cover for fear of his insane wrath. Paulina may be taken as a type of the militant movement. Ruskin has truly said that Shakespeare has no heroes, only heroines. The real heroine of "The Winter's Tale" is the woman who makes things happen—the militant Paulina, just as the real heroines of the twentieth century are the women who make things happen—the militant Suffragettes.

Christabel Pankhurst, herself, is a sort of fairy character. Imagine a little girl saying six or seven years ago, "I am going to upturn the world. I am going to make all the women in all the world realise that they should not be classed with criminals and imbeciles." No wonder the politicians laughed. But, lo!—the fairy, Christabel waved her wand; and a few years later we saw the world upturned, and women everywhere pleading for and insisting on their rights. While as for the politicians—they were reduced to skulking behind closed doors, making excuses for evading public platforms, and scarcely daring to venture forth without a bodyguard of stalwart protectors, for fear of the vengeance of the fairies. Because the fairy scares wicked statesmen and inspires loyal fairies from her eyrie in the fairy town of Paris, she is but the more a fairy.

All the people who do things are fairy people, and as soon as they are dead we recognise this and weave legends about them. But Christabel has succeeded in being a fairy while she yet lives. I repeat: all the big things are fairy things, and all the big people are fairy people. "The Winter's Tale" is a fairy thing because it is a big thing; and Paulina and Christabel are fairy people because they are big people. F. F. W.

BOOK REVIEW.

CATHERINE THE GREAT.

Messalina and Semiramis are the titles the phrase-makers have affixed to one of the most brilliant women who have dominated the world. And it is as a Messalina and a Semiramis that Catherine stands in the picture gallery of historic portraits. But Catherine the Great is also Catherine the Woman, and it is this feminine aspect of a complex character that Mr. Gribble has chosen to portray with an insight and sympathy that belong to the man of the world more than the student in the library. Mr. Gribble is a psychologist by temperament and a historian by accident. Human nature is the keystone to his sympathies. Catherine subjugating Poland and dividing the spoils appeals less to him than Catherine swayed by passion for Poniaowski; Catherine, student, author, patron of art and literature, is subordinated to the Catherine of the boudoir.

Mr. Gribble's book fascinates chiefly through the character of his subject, but he misses the ruggedness, the barbaric splendour which Waliszewski has painted in such glowing colours and which explain and justify Catherine's temperament. It is an Anglicised Catherine he draws, not a Russian woman who was an eye-witness to those scenes of cruelty which were a commonplace of the Russian Court. He calls her a "German bourgeoisie," but Catherine absorbed the qualities of her adopted country with the same intensity of character and intellect that drove her to continue the work of Peter the Great and bring the heaven of the West into the barbarism of the East. What Peter did in craft, she set her soul to accomplish by the influence of the belles lettres. Catherine was no bourgeoisie. Though Mr. Gribble has put in a splendid plea for her sentimental attachments, we feel that it was passion which actuated her more than sentiment, and when she gave millions of roubles to the favourites who replaced each other so rapidly, it was the largesse of Russia, of a mind saturated with the magnificence of a big Empire more than the sway of emotional attachments.

It is because Mr. Gribble has left out the qualities of her many-sided temperament and failed to paint the barbaric opulence behind her that we feel the picture is drawn out of perspective. To explain Catherine, Russia was necessary, the Russia of Ivan, of Peter the Great, of Elizabeth—and Mr. Gribble has sketched in the background too faintly for the majesty and dignity of the Empress to stand out in their true value.

But if we quarrel with Mr. Gribble on the score of his Anglicism, we recognise that he has given a valuable and a fascinating contribution to history and biography. He has sketched the environment of Catherine with a vivid pen. He has shown how Elizabeth and her irresponsibility and terror of anarchy, Peter and his soddenness, changed the girlish temperament of Catherine with a dynamic force that gained impetus as she developed. She meant to reign and she seized the reins. But, says Mr. Gribble—

"She was a Westerner by birth. The east of her mind was occidental, and so was her culture. . . . When she took her stand at the window which Peter the Great had built, she looked out of it in a different direction from him, and in quest of other sights."

We wish Mr. Gribble had devoted more space to the linking of Catherine with the *esprit* of France. He calls his book "The Comedy of Catherine," but it is rather a tragedy that he has drawn. He has shown her as Messalina, and has not laid enough stress on the marvellous intellect that linked Russia with France and the new ideas that were vibrating through Europe. He has not justified Messalina because he has not sufficiently explained Semiramis.

The book is absorbing, the historical outline clear and impartial, the pictures graphic, but it needs the hand of a Waliszewski, perhaps also the sympathies of a Russian, to draw our own sympathies as well as our admiration for the woman who drew barbaric Russia into the intellectual as well as the geographical area of Europe.

MEN'S POLITICAL UNION FOR WOMEN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT.

Hon. Sec: Victor D. Duval. Offices: 13, Buckingham-street, Strand; W.C. Telephone: City 3104.

A public meeting will be held at the Kensington Town Hall, on Friday evening, November 8, at 8 p.m., when Mr. Newsom will preside. The speakers will be: Mr. F. W. Pethick Lawrence, Mr. Harben, Mr. Gray, Mrs. Lamartine Yates, and Mr. Reginald Post. In view of the critical events with regard to Woman Suffrage which are expected to take place during the coming months, members are specially requested to be present and to bring as many of their friends as possible. Tickets are on sale, prices 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d., at the offices and various W.S.P.U. branches. Contributions to the fighting fund are urgently needed, and the hon. treasurer (Mr. Cameron Swan) will be pleased to receive promises of donations from those who cannot attend the next meeting. Already acknowledged, £1,664 15s. 4d. "A Working Girl," £1; A. B. Randle, Esq., 2s. 6d.; "L.H.G.C.R." (per A. B. Randle, Esq.), 1s.; Miss C. L. Collier, £2 2s.; Membership fee, 1s.; Sunday receipts, £1 18s. 6d.—£1,670 0s. 4d.

*"The Comedy of Catherine." By Francis Gribble. Evesleigh Nash.

NOTICE.

In last week's issue of "Votes for Women" a statement appeared in connection with the service of writs upon Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

This statement has been wrongly interpreted to mean that we personally served such writs, but such is not the case.

Mrs. Pankhurst authorises us to say that she is satisfied that we were not personally responsible, but that owing to the conditions of our policy we had no option in the matter, and were unable to prevent our name being used.

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PROGRAMME OF THE WEEK.

LONDON.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 18. Camden Town, Cobden Statue, Miss Coombs, Miss Gwynne, 7.30 p.m. Crofton, 50, High-street, Blome and Robe Sale begins. 8 p.m. Crofton, Katherine-street, Miss Gibbs, Miss Hardy, 8 p.m. Hackney, Well-street and Berger-road, Miss Bonwick, 8 p.m. Chair: Miss Beley. 8.30 p.m. Hford, Barkin, Rippel-road, Miss Wingrove, 8 p.m. Kingston, 13, Union-street, Hostess: Miss N. Gornall. 8.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C., Speakers' Class, Miss Rosa Leo, 7.45 p.m. Tooting Broadway, Mrs. Dacre Fox, Chair: Mrs. Head, 8 p.m. SATURDAY, OCTOBER 19. Clapton Pond, Miss Barry, Chair: Miss Jenkins, 8 p.m. Golders Green, Miss Wright, 8.30 p.m. Hammersmith, 95, The Grove, Speakers' Class, M. Moore, 8 p.m. Harlesden, Manor Pk. road, Miss Feek, Miss Wadson, 8 p.m. Holloway Prison, Miss B. Guthrie, 8 p.m. Hford, Balfour-road, Miss Goffridge, 8 p.m. Kilburn, Messina-avenue, Miss Coombs, Mrs. Freeman, 8 p.m. Kingston, Coronation Stone, Miss Bonwick, B.A. Chair: Mrs. Dacre Fox, 12 noon. Lewisham, 1, Lewis-grove, Members' Rally, 3.30 p.m. Palmer's Green, Albermarle Hill, Mr. Victor Pratt, 7.30 p.m. Purley Tram Terminus, Country Walk, 8 p.m. Stratford, Maryland Point Station, Miss Agnes Kelly, 8 p.m. Wembley, Miss Agnes Davidson, Exhibition and Sale of Children's Clothes, 12 noon. Wimbledon, 9, Victoria-crescent, Exhibition and Sale of Children's Clothes, 12 noon. Wimbledon Broadway, Miss Kelly, Chair: Mrs. Haggott, 8 p.m. SUNDAY, OCTOBER 20. Catford, Tram Terminus, Miss Randall, 7 p.m. Clapham Common, Mrs. Bowyer, Chair: Mrs. Barron, 3 p.m. Finchbury Park, N. Men's Federation for W.S.P.U., 3.30 p.m. Hampstead Heath, Flagstaff, Miss Naylor, 11.30 a.m. Regent's Park, Miss Emily Davidson, Miss Rickard, 3.15 p.m. Streatham Common, Mrs. Dacre Fox, Chair: Mrs. Hughes, 3 p.m. Wimbledon Common, Miss M. Wright, Mrs. Lamartine Yates, 3 p.m. MONDAY, OCTOBER 21. Crofton, 50, High-street, Members' Rally, Hostess: Mrs. Cameron Swan, 8 p.m. Kensal Rise, Harvel-road Schools, Miss E. Davidson, 8 p.m. Jacobs, 8.45 p.m. London Pavilion, Piccadilly-circus, W. Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Annie Kenney, 3 p.m. TUESDAY, OCTOBER 22. Golden's Green, 26, The Parade, Members' Tea, 4.30 p.m. Hampstead, 178, Finchley-road, Work Party, 2.6 p.m. Palmer's Green, 6, Stanstead-road, Friends' Talks, 8 p.m. Stratford, 32a, Romford-road, Work Party, 7 p.m. Streatham, 5, Shrubbery-road, Members' Meeting, 8 p.m. WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 23. Harlesden, Manor Park-road, Miss E. Davidson, Miss Jacobs, 8 p.m. Hford, Milton-avenue, East Ham, Miss Wingrove, 8 p.m. Thornton Heath, N. Miss Leslie Hall, Miss Julian, 8 p.m. Wimbledon Hill, Mrs. Dacre Fox, Chair: Mrs. Dickinson, 7 p.m. THURSDAY, OCTOBER 24. Crofton, 50, High-street, Miss Hicks, M.A., 3.15 p.m. Kennington, Drawing Room Meeting, 8.30 p.m. Kilburn, 510, High-road, At Home, Mrs. Saul Solomon, Miss Canning, Miss Myrtle Engel, and others, 5.30 p.m. Pinzer, The Cocoa Tree, Miss Winifred Mayo, Chair: Mr. H. B. Goulden, 5 p.m. 52, Praed-street, W., Miss Bonwick, B.A., Mrs. Cooke, 8.15 p.m. Steilway Hall, Lower, Seymour-street, Portman-square, W., Mrs. Drummond, 8 p.m. Tollyington Park, 12, Turle-road, N., Social, Miss P. Ayrton, Chair: Miss Beley, Hostesses: Mrs. Haskell, Miss O'Brien, 7.30 p.m. Wimbledon, Queen's Hall, Broadway, Mr. Joseph Clayton, Mrs. Cameron Swan, Chair: Mrs. Lamartine Yates, 8 p.m. FRIDAY, OCTOBER 25. Balham, Caistor-road, High-road, Miss Jacobs, 8 p.m. Crofton, Katherine-street, Mrs. Dacre Fox, Miss Hardy, 8 p.m. Hackney, Graham-road and Mare-street, Miss M. Wright, Chair: Miss Garrett, 8 p.m. Hford, outside Down Hall, Miss Harvey, 8 p.m. Kingston, 13, Union-street, Hostess: Miss N. Gornall, 8.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C., Speakers' Class, Miss Rosa Leo, 7.45 p.m. Seven Sisters-road, Thane Villas, N., Miss D. Startup, Mrs. Barfield, 8 p.m. COUNTRY. FRIDAY, OCTOBER 18. Nottingham, 30, Bridlesmith-gate, Sewing Meeting, 3.9 p.m. SATURDAY, OCTOBER 19. Birkenhead, Haymarket, Miss Woodcock, 8 p.m. Redhill, Ladbroke-road, Miss Bouvier, 8 p.m. SUNDAY, OCTOBER 20. Leeds, Woodhouse Moor, Dr. Helena Jones, 3.45 p.m. MONDAY, OCTOBER 21. Ayrshire, Town Hall, Old Cumnock, Mr. S. D. Shallard, Chair: Miss Janie Allan, 7 p.m. Hastings, Lower Road, At Home, Mrs. M. Wright, Chair: Miss Gifford, 8 p.m. Nottingham, 39, Bingham-road, Drawing Room Meeting, Miss Smaith, Miss Crocker, 7.30 p.m. TUESDAY, OCTOBER 22. Ayrshire, Prestwick, Unionist Hall, Mr. S. D. Shallard, Chair: Miss Janie Allan, 7.30 p.m. Bexhill, Margate, At Home, Mrs. B. B. B. 4.6 p.m. Brighton, The Domes, Mrs. Pankhurst, 7.30 p.m. Halifax, Mechanic Institute, 3.30-5.30 p.m. Leeds, 5, Cookridge-street, Tea, 3.30-5.30 p.m. Nottingham, 30, Bridlesmith-gate, Sewing Meeting, 3.9 p.m. South Shields, Market place, Mrs. Pankhurst, 7.30 p.m. York, Festival Concert Rooms, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Chair: Rev. R. S. Pyle, M.C.A., 8 p.m. WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 23. Aldrie, Memorial Hall, Mr. S. D. Shallard, Chair: Mrs. Crawford, 7.30 p.m. Birmingham, Queen's College, Mr. Hubert Humphreys, 8 p.m. Canterbury, Forester's Hall, Mr. Pethick Lawrence, 8 p.m. Cardiff, 27, Charles-street, Miss Annie Williams, 5.30-7 p.m. Cheltenham, 2, Victoria-walk, Work Party, 8 p.m. Derby, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, 8 p.m. Dundee, 61, North-gate, Miss McFarlane, Miss Parker, 8 p.m.

Newcastle, Burnopfield Schoolroom, Dr. Alice Burn, Miss V. Taylor, 8 p.m. Nottingham, 244, High-bury-ave, Bulwell, Drawing Room Meetings, Mrs. Shepherd, Miss Crocker, 3.30 and 7.30 p.m. Redhill, Carlton Room, Miss Daisy Gibbs, 8 p.m. Walsall, Co-operative Hall, Miss Bertha Ryland, 7 p.m. THURSDAY, OCTOBER 24. Ayrshire, Manohing, Temperance Hall, Mr. S. D. Shallard, Chair: Miss Janie Allan, 7 p.m. Chester, Miss Woodcock, 7 p.m. Clacton, Work Party, Hostess: Miss Downs, 7 p.m. Leeds, 5, Cookridge-street, Social, Hostesses: Mrs. Dodson, Miss Palmer, 8 p.m. Radlett, Parish Hall, Mr. H. W. Nevinson, Chair: Miss Evelyn Sharp, 8 p.m. Redhill, Members' Meeting, 8 p.m. Rochester, Corn Exchange, Mrs. Pankhurst, 8 p.m. FRIDAY, OCTOBER 25. Ayrshire, Catrine, Wilson Hall, Mr. S. D. Shallard, Chair: Miss Janie Allan, 7 p.m. Bedford, St. Peter's Hall, At Home, Tea, Miss Winifred Mayo, 4 p.m. Bournemouth, St. Peter's Hall, Mr. Pethick Lawrence, Chair: Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck, 8 p.m.

THE SUFFRAGETTE. LINCOLN'S INN HOUSE, KINGSWAY.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1912.

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BUSINESS and Advertising communications should be addressed to the Business Manager at the same address. Matter for insertion should reach the office by first post on Mondays at the latest.

IMPORTANT STATEMENT.

At the first re-union of the leaders after the enforced holiday, Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Christabel Pankhurst outlined a new militant policy which Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence found themselves altogether unable to approve.

Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Christabel Pankhurst indicated that they were not prepared to modify their intentions, and recommended that Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence should resume absolute control of the paper, "Votes for Women," and should leave the Women's Social and Political Union.

Rather than make schism in the ranks of the Union, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence consented to take this course. In these circumstances Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will not be present at the Royal Albert Hall Meeting on October 17.

THE POLICY OF THE W.S.P.U.

The fierce and deadly militancy now raging in the Near East will, we trust, help excited critics to take a saner and calmer view of Suffragist militancy. The enemies of Turkey and the women who are fighting for the vote in this country have similar ends in view, but how enormous the difference of degree between their methods! Already in nine days 256 lives are said to have been lost in the war against Turkey. In six years of militancy not one life has been lost unless we count the lives of Suffragists themselves. News from the seat of war is very meagre as yet, but men of experience in these matters have told us to expect that injury worse than death will be done to women, and that villages and towns will be set blazing on a scale which will make the term arson as applied to some recent Suffragist protests sound positively absurd.

Remembering the outcry raised in some quarters against the Dublin protest, we should expect to hear unmeasured denunciation of the war and of those who are responsible for it. But no, there is among Liberals especially a sympathy with the Balkan militants which only the chilling demeanour of our Foreign Office avails to keep within bounds. When the Montenegrin representative, in declaring war, said that his Government had exhausted all amicable means and was therefore leaving it to the arms of the Montenegrins to secure the recognition of their rights and the rights of their brothers in Macedonia, Liberals ought logically to have uttered such condemnation as they pour out upon the W.S.P.U. when the failure of constitutional methods drives its members to militancy. On the contrary, the Liberal Press says that the reprobation of the war is morally worthless and a member of the Liberal Government, Mr. Lloyd George, says that: "We may be per-

mitted to express the hope that as the result of the war the boundaries of freedom and good Government will be extended."

The promised Civil War in Ulster should also serve to recall the critics of the militant Suffragists to a sense of proportion. The W.S.P.U. goes to the length of attacking property and defying the law. The policy deliberate and avowed of the opponents of Home Rule is to destroy human life. They are prepared to shoot and to kill thousands of their fellow-creatures. Preparations for the destruction of life are being made with the knowledge, approval, and encouragement of Mr. Bonar Law and Sir Edward Carson. Nor is this prospect of bloodshed and slaughter necessarily distant in point of time. Mr. Bonar Law said in the House of Commons a few days ago:

"I know that Ulster is like a powder mine, which may at any moment explode. I know that, and I know my responsibility. . . . The sense of injustice under which these people are labouring, and justifiably labouring in my opinion, is so intense that outbreaks are likely of a kind at which I really shudder when I think of them occurring, for they will be massacres."

Compare these words and the prospect they disclose with the words and deeds of Suffragists and at once the moderation of Suffragist militancy becomes evident!

At the present time alarmist rumours are afloat concerning the intentions of the Women's Social and Political Union. It is being said that life is now to be attacked. To that we give an absolute and uncompromising denial. The policy of destroying life is left to the Unionist Party and to the combatants in the Near East!

The militancy sanctioned by the Women's Social and Political Union consists in defiance of legal enactments and in attacks upon property. The only limit that the Union puts to militancy is that human life shall be respected. In what other revolution has that limit ever been set!

People have been talking of a new militancy, but the new militancy is only a development of the old. Ever since militancy began with a question to a Cabinet Minister it has gradually increased in severity just as each of the plagues of Egypt was more severe than the one before it had been.

This is no time to talk of militancy when the hours of an all-important Session are running by and the dishonest and hostile intentions of the Government are seen by everyone. Now, if every self-respecting woman are stirred to rebellion. Apart from any thought of victory they are impelled to show that they have in them a spirit that will not and cannot submit. Much has been said against militancy. More could be said by militants against non-militancy. Perhaps it is compensation—prity for the weaker vessels—that keeps the proud and untamed women from saying all that they think about those who will not be militant in a crisis such as this.

The W.S.P.U. gives the call to battle. Those who have free souls and the warrior spirit will answer that call. "So few are ready," we have been told. If that is true, the disgrace is to the cowardly. The glory is to the others who are willing to carry on the struggle without them. "We few, we happy few, we band of Sisters," say the militant women as they look at the mass of doubting and timid ones who stand to watch them as they march past. If soldiers are few they must keep up the fight until they win or until reinforcements arrive.

For our part we have no great reverence for numbers. The big battalions are not always victorious. Six Suffragettes can do more to make the Government give Votes to Women than all the inert thousands in the Women's Liberal Federation. There are already enough militants to create an intolerable situation for the Government. What need to wait for more. Each militant will now prepare such militant action as her individual conscience approves.

Vigorous militancy is crime, we have been told. But what is crime, we desire to know! We suspect that some of our critics are applying to militancy not the test of morality but simply the test of success. For when one comes to think of it, the constitutional liberties existing in this country are the fruits of vigorous militancy. But who calls that militancy crime, and who says that the men who won those liberties were criminals? How true it is that nothing (in Great Britain especially) succeeds like success! Rebels who have succeeded are patriots and heroes. Those who are still struggling towards success are criminals. The people who talk of militants as criminals might with profit commit to memory these lines:

"Reason doth never prosper: What's the reason, Why when it prospers none dare call it treason?" Some of the greatest evils in the world come from having one standard of morality and conduct for men and another standard for women. The attacks upon the militancy of the W.S.P.U. are founded on this double standard. If the Suffragettes were men fighting for their political liberty they would be honoured and admired by the very people who to-day denounce them. If a woman fights by her husband's side for the freedom of her country or for the rights of men even, she is honoured. It is only when women fight side by side with men and for women that criticism is levelled against them.

The militants' answer to it all is: "We care the most; we pay the price; the guilt, if there be any, is upon us; we are the keepers of our own souls; we are not accountable to you. We go forward!"

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

THE W.S.P.U. ELECTION POLICY. THE LABOUR PARTY TO BE OPPOSED.

The time has come to carry the anti-Government election policy of the W.S.P.U. to its logical conclusion. The Government is maintained in office, not by Liberals alone, but by a Coalition consisting of Nationalist and Labour Members as well as of Liberal Members. Each of these three pillars, Labour, Nationalist, and Liberal, must be shaken in order that the Government may be brought down. The Nationalist Members, with one exception, represent Irish constituencies, and therefore the immediate concern of the W.S.P.U. is with the Liberal and Labour Parties. Hitherto only Liberal candidates have been opposed at elections, but from now onwards Labour candidates will also be opposed. When a Labour candidate is elected, he votes in the House of Commons presently as a Liberal Member would vote, and he becomes an integral part of the Government forces. Whatever difference there may be between Liberal and Labour candidates in the matter of election speeches, there is no difference between Liberal and Labour Members in the House of Commons. Consequently, the next election contest in which a Labour candidate is nominated will see the W.S.P.U. striving to prevent that Labour candidate's return. It should be clearly understood that the W.S.P.U. attack is not made upon Labour and Socialist principles. Nor is it made because of dissatisfaction with the attitude of the Labour and Socialist rank and file who are urging their leaders to choose upon the official Labour Party.

The attack is upon the official Labour Party. This war between women and Labour could have been averted if the Labour Party had agreed to use their power to compel the introduction of a Government measure giving votes to women. The W.S.P.U. has urged that the Labour Party shall go into opposition and shall vote against the Government day after day until they are either ejected from office, or have surrendered on the question of Votes for Women. If the Government had refused to introduce a Home Rule Bill, the Nationalist Members would at once have defeated them. The claim of the W.S.P.U. is that the Labour Party shall deal with the Government in precisely the same way as the Labour Party far from consenting to fight and overthrow the Government for the sake of Votes for Women, is not even prepared to vote unitedly against the third reading of a Manhood Suffrage Bill from which women are excluded. Mr. Barnes, Mr. Parker, and Mr. Bowerman, three prominent Labour Members, have already declined to do this, and several of their colleagues maintain a significant silence on the point. The policy of voting merely against the third reading of the Manhood Suffrage Bill is hopelessly weak and inadequate, and even if it were adopted by the Labour Party the matter is referred to merely to show how completely the Labour Party has identified itself with the Government, and how utterly it has forsaken the women.

The official excuses for the Labour Members' decision to support the anti-Suffragist Liberal Government are stated in the last issue of the "Labour Leader." We are told that the Labour Members are not numerous enough to defeat the Government, and that, while it is true that divisions are sometimes narrow, if the Labour Members were to go into opposition, the Government and Nationalist Whips would see to it that the attendance of Members did not fl-g. To this excuse we have the following reply to make. In the first place, it is untrue that the Labour Members have not power to defeat the Government. Their votes count 84 on a division, and on several occasions the Government's majority has fallen below that figure. The Government and Nationalist Whips worked very hard before the holiday, but failed to get the majorities they desired. We are not alone in saying that the Labour Members have the Government at their mercy. The Nationalists are admittedly in great dread of any breach between Labour and the Government and the Liberal Press fully admits that the Labour Members can bring the existence of the Government to a sudden end. In addition to the effect of a hostile Labour vote in the House of Commons, the Government would suffer a fatal blow to its prestige in the country if the Labour Party declared war in the interests of women's enfranchisement.

Another excuse for the Labour Members' refusal to oppose the Government is that if they did adopt this policy, "the Conservatives would play with the Labour Party to a degree that would make it ridiculous in the eyes of the public," and would introduce resolutions in favour of such measures as a bigger Navy, Tariff Reform, and a reformed House of Lords, which the Labour Party would be in the humiliating position of having to vote for." The fact is that the Conservatives will have very little opportunity of moving resolutions during the rest of this Session, which will be crowded with Government business. Moreover, we would point out that Labour Members have shown themselves willing to vote at the dictation of the Liberal Government for measures of which they disapprove. For example, some of them voted against the reduction of the duty on tea, although they believe it ought to be reduced, and Mr. MacDonald, at the bidding of Mr. Asquith, led his forces into the division lobby to vote against a single Chamber in Ireland, although he and his party are in favour of a single Chamber. The excuse in question would prevent the Labour Party ever assert-

ing its independence of any Liberal Government on any issue whatever. Indeed, it is impossible to resist the conviction that the Parliamentary Labour Party is independent no longer, and ought now to be called the Liberal-Labour Party.

The "Labour Leader" admits that the Government's downfall would come, not on one of the questions instanced above, but on some phase of Home Rule. Very appropriate that would be, having regard to the fashion in which Nationalist Members have aided and abetted the Government's attack on Woman Suffrage! We believe most firmly that the Government would not run the risk of defeat, but would surrender as soon as they found the Labour Members voting solidly and steadily against them.

Supposing the Government were defeated by the Labour Party, then, says the "Labour Leader," "in the General Election that followed the issue of Woman Suffrage would be ignored." It would certainly not be ignored, especially if the Labour Party were to announce that in the new Parliament, as in the old, it would oppose any Government which refused to give votes to women.

"If the Conservative Party were returned to power," says the "Labour Leader," "the prospects of women's enfranchisement would be no brighter." The prospects of women's enfranchisement would certainly be no darker under a Tory Government than under a Liberal Government. Indeed, there would be positive advantages in having a Tory Government in power, because the Liberal Press and the Labour Members would be released from the servitude in which they have been to the present Liberal Government, and would champion the women's cause with a zeal in which they are shamefully deficient at the present time. The Tories, where such questions as the Suffrage are concerned, are better in office than they are in opposition. The Liberals, on the other hand, are better in opposition than they are in office. It might therefore turn out to be an advantage to have a Tory Government as an alternative to the present Liberal Government. In any case, their handling of the woman's question could not be worse than that of the Liberals has been.

The truth is that the Liberal and Tory Parties are remarkably similar in their action, the chief difference between them being that the Liberal Party is much more advanced in its pledges and principles. This being the difference between the two parties, the right method for those who want reform is not to let Liberal politicians hold office on the strength of pledges and principles which remain unfulfilled, but to turn them out of office and to keep them out of office, not allowing them to resume it until they are prepared to carry their principles and pledges into effect. Such being our view regarding tactics, we are not deterred from urging Labour to oppose the present Government by fear of the Tory "bogey man."

There are other questions, we are reminded, in which the Labour Party is interested. There are none, we reiterate, equal in importance to that of Votes for Women. The reversal of the Osborne Judgment is one of these "other questions." Surely the enfranchisement of millions of working women is more urgent and more vital than a question of Trade Union finance. The Labour Party is drawing under the payment of Members' funds, more than £16,000 a year out of the public funds. That obviously reduces the financial difficulty created by the Osborne Judgment and makes it all the more incumbent upon the Labour Members to give first place to the enfranchisement of women. The reversal of the Osborne judgment may put money into the coffers of the Labour Party, but if the Labour Members decide to sacrifice a great measure like Votes for Women to a measure for financing their own candidatures, they will find that when the General Election comes the electors will withhold from them the votes that are more necessary than mere money. Welsh Disestablishment and Home Rule are the other two measures to which the Labour Members are bent upon sacrificing the interests of women. To say that these measures, either singly or both together, are more urgent and important than women's enfranchisement is preposterous and insulting.

A woman's war upon the Parliamentary Labour Party is inevitable. That Party has allied itself with the Government. The intention of the Labour Members is to keep the Government in office during the next two years, at the end of which time a Home Rule Bill for men only, and a Franchise or a Plural Voting Bill for men only, are to be placed upon the Statute Book. Having thrown in their lot with the Government, the Labour Party must share the attacks to which the Government are subject. Everything that women can do will be done to weaken the Coalition and each section of it, both in the House of Commons and in the country. If this Session is to end without a measure of Votes for Women passing the House of Commons, then the sooner the Liberal-Labour-Nationalist Coalition is overthrown and this Parliament dissolved, the better. If we are not to have the Vote in this Parliament, then at the earliest possible moment we must have a General Election and make a fresh start under a new Government. Every seat lost to the Coalition is a step in the right direction.

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

MR. GOULD AT THE PAVILION.

Mr. Gould, who, with characteristic kindness, replaced at very short notice Miss Georgina Brackenbury at the London Pavilion on Monday afternoon last, alluded in the course of his remarks to the Albert Hall meeting convened last week to declare war upon poverty, and criticised the absence of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and the unsatisfactory replies of Mr. Anderson, the chairman on the occasion, to the questions of the I.L.P. as to what the Labour Party was going to do about Woman Suffrage and whether it was going to turn the Government out on this burning question. An arrangement apparently existed between the Liberal and the Labour Parties whereby the former would give the latter social legislation next session on condition that the Labour Party held its hand about the enfranchisement of women. The Labour Party was bidding fair to be as useless to the Suffrage cause as either the Liberals or the Tories. The Liberal Government was tricking Mr. Redmond just as it had tricked the miners and the women. All it wanted was the credit of passing measures without the odium of placing them on the Statute Book. Mr. Asquith had no intention of remaining in office for two years and Suffragists should concentrate on the General Election and on what would then most affect the electorate.

The speaker concluded by appealing to his audience for loyalty, for faith in the courage, sincerity and ultimate success of the woman's movement. Solon had passed a law in 600 B.C. enacting that whenever faction broke out in the state everyone must take a side or lose his citizenship. Christ's dictum was: "He that is not with Me is against Me." The present Government was holding up degradation, trickery, prostitution, torture of women, to be on the right side was worth while, and would be something to remember when the most profound and far-reaching struggle for liberty the world had ever known was over.

HOTEL CECIL.

The National Union of Journalists held their annual banquet at the Hotel Cecil on the evening of October 12, at which practically every branch of the journalistic world was represented, the guest of the evening being the Right Hon. D. Lloyd George.

When the Chancellor rose to reply to the toast of "The Imperial Parliament," a Suffragist present stood up and in a loud voice cried, "Mr. Lloyd George, why did you permit such disgusting violence to be used to the women at your Welsh meeting?"

He was not allowed to finish his speech, but was persuaded to leave the hall by half a dozen men.

Referring to the interruption Mr. Lloyd George said, "You know, I should have thought there was something wrong if—" At this point another guest rose, saying, "You are right, there is something wrong. We must have a Government measure for votes for women," whereupon he was ejected.

THE ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

The A.F.L. annual matinee will be given at the Lyceum Theatre, Friday, November 29, 2.30 p.m. Among the items will be "The First Actress," a play by Christopher St. John, with an entirely star cast; a duologue, in which Miss Lottie Venne will appear; and a piano sketch by Mr. Tom Clare. Tickets now on sale at offices, 2, Robert-street, Strand, W.C.

ART EXHIBITIONS.

EXHIBITION OF DRAWINGS AND PAINTINGS BY ENID U. JACKSON

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Table with 2 columns: Name and Amount. Includes entries like Mrs. Taylor (200 0 0), Miss Vera Wentworth (0 0 6), Mrs. M. S. Bennett (0 10 5), Miss Ellen Barcroft (0 5 0), Campbell (0 5 0), Miss M. E. Kendall (0 2 0), Extra on "V.F.W." (1 0 0), Mrs. Vans Agnew (0 2 0), Corbett (3 0 0), Mrs. F. B. Hazard (5 0 0), Mrs. J. Webb (0 15 8), Miss Marion Ferguson (3 0 0), Birmingham Prisoners (additional) (0 10 0), Mrs. Annie C. Wall, Esq. (1 0 0), Mrs. Diplock (valuable sold) (0 15 6), Mrs. R. A. Billing (Sales in shop) (0 2 0), Mrs. E. B. Billing (Sales in shop) (1 0 6), Miss C. M. Strangways (0 10 0), Sale of flags, etc. (4 14 6), Membership Fees (1 8 0), Collections, Tickets, etc. (London) (35 13 0), Per Miss E. Billing (0 8 2), Mrs. E. Slater (1 0 0), Miss Helen M. Wall (1 1 0), J. Percy Siano, Esq. (15 0 0). Total £134,624 17 8.

THE LABOUR PARTY AND WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.

The War against Poverty meeting at the Albert Hall last Friday was presided over by Mr. Anderson, the chairman of the Independent Labour Party...

A correspondent writes: At the Albert Hall meeting on Friday, Mr. Anderson took the chair for Mr. Ramsay MacDonald.

A question was handed to him by one of the men present who was anxious to be informed as to the Labour Party's attitude, and this he promised to answer at the end of the meeting if order were preserved.

In reference to No. 3, I might point out that Mr. Sidney Webb alluded to the matter in his speech in a manner containing both frivolity and insult...

SALE OF CHRISTMAS PRESENTS.

A sale of articles suitable for Christmas presents will be opened at Lincoln's Inn House on December 1, and will continue until Christmas.

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY. STRONG ATTITUDE.

Many important branches of the I.L.P. have supported Mr. George Lansbury's resolution, including York, Sheffield, Cambridge, Kensington (Liverpool).

The Branch of the I.L.P. being determined that the political enfranchisement of the women workers shall be granted without delay, condemns the Government for introducing a Franchise Bill for men only...

At a representative meeting of the Letchworth branch of the I.L.P., at Notts' Restaurant, on Monday evening last, Mr. F. B. Kirkman, B.A., in the chair...

The following letters, which furnish their own explanation, have been forwarded to us for publication: October 14, 1912.

Re "War against Poverty."

Dear Editor.—On behalf of signatories thereto, I beg to draw your attention to endorsed copy of a letter addressed to Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P.

On Thursday night the original was posted to his private address, and a copy of same to him to the House of Commons. Another copy was expressed from G.P.O. just before 6 p.m. Friday evening to the Chairman presiding at the "War against Poverty" meeting, Royal Albert Hall, Friday, October 11, 1912.

A perusal of the letter will clearly show you that the signatories were only actuated by an earnest desire to ascertain from or through Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., a statement as to the present attitude of the Labour Party regarding Women's Suffrage this session.

As we feel, apart from the discourteous treatment by our chairman, that the honour of the Labour Party is at stake in this matter, we think that every publicity should be given to the facts relating to last Friday night's proceedings.—Yours very truly,

FREDERICK E. MATZEN, Brixton Branch, Hon. Sec., 7, Roslyn-avenue, Camberwell.

(Copy) October 10, 1912.

Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., 3, Lincoln's Inn-fields, W.C.

Dear Comrade, In view of the various interpretations by the Press of your answer, "Certainly certainly," to the question, "Will you turn out the Government?" which was publicly put to you during your speech at the Albert Hall on February 13 last...

When are you going (1) to give effect to the resolution enthusiastically passed at the Albert Hall meeting on February 13 last, and (2) to redeem the pledge given by you on the same occasion, as Chairman of the Labour Party, to "turn out the Government" should it fail to give, this session, citizen rights, on equal terms, to men and women?

As Women's Suffrage would be the most powerful weapon with which to "War against Poverty," we hope that you will see the reasonableness of our request and the immediate need of complying with it.

Yours fraternally, Fredk. E. Matzen (Brixton Branch, Hon. Sec.), 7, Roslyn-avenue, Camberwell.

Geo. Algarth (Epsbury Branch), 94, Rosebery-avenue, E.C.4.

W. G. Dennell (Bermondsey Branch), 15, Beechdale-road, Brixton-hill, S.W. A. D. Macpherson (Westminster Branch), Leslie Dibben (Surbiton Branch), Valkyrie Park-avenue, Surbiton. William Brown (N. Lambeth Branch), Hon. Sec., 35, Royal street, Lambeth.

DEPUTATIONS TO LIBERAL AND LABOUR MEMBERS.

The Aberdeen Suffragists have been having a correspondence with Mr. W. H. Cowan, the Liberal member for Aberdeen, in the course of which he has definitely refused to bring pressure to bear on the Government to accept responsibility for a Woman Suffrage amendment to the Reform Bill.

Mr. George Roberts, Labour member of Parliament for Ipswich, speaking last week, declared that though the Labour Party were in favour of Woman Suffrage, they were not prepared to grant the vote to a limited number of propertied women.

In answer to a deputation from local Suffragists which waited on him earlier in the month, the Right Hon. T. Burt, Liberal member for Morpeth, declared his intention of voting for amendments to the Reform Bill to give the Suffrage to women; he was not, however, prepared to bring pressure to bear upon the Prime Minister to embody Woman Suffrage in the Bill.

Local Suffragists recently waited on Mr. Charles Fenwick, Liberal member for Wansbeck, Northumberland, in order to ascertain his views on the Franchise Reform Bill. After remarking that he had been in favour of Woman Suffrage ever since he entered Parliament in 1885, Mr. Fenwick regretted that he could not give the deputation a pledge to oppose the Reform Bill should women be excluded.

In reply to a deputation from the Bradford W.S.P.U., Mr. Jowett expressed his intention of voting for any unofficial Woman Suffrage amendments to the Reform Bill; he could not, however, pledge himself to more definite and concerted action.

Interviewed by Edinburgh Suffragists, Mr. C. E. Price said that he did not feel it possible for the Government themselves to be responsible for a measure for Woman Suffrage, since to do so would be to split the Cabinet and result in the loss of the Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment Bills.

The Hon. R. D. Denman, Liberal member for Carlisle, has declared his intention of supporting whichever Woman Suffrage amendment of the Reform Bill has the most practical chance of passing. Whilst preferring the "Dickinson's" amendment (i.e., one giving votes to women householders and married women), he was prepared to support one framed on the lines of the Conciliation Bill, provided that Conservative Suffragists were equally willing to give a fair chance to the former.

Sir Wilfrid Lawson (Liberal, Cocker-mouth), replying to a recent deputation, declared his intention of voting for any Woman Suffrage amendment to the Reform Bill which would secure a majority in the House of Commons. While personally in favour of Adult Suffrage, he is willing to support an amendment drawn on the lines of the Conciliation Bill.

Mr. Philip Morrell (Liberal, Burnley), while promising to do his best to forward the cause of Woman Suffrage, fears it is quite impossible for the present Government to introduce a measure themselves. It would, he considers, be unfair and illogical to defeat the Reform Bill should all Woman Suffrage amendments be defeated and women entirely excluded.

Interviewed by Jarrow Suffragists earlier in the month, Mr. Godfrey Palmer announced his intention of voting for the widest possible Woman Suffrage amendment to the Reform Bill, but considers it impossible for the Government to include women in the Bill themselves, as that would involve the resignation of the Prime Minister, which would in its turn involve a General Election.

EAST END CAMPAIGN.

Our Bow and Bromley Votes for Women shop is at 198, Bow-road. To reach it one may go down the Whitechapel High-street, the Mile End-road, and along Bow-road until one has just passed the old Church of St. Mary, Stratford, Bow, standing in the middle of the road...

Our shop used to be a baker's. It is an old-fashioned little place, with a small-paned bow-window and such delicately-carved mouldings about the doorway as are not made nowadays. From the upper windows at the back of the house one can see a jumble of old red-tiled roofs that have grown up in their odd irregularly dented hundreds of years.

There is always someone looking in at our windows, and in the luncheon hour, when the people come out of the factories, there is often quite a large crowd, especially if we are doing anything outside the shop.

Soon after we opened, a woman came in to tell us that she knew Miss Isabel Potbury, having met her in Holloway. This woman's husband had had a dispute with a non-unionist whilst picketing in the transport workers' strike.

A large number of meetings has already been held in the Bow and Bromley district, and these are improving every night. On Saturday, at the corner of Burdett-road and Coutts-road, the crowd was large, but only three very little boys voted against the resolution.

At all our meetings women, especially elderly women, indignantly protest against interruptions, and sometimes even push men who make disagreeable remarks out of the crowd.

VALITE ACETYLENE LAMPS FOR HOUSE, BUNGALOW, GREENHOUSE, STUDIO, ETC. ABSOLUTELY SAFE. No Smoke or Smell. COUNTRY HOUSE LIGHTING. SPECIALLY DESIGNED LIGHTS FOR OPEN AIR MEETINGS. MOTOR LAMPS. VALITE, LTD. (Dept. "S"), Acetylene Lighting Engineers, (VICTOR D. DUVAL, Manager) 13, BUCKINGHAM STREET, STRAND, W.C. Works: BARNES and NEWCASTLE.

with Miss Potbury. "Miss Potbury was an angel," she said, and "All the Suffragettes were fine!" Here is the answer to the Home Office suggestion that other women prisoners would object if the rights of political prisoners were extended to the Suffragettes.

The Kensington W.S.P.U. shop at 34, Green-street, a continuation of Bethnal Green-road, is at the corner of Globe-road, and has two fine, large plate-glass windows. It was very quickly put in order for Miss Dalglish, and her sister and Miss Lomax worked with tremendous energy, and Miss Postlethwaite provided charming white curtains and purple and green bannerettes with stencilled lettering.

Market days are a picturesque delight in Bethnal Green-road and Roman-road, Bow. The doorways are densely thronged with people and lined with stalls laden with butcher's meat, gleaming fish, fruit and green-groceries, and old pots and pans.

Our first meeting in Bethnal Green last Friday was at the junction of Bethnal Green-road and Abbey-street, and though many searching questions were asked, the majority of the audience were exceedingly sympathetic.

One man declared that we were all Conservatives who were supporting the Socialists, but the others laughed and agreed that Conservatives and Socialists are not the same. Another man declared that the ordinary working woman does not approve of our demand for enfranchisement. But we immediately took a vote of the women present, and our resolution was carried by a large majority, whereat he retired discomfited.

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A large number of meetings has already been held in the Bow and Bromley district, and these are improving every night. On Saturday, at the corner of Burdett-road and Coutts-road, the crowd was large, but only three very little boys voted against the resolution.

At "Ye Old Bull's Head," 32, 33, 29, 28, 70 & 71, YORK STREET, BUCKINGHAM GATE, LONDON, S.W. HARDINGHAM'S, The York Street Antique Furniture Galleries. Genuine examples of the Old Masters, Cabinetmakers, and Furniture and Decorative Designers, comprising the production of Chippendale, 1754; Mayhew and Ince; Hepplewhite, 1789; Robert Adam, 1782; Sheraton, 1784; W. & J. Pain, 1788; Abraham Swan, 1758; Pergolesi, 1784; Shearer, 1788; and various others both English and Foreign. "Ye Old Bull's Head," where in by-gone days George Morland, the famous painter, and other worthies of that period, were wont to foregather. The building has recently been restored by this well-known firm of art dealers, who utilise these appropriate surroundings as show-rooms for their treasures. VOTES FOR WOMEN. Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement. A PUBLIC WELCOME will be given at the KENSINGTON TOWN HALL, KENSINGTON HIGH STREET, On FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 8th, 1912. At 8 p.m. Doors open at 7.30. MR. F. PETHICK LAWRENCE AND MR. CHARLES GRAY, Who will address the meeting. Other Speakers: Mrs. Lamartine Yates, Mr. Henry D. Harben, Mr. Reginald Peat. Chairman: Mr. H. W. Nevinson. Admission - - - FREE. Reserved and Numbered Seats 2s. Reserved Seats 6d., 1s. TICKETS can be obtained from the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement, 13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.; Women's Political Union, 143, Charing Cross Road, W.C.; Kensington W.S.P.U. Shop and Office, 143, Church Street, Kensington; other local W.S.P.U. Offices and at the door.

that is given out to be done in one hour often takes three hours. She said that she herself is making men's coats for 3/4d. each, and that she cannot get them finished in less than three hours. She said that she makes them for a contractor who sells them to the local Board of Guardians for a high price, which she and the other ratepayers are, of course, obliged to pay.

WORKERS, SPEAKERS, AND MONETARY CONTRIBUTIONS ARE URGENTLY WANTED FOR THE EAST END CAMPAIGN.

BOW AND BROMLEY (Mr. Lansbury's constituency) Shop, 198, Bow-road, especially needs workers who can help in the daytime. There is much to be done to work up the big meeting in Bow Baths on October 28, and a large number of stewards will be wanted on the night itself.

As the weather grows colder, a stove to warm the shop will be much needed. Will a friend lend one?

IMPORTANT EVENT.—Meeting in Bow Baths, October 28; speaker, Mrs. Pankhurst; chairman, Mr. George Lansbury, M.P.; recitation, Miss Janette Steer. Tickets, 3d., 6d., and 1s., on sale at 198, Bow-road.

BETHNAL GREEN (Mr. Masterman's constituency).—Organised by the Kensington W.S.P.U. Address Miss Elsa N. Dalglish, 34, Green-street. A stove for warming the shop, and a number of chairs in order that women's meetings may be held in the shop are urgently wanted. Will friends either give these or pay for them?

Will friends please send in their names as stewards for the Excelsior Baths meeting on November 1, or as workers in the campaign?

IMPORTANT EVENT.—Excelsior Baths meeting, November 1. Speakers, Mrs. Pankhurst, General Drummond, and others. Tickets 3d., 6d., and 1s., on sale at 34, Green-street, Bethnal Green.

LIMEHOUSE.—Organised by Chelsea W.S.P.U., Hon. Organiser, Mrs. K. Temple Bird.

IMPORTANT EVENT.—Meeting in Limehouse Town Hall, October 25. Mrs. Pankhurst and others. E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Mr. FIFIELD'S PUBLICATIONS. POST FREE 3/6. On the Emancipation of Women. By Caroline A. Eccles. Democracy and the Control of Foreign Affairs. By Arthur Ponsonby, M.P. Unto this Last. John Ruskin. The Duty of Civil Disobedience. H. D. Morrison. Life without Principle. Thoreau. Culture and Education. Emerson. Non-Governmental Society. By Edward Carpenter. State Socialism and Anarchism. By Benjamin R. Tucker. Man the Reformer. Emerson. A Siding at a Railway Station. By J. A. Froude. The Everlasting Yea. Carlyle. Songs for Socialists. Rabbi Ben Ezra. Browning. Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam. The Influence of Women on the Progress of Knowledge. Buckle. Socialism and the Family. H. G. Wells. Articles of Faith in the Freedom of Women. Laurence Houseman. The Defence and Death of Socrates. Why Your Manuscripts Return. Sayings of Tolstoy. Master and Man. Tolstoy. Tolstoy and His Message. Gwynne. Edward Carpenter: The Man and His Message. Swan. The English Agricultural Labourer. William Morris. Holbrook Jackson. Robert Owen. Joseph Clayton. Henry George. Col. Peffer. The Seven That Were Hanged. Andriotti. THE BROOM FAIRIES and Other Stories. By ETHEL M. GATE. Mr. Fifield has much pleasure in introducing the work of this new writer to the public. They are really delightful stories and can be bought for the little ones with utmost confidence. LONDON: A. C. FIFIELD, 13, CLIFFORD'S INN, E.C.

IRISH NOTES.

We learn that several Members of Parliament have been approached with regard to their attitude on Mr. Philip Snowden's amendment to the Home Rule Bill.

CANADIAN REPORT.

Miss Barbara Wylie writes as follows from Montreal: The interest in the emissary of the W.S.P.U. has been extraordinary.

This afternoon I am to speak at a drawing-room meeting. This may lead to something more, and the head of the Victorian Order of Nurses has asked me to go and speak to them one afternoon.

Sympathy so far is plentiful, but we want more than that, don't we? You will have seen that Mrs. Denison had interviewed Mr. Borlén, who gave her just the same reply that he gave us.

AMERICAN NOTES.

In a telegram to "The Woman's Journal," dated October 1, Mrs. Frances W. Munds, president of the Arizona Equal Suffrage Association, says: "We secured to-day planks in Republican and Democratic State platforms."

Mrs. Alice L. Park writes: "The air is full of confidence and victory on November 5. It is taken for granted in a way most encouraging and to me wholly different from any situation I have ever known."

In his recent speeches in Arizona, Colonel Roosevelt referred to the Suffrage amendment which is to be voted on there in November. One thing which Arizona needed, Colonel Roosevelt said, was equal suffrage.

The New York State Convention has adopted the following resolution which had been recommended by the Resolutions Committee: "We favour enfranchising women, unless a constitutional convention is to be held prior thereto, as heretofore advocated."

In spite of the valiant fight made by the women of Kansas, the Suffrage movement has suffered a defeat. This was due to the organised opposition of bar and saloon keepers, who naturally threw the full weight of their numbers against a cause which has proved inimical to their interests.

In Iowa there is a campaign under way for securing an amendment to the State Constitution, giving the franchise to women, and plans are being made for carrying on such work as may be necessary to secure a State Legislature disposed to vote favourably on the proposition.

NICE WHITE TEETH BY USING AN ALBONA TOOTH BRUSH (REGISTERED). THE ALBONA CO., 69, CHANCERY LANE, LONDON, W.C.

THE LLANYSTUMDWY OUTRAGES.

The subjoined letter from Mr. Lloyd George appeared in the "Standard" of the 16th inst. To the Editor of the "Standard."

Sir,—My attention has been called to a very excited article written by Mr. Morley Roberts in your issue of Friday referring to the unfortunate incidents which occurred in connection with the ejection of Suffragists from a meeting at Llanystumdwy.

Had he (meaning myself) said when he commenced his speech that any violence to interrupters, or anything more than their immediate and quiet removal, would meet with his displeasure, seeing that it would do him grave political damage, no such shameful incident would have disgraced Wales or its patron saint.

If Mr. Roberts had taken the slightest trouble to acquaint himself with the facts he would have known not merely that I had repeatedly made that appeal to the audience, but that I actually commenced my address with such an appeal. My very first sentence was an entreaty to the people not to do any harm to these misguided ladies.

His first words were in Welsh: "If there is anyone here prepared to make a disturbance"—and he had only said this when a woman's voice was heard calling out "Votes for women."

Here is a new illustration of the infamous way in which the Government discriminate between men and women political rebels. The smallest infraction of the law by a Suffragist is ruthlessly punished, but men are licensed to behave as they please.

I quote further from the "Cambrian News," which has a fuller report of the proceedings: The second Suffragist, and a third and fourth were ejected in the next few minutes amid wild scenes, and the Chancellor, who shouted appeals again and again to the crowd not to do them harm, remarked to those on the platform, "I am doing my best to save their lives, but I cannot be responsible for what happens if these interruptions continue."

I assume that Mr. Morley Roberts is not deliberately suppressing these facts. He has simply not taken the trouble to acquaint himself with the facts as reported. Now that he knows what took place, if he is a gentleman he will apologise. If he is not, it makes no difference to anyone whether he apologises or not.—Yours faithfully, D. LLOYD GEORGE.

Treasury Chambers, Whitehall, October 15, 1912.

Mr. Lloyd George's reply is no reply at all. On several occasions since militancy began, Mr. Lloyd George has incited his followers to violence against Suffragists, and notably at the recent Eisteddfod his "entreaty" to the Llanystumdwy audience is reported by the victims of the violence to have been of a very unconvincing kind.

SUFFRAGIST MARCH ON LONDON.

The streets of the Scottish capital presented an animated appearance last Saturday afternoon when crowds of interested spectators watched the start of the great Suffragist march on London, organised by Mrs. de Fonblanque.

The organisers hope to reach London in about six weeks and Suffragists should make a point of rallying to meet the detachment upon its arrival in the metropolis.

A PROTEST BY WELSH SUFFRAGISTS.

Welsh Suffragists are moved to shame and indignation by Mr. Lloyd George's conduct. The Committee of the Cymric Suffrage Union has passed the following resolution:

This meeting of Welshwomen protests against the disgraceful treatment of Suffragists at Wrexham and Llanystumdwy. That such brutality towards women could have occurred in Wales makes them hang their heads in shame.

On the subject of militancy the Committee of the Cymric Suffrage Union has passed another very important resolution in the following terms:

The Cymric Suffrage Union, which was originally formed for propaganda work only, feels its position to be changed by the treachery of the Government in bringing in a Manhood Suffrage Bill.

The Cymric Suffrage Union is the first non-militant Suffrage Society to declare what its action will be in the event of the Manhood Suffrage Bill being passed without the inclusion of women.

ANOTHER ABUSE OF JUSTICE.

Here is a new illustration of the infamous way in which the Government discriminate between men and women political rebels. The smallest infraction of the law by a Suffragist is ruthlessly punished, but men are licensed to behave as they please.

At Limerick, according to the Chief Secretary for Ireland's own admission, large crowds of people assembled outside the theatre in which a political meeting was being held, and at the conclusion of the meeting two motor-cars were damaged by stones, the conveners of the meeting had to take refuge in the post office, and the windows of the Protestant Young Men's Association were broken, as were many shop windows.

THE CASE OF MR. WILKS.

The case of Mr. Wilks was raised in the House of Lords on Monday last, when Earl Russell moved to resolve "That in the opinion of this House the present state of the law which renders a man liable to indefinite terms of imprisonment for matters over which he is by statute deprived of any control is undesirable and should be amended."

Lord Ashby St. Ledgers, in replying, admitted that there was a certain amount of illogicality in the situation. There was, he said, every reason to believe that the refusal of Mr. Wilks to pay was somewhat in the nature of a political demonstration.

The Marquess of Lansdowne following, said he was glad this was going to be done. It was evident that the law as it at present stood was unsatisfactory, particularly as regarded the contradictory manner in which the property of married couples was treated for the purpose of the death duties.

The Lord Chancellor admitted the income-tax and death duty laws to be full of anomalies. The income-tax, he pointed out, dated from before the Married Women's Property Act. The points raised would, however, receive careful attention.

The motion was withdrawn.

VIOLENCE A SACRED WEAPON.

The following letter from Dr. Ethel Smyth, appeared in the "Observer" on Sunday, October 13:

Sir—As our enemies are busy informing the world that by adopting methods of violence women have proved themselves unfit for the vote, it would greatly interest some of us to know what you and your readers make of the following remarks, culled at random from great authorities, who, since they were addressing either actual or potential voters, could, I think, hardly subscribe to that theory.

From recent Ulster speeches I have merely selected three stray passages embodying the doctrine that violence can be a necessary and sacred weapon in political warfare. The quotation from Mr. Asquith is amusing in view of Mr. McKenna's avowed intention of abolishing the *genus politicus* prisoner.

JOHN BRIGHT (1866)—"I may as well judge the future by the past. The Parliament of England will not do justice to the people until there happens something that will suddenly open their eyes. . . . If meetings have no effect, if the open expression of opinion has no power on the Administration and the Legislature, then inevitably the minds of the people will seek other channels, with a view to obtaining and securing the rights which are so contemptuously denied them."

MR. CLADSTONE—"I am persuaded that nothing is so demoralising to a community as passive acquiescence in unmerited oppression. . . . I am sorry to say that if no considerations of political crisis, except to hate violence and love order and exercise patience, the liberties of this country would never have been obtained." (Concerning the Fenian outrages.)

"These phenomena produced that attitude of attention and preparedness on the part of the population which qualified them to embrace in a manner foreign to their habits in other times the vast importance of the Irish question."

VISCOUNT MILTON (1832)—"Was the Revolution of 1688 brought about according to the forms of law? No! that was one of those *modi* where men must act upon first principles; not according to the letter of the law, but in conformity with their own conscience."

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT—"For my part I do not believe in any great popular discontent until I hear of ricks on fire and factories in flames."

LORD HUGH CECIL—"No one who has taken the oath of allegiance to the King can reasonably say that rebellion is in every case an unrighteous thing, though in every case it is an unlawful thing. . . . Some rebellions are righteous, some unrighteous. The question that needs to be decided in every case is: What are the particular circumstances that justify a particular resistance to the law?"

MR. LLOYD GEORGE—"When power was withheld from the democracy, when they had no voice in the Government, when they were oppressed and had no means of securing redress except by violence, then property has many times been swept away."

SIR RUFUS ISAACS—"The days are past for rioting, and we need not have recourse to bloodshed and violence to carry on our schemes of progress and reform, because we have a fairly good franchise, which is an assurance that the will of the people must prevail."

MR. HOBBHOUSE said that in the case of the Suffrage demand there had not been "the kind of popular sentimental uprising which accounted for Nottingham Castle in 1832 or the Hyde Park rallies in 1867."

MR. JOHN MORLEY (1889)—"What is the meaning of Mr. O'Brien's resistance? . . . It is a reputation by the only means in his power that the offence for which he was punished was on the same level, or of the same complexion, as many criminals. You are going the right way about manufacturing rebels in the future by all this vexatious, unworthy, unmanly treatment."

MR. A. J. BALFOUR—"I will not say, and I do not think any rational or sober man will say, that what is justifiable against a tyrannical king may not, under certain circumstances, be justifiable against a tyrannical majority."

MR. ASQUITH—" . . . We are assembled to denounce the footing of a political and industrial agitator on the same level as an ordinary criminal. . . . I would rather find myself face to face with the brutal despotism of Russia than see the present prostitution of Constitutional forms, which at one and the same time is dishonest, ineffectual, and demoralising."

SIR E. CARSON—"Mr. Asquith has said that Englishmen never yield to threats; . . . but Governments do."

MR. BONAR LAW—"These men are ready in what they believe to be the cause of justice to lay down their lives. How are you going to overcome that resistance?"

MR. F. E. SMITH—"The crisis has called into existence one of those supreme issues of conscience, and which the ordinary landmarks of permissible resistance to technical law are submerged."

MR. JUSTIN MCCARTHY—"It would be but to misread history if one were to suppose that any popular cause with a real grievance behind it could be suppressed in such a country as England by mere prosecutions and sentences."

I think you will allow, sir, that, though everyone deplores violence—most of all those who are driven to it and have to pay the penalty—women, who have less political experience than men, cannot be expected to ignore the line taken by the above gentlemen of high Parliamentary standing, and for the greater part of some moral weight, many of whom are to-day practising what they preach.—Yours obediently, ETHEL SMYTH, MUS. DOC.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

ASSAULTS ON SUFFRAGISTS.

Lord R. Cecil (U—Hitchin) asked whether the attention of the Home Secretary had been called to certain serious assaults alleged to have been committed upon women at Llanystumdwy; whether any prosecutions had been instituted by the Public Prosecutor; and whether the Government proposed to take any steps to investigate these occurrences.

Mr. Ellis Griffith (Under Secretary for the Home Department): My right hon. friend has already made inquiry in the matter, and is informed that the police were unable to identify any of the assaulters, and that they are up to the present without sufficient evidence for proceedings to be taken against anyone. This difficulty is attributed to the fact that many of the persons at the meeting came from outside the county and were strangers to the police who were there on duty and who were fully occupied in affording protection to the women.

—Lord R. Cecil: Have the police considered the photographs that were published in the papers, and do not they help towards identification? Mr. Ellis Griffith: The photographs in the papers have been in the hands of the local police, but in spite of that additional help they have not been able to identify the assaulters.

THE FRANCHISE BILL.

Mr. Snowden on Wednesday asked the Prime Minister if it was still the intention of the Government to proceed with the Franchise Legislation Bill through all its stages in the present Session, or if it was now intended to drop the Bill and substitute for it a measure for the abolition of plural voting.

Mr. Lloyd George said the intention of the Government was correctly stated in the first paragraph of the question.

SPEAKERS' CLASS.

Hon. Elocution Mistress—Miss Rosa Leo, 45, Ashworth-mansions, Elgin-avenue, W. Hon. Secretary—Miss Hale, Lincoln's-inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

The first class will take place at Lincoln's-inn House, Kingsway, W.C., to-night (Friday). Members are particularly asked to be punctual, and to assemble in main entrance hall not later than 7.45 p.m., otherwise they will not easily find room in which class will be held. The subject will be the latest position of the movement. Miss Leo's private classes take place every Saturday at 41, Norfolk-square, W., at 4 p.m., by kind permission of Mrs. Ayrton. Both these courses are open to members of the W.S.P.U. only.

RULES.

- 1. Members of the W.S.P.U. only are eligible. 2. The class is held at Lincoln's-inn House, Kingsway, every Friday, at 7.45 p.m. sharp. 3. Entrance fee, 3d. weekly, proceeds to be used for the purchase of educational literature. 4. The library books are only to be kept one week, and must be returned or sent by post before the next class. 5. Members are limited to ten classes, and it must be clearly understood that no one shall be admitted to these classes except intending speakers.

One Year's Subscription, post free, 6s. 6d. (Foreign 8s. 8d.) Six Months' " " 3s. 3d. (" 4s. 4d.)

"The Suffragette" (The Weekly Newspaper of the Women's Social and Political Union.)

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THE SALE AT HOLMWOOD.

The bailiffs have now been two months in occupation of "The Mascot." It was on Monday, August 19, that the sheriffs' officers levied an execution on Mr. and Mrs. Peetick Lawrence's country house, during their absence in Canada, under a Treasury order for the costs of the prosecution in the conspiracy trial.

Open-air meetings were held in Westcott, Ockley, Holmwood, and Flint Hill, and in Dorking one was held every night for three weeks from September 16, and for the last two weeks, two or three meetings a week. Leaflets on "Is the English Law Unjust to Women?" and "Why I Went to Prison" have been distributed at meetings and from house to house. Good accounts of the campaign have appeared in the "Dorking Advertiser." On Wednesday, October 9, a good meeting was held in the Dorking Public Hall, the speakers being Miss Annie Kenney and Miss Rachel Barrett.

On Wednesday, the 16th, a meeting was held in the Dorking Public Hall. Great keenness for more meetings is shown, and many new members have joined the union. Speakers have included the Misses Brackenbury, Miss Naylor, Mrs. Cameron Swan, Miss Agnes Kelly, Miss Isabel Green, Mrs. Cather, Miss M. West, and Mr. Reginald Pott. No news has yet been obtained as to the date of the sale. The campaign is being organised by Miss C. A. L. Marsh and Miss H. Gordon Liddle, 43, Howard-road, Dorking.

AUTUMN PROGRAMME.

The weekly meetings at the Pavilion on Monday afternoons and at the Steinway Hall on Thursday evenings have been resumed. As the present political situation from the Suffrage point of view is critical, members are urged to attend and to bring friends that they may be au courant with important current events.

SPEAKERS.

Pavilion, Monday, October 21. Mrs. PANKHURST. Miss ANNIE KENNEY. Steinway Hall, Thursday, 24th. Mrs. DRUMMOND. Miss GWEN RICHARD.

NOT SUFFRAGETTES, BUT BURGLARS.

"Not Suffragettes, burglars." This notice covers a large hole in the centre plate glass window of the premises of a well-known firm of tobacconists, of Old Bond-street.

During the Suffragist raids last spring this window was smashed, and a few mornings ago it was found to have been similarly treated. On this occasion, however, the culprits were evidently seeking other things than the vote, for a large stone wrapped in a sack was found inside the window, while all the contents which could be reached from the hole, comprising a number of silver cigarette-cases, had disappeared. —Daily Graphic.



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