# VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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"Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow."-Byron.

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

### THE OUTLOOK.

The political outlook at the time of going to Press is still uncertain. On Thursday night in last week it was definitely announced that the Conference between the leaders of the Liberal and Conservative parties on the question of the Veto of the House of Lords had broken down. It was accordingly confidently expected that a statement would be made by the Prime Minister on Tuesday, when the House of Commons assembled.

as to the future course of business. This statement was, however, deferred till Wednesday, and then again further deferred till to-day (Friday).

### Prospects of a General Election.

If, as seems likely, this statement, when it is made, points to a dissolution, either immediately or in the course of the next few days, a General Election will take place before Christmas, and for this the Women's Social and Political Union is fully prepared. On the other hand, it is possible that a dissolution may be postponed several weeks until certain business has been transacted, either in the House of Commons or in the House of Lords. In such an event the General Election will probably take place at the beginning of next year, though there is some suggestion that after all a compromise between the contending parties may be reached, which would postpone the General Election until after the Coronation.

### The Government Refuses Facilities.

Meanwhile, though Mr. Asquith has not given any answer in the House of Commons to the demand of the Conciliation Committee that facilities shall be given this year for the remaining stages of the Woman Suffrage Bill, which passed its second reading on July 12 by a majority of 110, the decision of the Cabinet on this point is already known. Sir Edward Grey, answering a deputation of women on Saturday last, said that it would be impossible for the Government to

give facilities this year. Accordingly, the Women's Social and Political Union has determined, before Parliament is dissolved, to make a vigorous protest against the treatment of this question by the Government. This protest will take the form of a great and imposing deputation which will go to the House of Commons.

### Women's Deputation to Westminster To-day.

The date originally fixed for this deputation was Tuesday next, but owing to the likelihood that the House of Commons may have already ceased sitting by that date, or that only formal business may remain to be transacted then, it has been decided that the deputation shall take place to-day (Friday). A meeting of women will accordingly be held in the Caxton Hall at 12 o'clock to-day, the hour at which business in the House of Commons will commence, and the deputation is expected to start shortly after.

### The Work of the Truce.

This decision marks the termination of the truce declared by the Women's Social and Political Union in January of the present year. During the nine and a-half months in which the truce has lasted, a constitutional agitation has been conducted on a far larger scale than that attempted by any of the men's political parties. Great halls throughout the country have been filled over and over again, and resolutions have been passed urging the Covernment to grant facilities for the Bill. Last week alone the Royal Albert Hall was

twice filled by enthusiastic audiences of women, and t meetings were held in London and else where by all the Women's Suffrage Societies. Moreove this appeal has been backed up by the Town Councils of Manchester, Glasgow, Dublin and other great cities who have petitioned the Government to allow the Woman Suffrage Bill to be fully dealt with. Yet the Cabinet refuses to withdraw its veto on this Bill supported by Suffragists of all parties, while Mr. Pease goes so far as to say that public meetings are no in Suffrage week, which ended last Monday! One game now, and can take a hand in it and can play it. adication of the popular will. This is clear evidence great meeting in the Queen's Hall, one in Caxton Hall, It is action, and action alone, that can keep the that something further than constitutional agitation is

### A Paraphrase from Mr. Lloyd George.

sage relating to the Conference on the House of Lords Veto Mr. Lloyd George has written:-

Having in vain used every endeavour through conciliatory methods to win equal political rights for all Britons, we are now driven to fight for fair play in our native land.

We repudiate the claim put forward by 600 Tory peers that they were born to control the destinies of 45,000,000 of their fellow-citizens and to trample upon their wishes for the good government

This message, with the alteration of a very few words, is equally applicable to the attitude of the women to the nt Women have in vain used every endeavour Government. Women have in vain used every endeavour through conciliatory methods to win equal rights for men and women, and they, too, are now driven to fight for fair play in their native land. They also repudiate the claim of the Cabinet to veto the will of the people and to control the destinies of their women fellow-citizens, and to trample upon their wishes for the good government of their country. But where the men to whom Mr. Lloyd George appeals can fight by using their political weapon, the vote, women, who are voteless, are compelled to adopt other and sterner

### The Great Albert Hall Meeting.

We have already referred incidentally to the great Albert Hall meeting of Thursday in last week. Never before in the history of the Women's Social and Political Union has the like of this great meeting been witnessed. The intense interest of the speeches, which, as the editor of the mmealth remarks, were of historic importance; the splendid support which Mrs. Pankhurst received in her declaration of militancy; the wonderful response to the financial appeal of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, amounting to £9,000, for the promotion of the cause: these are things to be held for ever in remembrance. Mr. Zangwill sed himself. His great speech, which we are perconderful intellectual treat, but also a great prop by a profound thinker. The meeting was, as Mrs. Pankhurst said, a fitting culmination to the great peaceful campaign of the past months.

### The Press on Woman Suffrage.

A significant reference was made by the Times in its

A significant reference was made by the Times in its leading article on Tuesday last to woman suffrage:—
Abandoment of all the business of the Session has some obvious advantages for a Government confronted with many awkward questions, such as the taxation of Irish whisky, woman suffrage, the Osborne judgment, and the disastrous consequences of its many legislation.

The Spectator also refers to the advantages which the cites as one of them :-

n suffrage, and so will be able to secure the help of the Liberal gists at the polls without having to pay the price. Promises men are easily made by candidates at a General Election, and he custom on one side not to keep them, and on the other to this fact and trust to "Liberal principles, &c., &c."

### Items of Interest.

The Cork Corporation and the Southport Town Council have passed resolutions calling upon the Government to provide facilities for the Conciliation Bill.

The Bangor Women's Liberal Association has passed two resolutions, the one in favour of the Conciliation Bill, and the other to Mr. Lloyd George to reconsider his attitude Speaking on Wednesday in last week at the Chelsea

Town Hall, Lady Frances Balfour said that the evidence she had listened to upon the Divorce Commission was enough to convince anyone of woman's need for political power. She added that, as far as logic went, the oman's enfranchisement was won, but it required more than logic to arrest the attention of many people, and it was this fact that the militant Suffragists had realised. When people saw that women cared about the cause to the extent of throwing stones and smashing windows they realised that there was something in it. Woman Suffrage was coming, and coming soon.

Readers will be glad to know that the Woman's Press will publish shortly two new pamphlets—(1) Mr. Zangwill's speech at the Albert Hall, (2) Mr. Pethick Lawrence's articles, "Women's Votes and Wages."

### Contents of this Issue.

As announced last week, we publish in this number an aaticle by the celebrated composer Miss. Ethel Smyth, Mus. Doc., entitled "Better Late than Never." We also have much pleasure in presenting our readers with a verbatin report of Mr. Zangwill's brilliant speech at the Albert Hall last Thursday, as well as reports of the other speeches on that occasion. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence writes on the significance of the present moment in the Woman's Movement; Mr. Pethick Lawrence concludes his series on "Women's Votes and Wages," and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, in the leading article, deals with the political outlook. We also publish the letter which the Conciliation Committee have sent to the Prime Minister, mittee have sent to the Prime Minister.

### SELF RELIANCE.

### By Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

Suffragists have held six monster meetings in the and a determination to see fair play. Royal Albert Hall, and all the political parties put together have held but three. In the Queen's Hall of women because they placed their hope and their

pressure upon them to take action, it would be better possess the pledge of victory. We possess it in usiness on our part to educate the people. And those ourselves. who give us this advice are the very men who pull the wires of the party Press, manipulating it in such a way that the people outside the circle of the Suffrage world | honour them most of all because they have been ready may be kept in ignorance, if possible, even as to to learn with the younger generation this new great the existence of this agitation.

tinguished man who as an artist holds a reputation

Again we have been challenged to show significant | rock of our own resolute purpose public support for the Conciliation Bill now before for any other one reform have ever done before.

health and life have been spent, together with thousands victory. of pounds of women's hardly-won money, we are told with cool effrontery that the Cabinet refuses to withdraw its veto upon the Bill passed in the House of Commons by a greater majority than that obtained by the Government for any of its great measures.

What is the game of the Government? It is an old game. We know it only too well. The politicians' game is to urge women to put out their strength in so-called constitutional agitation to the very uttermost limit of their capacity, so that exhaustion shall superwene when disappointment comes at the end of the prolonged effort and strain. Their game is to raise hope only that they may kill it, and by killing hope to crush the spirit that is in this movement. Their game is also to render the agitation stale in the country.

They succeeded once. They hope to succeed again. In 1880 and for four years afterwards the Suffrage movement was a live political issue. Great enthusiastic meetings were held, many great petitions were sent to Parliament, influential friends were won to the cause. Promises were made, and hope was raised to the pitch of certainty. At the moment when realisation was all but within the grasp of the reformers they were betrayed by the Prime Minister of the Liberal Government then in power. And the blow coming at the end of four strenuous years of uttermost effort crushed for

twenty years the spirit of the agitation.

What was done in 1884 could be done again but for one thing. The only different factor in the situation

There has never been in the whole history of reform in | is the militant movement. Meetings can become stale this country such a great Constitutional agitation as in 1911, as they became stale in 1885. The country the Woman Suffrage Agitation of the present day.

What a record of meetings in London halls was made

can again grow sick and tired of argument without action as it did then. But happily we understand the

one in St. James's Theatre, where every available seat question of Votes for Women a living issue in the was sold, one important ticket meeting in the Memorial country. The very life-blood of this Movement is Hall, to say nothing of various other gatherings, and as "Deeds, not Words." - It is not by giving argument tion two mammoth meetings in the Royal | till argument is stale that we shall convince and carry Albert Hall with but two days' interval between them! the country. It is by giving battle when the appeal to Isthere any other cause that could muster so many and reason has been spurned. Only those who can suffer and such great meetings in one week, in one month, or fight for their convictions possess the power to rouse even in one year? During the past twelvemonth amongst the great mass of the people a sense of honour

Suffragists have held thirty-four meetings, and all the reliance upon the action of others, and those in whom political parties put together but thirteen. These figures they trusted failed them. To-day our hope is in ourare typical of our campaign throughout the length and breadth of the land compared with the campaign of found the true centre of gravity; no action of other Conservatives or Liberals, Tariff Reform Leaguers, people can move us. No failure but our own failure Free Traders, Labourists, or Land Reformers. Such | can injure our cause. What the Government is going a record speaks for itself, and shows the vitality of this | to do, important as it is, is not half so important as cause compared with all other causes that claim the | what we ourselves are going to do. Are we going to attention of the country. Yet the political ostriches rise to the occasion? Is there dignity, is there of both parties bury their heads in the sand and deny courage, is there indomitable determination, is that there is any real demand for Votes for Women. there disregard of self, is there willingness to endure The party leaders tell us that instead of putting hardship in women to-day? If so, all is well. We

Deeply as we honour the women who began the struggle, for their lifelong service to this cause, we lesson of self-reliance. Many of them are taking part How much have the general public been allowed to in our deputation to the Prime Minister on Friday, know of Suffrage week? Practically nothing. Last After forty years of so-called constitutional action, Thursday night saw the Albert Hall filled from floor they have been brought reluctantly to the realisation to ceiling, a great speech was delivered by a dis- so difficult for women trained in submission to grasp, "Who would be free, himself must strike the blow."

second to none in the world of letters; a speech full of Several women over seventy years of age, two women epigram, full of wit as well as of wisdom. Not one over eighty, and one woman over ninety-three ord of that speech was reported or even referred to by have volunteered to accompany Mrs. Pankhurst the party Press. In one or two London papers the and if arrested to share her imprisonment. Many sensational fact that £9,000 had been raised at the others have written saying that the infirmities of old meeting was mentioned; in others no reference what-ever was made to the matter and, as far as their readers

Women have been the passive creatures of the were concerned, the public remained in ignorance of will of others for many centuries. To-day they are that record of constitutional agitation in the Albert Hall masters of their own fate. In the past we have built on the 10th November. So much for the value of with sorrow and labour upon shifting sands of enstitutional agitation in educating the mind of the promises whose fulfilment depended not upon our selves, but upon others, but to-day we build upon the

We call upon those who would vindicate their dignity Parliament, and in response to this demand we have as upstanding members of the human community to organised the greatest political procession ever held, the seize the opportunity that is now offered to them by greatest open air demonstrations ever organised in the sending in their names at once and by taking part in history of this country. We have piled up witness | the deputation that goes to the House of Commons. upon witness and proof upon proof as no advocates | Political freedom is but the sign and seal of that freedom which the soul has won for itself. "Whether And at the end of it all, when energy, strength, in chains or in laurels liberty knoweth nothing but

> (A special announcement about the Caxton Hall neeting will be found on page 108.)

### AUX ARMES!

I made the sacrifice; I passed the door,
Where sinner, saint, alike, have passed before—
Reformers, too, pacing the self-same floor,
Counting the weary steps; greeting that star
There midst the driven clouds 'neath the same bar;
Longed for a human sound, shrinking from jar
Of jangling key, harsh voice; felt that the part
Needed a stronger soul, e'en at the start,
Felt the cold, numbing life, freezing the heart. made the sacrifice; life nearly spent, My body broken, but my will not bent, That an demanding sterner, and saw? Up arms again for my poor sisters' sake? How soul and body shrink! but shall hearts fail? Oh, God of Battles, clothe me in that mail That gave me strength before! I come. All hail!

November 18, 1910.

### "BETTER LATE THAN NEVER."

By Ethel Smyth, Mus. Doc.

hitherto given no sign of life on the Suffrage question | nothing more effectively spurs on the laziest and most were asked by prominent members of the committee | self-satisfied of us than witnessing the efficiency of perwhich way our sympathies lay. I, for my part, replied that though the spectacle of any uphill fight inevitably stirs one's admiration and sympathy, more especially when the fighters are found cheerfully facing ridicule, this change I will endeavour to do so.

years of quiet constitutional effort, to think of which is | into scepticism and distrust your present impression risoners, then, indeed, one marvels at those who dare, fully, "That is more than probable." in the name of dignity or fastidiousness, criticise the nt's methods. It is as if a man on the brink

read the Suffragist speeches, being well acquainted, by he same direction; some ardent and impulsive, others | steadying. cold and judicial; some sympathetic, others less so; ured of independence. Where had one seen the like? And presently literary recollections supplied the the two or three Suffrage meetings he had attended answer; the private annals of the French Revolution, made on the mind of a foreigner who counts, whose the history of the early days of Christianity show us remoter times has come down the ages in "The wit, Hermann Bahr, the dramatic author and jourfor up to now Mr. Asquith has not been torn limb from limb and devoured by the Suffragists; indeed, it has been rather the other way round.

At the time of the great June demonstration I was abroad; the newspaper accounts of it deeply impressed me, still more certain individual reports; most of all perhaps a remark made by that most level-headed and smanlike of Scotsmen, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to a friend of his, who repeated it to me, that never in the whole course of his life had he seen anything so magnificently managed as that day's proceed I reflected on all that organisation implies, what clear vision of the end, what imaginative grasp of the difficulties to be overcome on the road, what enthusiasm what hard work, what patience, above all what capacity! When I came home, a friend, who by the by had herself been converted by what she saw that day, gave me Lady Sybil Smith's pamphlet, "For and Against," to read. That was the finishing touch. When once one has realised how the vote may, nay, must affect the lot of women struggling for bare existence surely the most hesitating can hesitate no longer, bu set his face once for all the way the Suffragists are

Another consideration for me peculiarly compelling is this: all women know, and most men who have had experience of life and held positions of responsibility are ready to admit, that in two points the average Englishman is deficient—organising ability, and what is far more important, moral courage. Now I have always found that even in very ordinary women you can more or less count on these two qualities, and one longs to see them set free to affect public issues where the need of them is so crying, rather than locked up exclusively in private life. If only for this reason: it is possible that these same faculties are dormant in men and may be stung into life by the spectacle of women

Last spring I and many other women who had | exercising them without peril to the State. And, indeed, sons we foolishly considered our inferiors.

The last of the considerations I can think of as having appealed to me, and which therefore I mention last, i how the vote will help women devoted to the cultivation obloquy, and suffering, as do the heroic militants, truth of some special gift, who are at present hampered compelled me to confess to lukewarmness on the by sex, both directly and indirectly, at every turn. If question at issue. Since then the subject has become | a personal anecdote on this subject be permissible, may o me one of absorbing interest, and nowhere can be I venture to recount one which showed me very early found a more unqualified adherent of the cause than in the day against what sort of back-drift of prejudice myself. Having been asked to state the reasons of we have to contend? I was a musical student in Germany then (after several years of civil war, by-the-I should like at the outset to say that what first | by, in order to attain that position), and by chance one convinced me this is a vital question, as opposed to a of the great pillars of Wagnerism was present one day when I was playing some composition of mine. A few days later I met him again, and he said: "Let me somewhere—fires such as prevent this globe from hear that thing again, for on reflection I cannot believe becoming a dead thing turning in space like the moon.

And when such actions of heroic self-sacrificing me to be." I did so, and presently remarked, half in violence show up against a background of years and | joke, "What's the use, for to-morrow you will slip back almost as moving as the sufferings of the voluntary And he, being a clever man, and honest, said thought-

In a way, such an eye-opener on the threshold of one's career was not a bad thing; it taught one to should deplore the ungraceful gestures of one struggling | concentrate one's energies on doing as well as possible in the torrent to save another's life. We all know the without looking for help or recognition. But if I refer charming French proverb about omelettes and the to it now it is mainly as paving the way to an explaoreaking of eggs; some of us recognise in it an airy nation why many women whose life has been spent in statement of one of the grimmest truths upon which progress depends . . . What of those who not only nature have been slow, as I was, to join the ranks of ow before that truth, but give themselves to be the Suffragists. Some struggles are so severe, so endless, that one dare not stop to ponder the theory of it Thus far I had got when, a direct question having all. In one's ear the instinct of self-preservation been put to me, I began to think the matter over and | whispers, "That way madness lies"; for the thought of wrongs you are not personally intended to cope with accident of environment, with the views of the other | is enervating and dispersing, whereas the same thought side. At once I was struck by the wealth of divergent to those whose noble mission it is to forge a remedy, i personalities self-harnessed to the cause and pulling in of all influences the most inspiring, strengthening, and

May I, in conclusion, say how ardently I wished some admirable wives and mothers, others lonely spirits | some prominent Suffragist could have been present the other day to note with me what a profound impression words (and I know he is writing an article on the similar pictures; a hint of analogous conditions in yet subject) are read throughout Austria and Germany—to Bacchae," though in somewhat different manifestation, nalist. I saw him just after he had come from the Trafalgar Square meeting, and he could literally talk of nothing else all the evening. His last words I well remember. "These people," he said, after describing to us in brilliant summary all he had seen and heard. these people have the seal on them of those who inevitably win, partly because their cause is right, partly because one sees they will never accept defeat. After a pause he added, "I suppose they know they cannot but win?" I answered I believed they did.

### THE TORCH OF LIBERTY.

(Written after Christabel Pankhurst's speech at the Albert Hall. November 10, 1910.)

> In dungeons small and mean; Purblind behind the bars they lay As they asleep had been

> When suddenly there came a flash-A lightning, living shaft One of us caught it, passed it on— We woke, seized it, and laughed.

Men tried to wrench it from our hands-That heaven-sent golden gift! Bethink you! Back to prison bars Now, when the shadows lift?

This is the Torch of Liberty! What patriot lets it go
Once he has seized it? So we cried
"A thousand times No! No!"

The love of Liberty burns bright In every true-born heart—
Rise, women, rise! The time has come! You're needed! Play your part!

G. Vaughan.

### Debenham & Freebody Wigmore Street. (Covendish Square) London W.

## **BLOUSES & TEA GOWNS**



NEW FETE BLOUSE (as sketch), an entirely new idea, in best quality ninon, with wide ribbon of contrasting colour underneath, ver the shoulders. finished with black ribbon velvet, and lace vest and collar.
In black, white, and all shades.
21/9



Ouilted Japanese Dressing Gown is sketch), in good quality silk, made high to throat, with extra widin account and finished. In purple, green, wine, vieux rose, sky, pink, 15/9 oat, with extra width across chest; well cut

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### THE SWORD AND THE SPIRIT.

By Israel Zangwill.

A Speech delivered by Mr. Zangwill at the Royal Albert Hall, Nov. 10, 1910.

in Parliament I am tempted to say to those Ministers, in the words of the Gospel, "Ye hypocrites, ye can discern not discern this time?" Never was Female Suffrage so near and so certain. The principle of Votes for Women is now absolutely safe-far safer than the places of n real prophetess, she would have left us as a prophecy-

### When shall women vote? When men fly.

I believe that in the drowsy circles and old-world haunts of the Anti-Suffrage League, the question of Female Suffrage is still regarded as open to debate. Not so in live political circles. Not even in Parliament. There the question is no longer "Whether;" it is "How?" It is not now "Shall women have votes?" but "Which party shall collar women's votes?" The settling of this little question is the only thing that delays our triumph. Till the other day both parties banged the loor in woman's face. Now both are fighting to hold the door open for her, and it is only because this excess of chivalry blocks the doorway that she is still outside. But the object of our movement is not votes for Conservatives nor votes for Liberals, but votes for women. And having come thus far across every -over hedges and ditches, over bogs and mountains, over policemen and Premiers-we are not going to sit down patiently while Parliamentary parties work out their mutual long-drawn intrigues. That may take years, and, as Bacon reminds us, delays are dangerous. We demand that our victory shall be translated into legislation forthwith. We denounce the mean trick of nying us the chance of a third reading. That is not playing the game.

The Suffrage movement has brought many useful sidelessons. The penetration of its martyrs into our prisons has thrown most valuable illumination upon the abuses in those prisons, and the penetration of the cause into Parliament has turned a searchlight upon the abuses in Parliament. Laymen like myself, driven from our desks to the platform by the stupidity of the professional politician, stand in amaze before the defects of the political machine. Any blockhead in Parliament can block a bill, any parrot can talk it out, while even when a large majority has endorsed it, the Prime Minister can cut it dead. We men at least imagined we were living under representative government. But where is representative government if a majority of 110

voted for our Bill and twenty-four more paired in its after every possible political combination had been exhausted! We have a majority of 110, with 130 absentees still squeezable. I invite Mr. Asquith to consider Female Suffrage the dominating issue in British affing to their enemies and surprising even to their friends.

Suffragists realise the expediency of small beginnings and possible political combination had been exhausted! We have a majority of 110, with 130 accepted the Conciliation Bill with a unanimity baffling to their enemies and surprising even to their friends.

Buffrage, were last year unanimous in assuring us that know that the majority comes from both sides of the and Winston Churchill against this Conciliation Bill the cause had been put back by the militant tactics of House. But one result of the searchlight which amount to? That it is a Conciliation Bill. It does the body which is responsible for this mammoth meeting. Never had Female Suffrage stood so remote to disclose who are the real Liberals and who are the far enough! As if a Conciliation Bill could go far enough! As if the very object of a compromise and uncertain. When I remember our majority of 110 realConservatives. For whatcan be more Radical than to was not a compromise! As if some of us were not admit a new sex to the franchise, and what can be as eager as these gentlemen for a more democratic more Tory than to cling blindly to the status quo? charter! Or as if the Bill would have stood half such the face of the sky and the earth, how is it ye do The unhappy Members of Parliament, driven by Whips a chance had it been broader! Oliver Twist asked for to vote with the Party into which they were born, more—it is not recorded that he got it. On the contrary, pitchforked, or seduced by their ambitions, were for | we are told that the master aimed a blow at Oliver's once allowed to be true to their own selves. The House | head, pinioned him in his arms, and shricked aloud those Cabinet Ministers. If Mother Shipton had been of Commons was turned into a Palace of Truth. What for the beadle. Messrs. Lloyd George and Winston strange sights we saw then! Asquith stood revealed as | Churchill, indeed, profess their willingness to give us a Tory, Balfour as a Liberal, Winston Churchill as a more—despite of the master! I quite believe them. But wobbler, and Lloyd George as a lawyer. We witnessed when? In some vague to-morrow. But we are hungry the Gilbertian situation of the Tory leader instructing | to-day. And what assurance have we that they will be the Liberal leader that government rests upon the con- in power to-morrow? Or that the Lords will be out of sent of the governed. That both parties are bitterly power? No! We prefer a bird in the hand to two dissatisfied with their leaders is an open secret. I can mocking birds in the bush. only suggest they should swap them. Perhaps this is

### Democrats in a Dilemma.

are not too Tory; they are too Liberal. They are afraid—and I believe honestly afraid—that the ladies not to insist on the enfranchisement of the entire sex enfranchised by our Bill will turn them out of office, and with them all their cherished programme of social reform. Panic-stricken, they count the Tory chickens before they are hatched, and protest that they will eat them out of house and home. I am not concerned to dispute their figures or their calculations, however questionable. They are entitled to their point of view. But it is the point of view of purblind party politicians, not of far-sighted statesmen. These bouncing democrats show little faith in their own speeches, waves of disturbance which make the weather can be seriously modified by a petty majority of Tory women of property, even if it be true that the Conciliation Bill would produce such a majority? Can a few thousand maiden ladies ride the whirlwind and direct

Lords is standing with both feet on a majority in the | They understand that there is no item of social Commons. Three hundred members of Parliament progress on the programme of Messrs. Lloyd George to tell him there is no such dominating issue. If the I would begin by giving the vote to a single woman. after every possible political combination had been Suffragists realise the expediency of small beginnings

Cabinet Ministers, whether for or against Female | Liberal majority. I say Liberal majority, though I | What do the long-winded speeches of Lloyd George

Not that the Conciliation Bill is beyond further conwhat the Conference has been discussing. Perhaps this is its jealously guarded secret. I am sure it is a solution which Suffragists would welcome.

Permocrats in a Dilemma.

Not that the Concination Bill is beyond further confilation. Just because it is a compromise and not our full formula, we do not cling to every letter and comma of it. If Messrs. Lloyd George and Winston Churchill can find any way of broadening the Bill without nar-The case of Winston Churchill and Lloyd George differs from the case of Mr. Asquith. These gentlemen at one fell swoop. For, strange to say, the Prime Minister will only permit his misguided henchmen to mislead us into Female Suffrage on condition the evil is wrought on the largest possible scale, and the whole of this fickle and capricious element let loose upon the country at once. But Mr. Asquith must content himself with a smaller social catastrophe. If he is ready to compromise with the Lords, why should he not compromise with the ladies?

### Arms and the Woman.

But if Mr Asquith hardens his heart and persists in or in the large forces that they declare to be shaping the future. For if, as Mr. Lloyd George told us in his city Temple speech, the storm-cone has been hoisted in social politics, does he suppose that the world-wide tace the question which Mr. Balfour put to him on that magic day when Parliament was turned into a Palace of Truth. How are you to govern in the teeth of all this passionate discontent? No doubt we shall again hear Pharisaic deprecations of militancy, platitudinous appeals for constitutional tactics. But woman is outside the Constitution. The House of Commons has been built woman-tight. Even the friends she has the storm?

If any party should complain that the Conciliation Bill is not democratic enough, it is the Labour Party. If any party stands to lose by an increased Tory vote, it is the small, struggling party that puts Socialism on its banner. Yet what is the attitude of the Labour Party? Is it counting votes? Is it calculating waiden ledies? Not it is pregarding institute. While grays with religious amotion, to commend to you the can be thus mocked and nullified? Mr. Asquith can see the mote in the eye of the Lords. Let him first remove the beam in his own.

The Prime Minister's Paradox.

Mr. Asquith last night dubbed the international situation re armaments a tragic paradox. I doubt if British history has ever produced a more comic paradox than the position of Mr. Asquith, who while his hands are raised to heaven in protest against the veto of the Lords is standing with both feet on a majority in the mean the interruption of speeches by questions and comments—for this has always been a feature of British politics. The only new feature is the brutal m voted for our Bill and twenty-four more paired in its favour, yet because this solitary autocrat regards compare in importance or fruitfulness with this Bill of sound of a woman throws them. Mr. Asquith cannot favour, yet because this solitary autocrat regards
Female Suffrage as a social calamity that would
let loose upon the country the element he describes
as fickle and capricious, these 324 men, including
the leaders of all the other parties, count for nothing.

Lloyd George and Winston Churchill to tell us that—
https://documents.com/parties/ the leaders of all the other parties, count for nothing. We demand the removal of this Asquith veto; we demand the liberties of Parliament against the tyranny of the Cabinet. "I invite you," said Mr. Asquith in the passage of any of these gentlemen's projects. This very Hall, "to consider the veto of the Lords as the dominating issue in British politics." I am sorry to tell him there is no such dominating issue. If the to tell him there is no such dominating issue. If the subject was ever burning, the Conference has quenched it. But even at the height of the flame, her public zeal, her oratorical talents, and, above all, what majority did Mr. Asquith obtain for his Veto
Bill? One hundred and three. One hundred and three
after the last ounce of pressure had been put on,
after every possible political combination had been.

Sp. Graviety realize the combination and three who will be a shown herself most worthy of a vote—need I say I
refer to Mrs. Humphry Ward? It is because all
with a single riot of miners in Mr. Lloyd George's country. What, then, is this sword? Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Asquith has been misled by a metaphor.

will be. Frison has already become an individual, when in addition it becomes a luxury, it will be a fascination. Woman's place will no longer be the home: it will be the prison. And how is the Home Secretary to provide prisons (with first-class apartments) for all the multitude of female rebels? He will be driven back on the old harshness; repression will grow severer and severer; and the old miserable round will recommence. Mr. Balfour was right, you see. No Government can in the teeth of all this passionate discontent.

ising of the sun. It is not a discontent which is rising of the stir. It is not a discontent which is stirring everywhere. Even in Turkey the harems are seething

prison and the hospital, hunger, and darkness, and and advantages, though they are true causes, true woman from the rough realities of life. It may be so,

loneliness—these are its weapons. And they are more learning than swords. Mr. Winston Churchill understands this, if Mr. Asquith does not, for he designs to stands this, if Mr. Asquith does not, for he designs to stands this, if Mr. Asquith does not, for he designs to stands this, if Mr. Asquith does not the very word "harem" mean a sancstands this, if Mr. Asquith does not, for he designs to blunt your weapons, to pad your prisons with those comforts which male politicians have carefully provided for their own contingencies. You are to be almost first-class misdemeanants. Mr. Winston Churchill in thus drawing the sting of your martyrdoms would weaken you far more than by his vote against the Conciliation Bill. But even this new policy of killing you by kindness must automatically defeat itself. For the casier prison is made the more numerous the applicants will be. Prison has already become an honour, when in addition it becomes a luxury, it will be a fascination.

Mexence's pade will provided einibut as a protection for the female wagenees and the very word "harem" mean a sanction for the female wageneed simply as a protection for the female wageneer, the Suffrage Movement would be open to the set-back of the reform proposed by the brilliant Mr. Chesterton, that Western civilisation, having taken a word of to-day; she wants a house with more breathing-space, more than by his vote against the Conciliation Bill. But even this new policy of killing you by kindness must automatically defeat itself. For the featern civilisation, having taken a word of to-day; she wants a house with more breathing-space, will the very word "harem" mean a sanctivary? But whether contempt or consideration inspired these phases of woman's status, they or be without the very word "harem" mean a sanctivary? But whether contempt or or one ideation inspired these phases of woman's status, they or be woman's sta that woman's place is the home, and he at least would not withhold the franchise without proposing another remedy for our present discontents. But alas! our civilisation cannot be turned upside down as easily as Mr. Chesterton's sentences, and the typewriter, the factory, and the coal-pit will long continue to enslave women. It is true the reasons for Women's Suffrage would remain just as potent were every labouring or profesgovern in the teeth of all this passionate discontent.

For this discontent is no passing petulance, no fit of the vapours to be dissipated as artificially as it arose, but a righteous indignation that has its roots in basic facts and must grow deeper and wider with every social force crosses and recrosses it. The law of diverge for grammle affects the very foundations.

So the vote is the seal and symbol of the evolution of the women of the West. And because this evolution is a spiritual phenomenon, it needs no arguments, no statistics. It is its own justification. Vainly is it urged that only a minority of women feels with you, that you must first covert all the others. Why should the law of divorce, for example, affects the very foundations of the home, yet not till the appointment of the Divorce rising of the sun. It is not a discontent which is limited to one country, it is an unrest which is stirring everywhere. Even in Turkey the harems are seething with the new spirit; even in India—Lord Curzon told his Oxford audience the other day—there is a movement towards the emancipation of the native women in the zenanas, and this pillar of anti-suffrage calls for English women to help their dusky sisters who are freeing themselves from the shackles of their old traditions and customs.

The Unanswerable Argument.

The demand for Women's Suffrage has behind it many reasons. It will bring to the State many advantages. And the economic causes which have created a surplus of women and pushed a large number of women of all classes outside the home, there to support themselves, have accentuated the consciousness of these reasons and these advantages. But these score material expects which is stirring the home, were have had to expound to our opponents ad nauseam, because they offer these gross material expects which is stirring the format of the process of the very fact that women are assisting at this Commission product that women are assisting at this Commission, both as Commissioners and witnesses, leaves it open to the anti-suffragists to argue that ways might be found of weaving women's demands into legislation without the direct agency of the vote. What then is the unanswerable reason for Women's Suffrage? The reason that would remain in being were every practical argument of ours faced and countered by the anti-suffragists? It is that votes for women are demanded by women's spiritual formation that the nighter type be dragged back by the less evolved? No! When you have based the claim of votes for women on the spiritual dignity of women, you have formulated a demand which cannot be out-argued by the stupidest the last word, the word that can neither be added to nor answered. The testimonies it can bring the truth are not words. The only arguments of the spirit and unrest which is stirring the word of women

we have had to expound to our opponents ad nauseam, because they offer those gross material aspects which the Philistine can lay hold of; these causes, reasons that this isolation of women from politics springs not from man's contempt for woman, but from a tender consideration for her. It is an attempt to shield eluctable victory.

### DEPUTATION TO SIR EDWARD GREY.

"His statement shows us exactly where we are." - Christabel Pankhurst at the Queen's Hall.

"His statement shows as exactly where we are."—CHRISTABEL PANKIURST at the Queen's Hall.

Four ladies representing societies in Siz Edward Grey's constituency, the Berwick Division of Northmiberland, and in Berwick Division of Northmiberland, and in Berwick altrie, waited upon him at the Foreign Office of Commons that the House of Commons this Session. They were Mrs. Gilles, Mrs. Constable, and Mrs. Rowart, of the Women's Social and Political Union, and Mrs. Redpath, at One thing was clear, a single of the Women's Social and Political Union, and Mrs. Redpath, at the Women's Social and Political Union, and Mrs. Redpath, at the could only give a negative answer; nevertheless, the ladies came.

Mrs. Gontstable, and Mrs. Riversed with the could only give a negative answer; nevertheless, the ladies came.

Mrs. Gillies, in opening their case, said that the Government would not allow the House of Commons the throught such a base of carry out its expressed wish.

Mrs. Redpath, as one of the Liberal women who had worked for Sir Edward Grey; so the passes of substitution of the passes of such as the passes of such

evitable? If it is, in the words of

Scenes of Enthusiasm. £9,000 raised for the War Chest.

ON THE ROAD TO PERSON.

Contracts are in such even control in the control of the

renowing hostilities with the Government; we are very proud of the fact that the women of this Union are so ready for the fray. People charge us with committing acts of violence. The violence which has been done has come less from our side than from the side of our opponents. But, my friends, what responsible man has ever preached the theory that violence was under no circumstances desirable? Why these Dreadmoughts? Why this great expenditure upon armaments if violence is a breach of moral law? What can be done to defend national honour can be done to defend human honour. We are not threatening violence; we hope we may never have to use it, but if we do we shall have the support of the teaching of great men and women, whose names are honoured by all of us. I am fond of giving you the words of the great fighters for freedom who have gone before us, and I think it is especially appropriate that we should give you the words of those who have held the same political faith as the members of the present Government. We find, for example, that John Bright, who, if ever man loved peace, loved it, repudiated utterly and absolutely the doctrine that there is something in our nature that there is something in our nature with it is country should be settled by force, yot that there is something in our nature held the pace. And he said further that, however much we may wish political questions to be settled by moral means, yet "it is no more immoral for the people who use force in the last resort than it is for the Government by force to suppress and deny freedom."

Our American Colonies were lost by actions precisely similar to the action of the Government by force to suppress and deny freedom."

Our American Colonies were lost by actions precisely similar to the action of the Government by force to suppress and deny freedom."

Our American Colonies were lost by actions precisely similar to the action of the Government by force to suppress and deny freedom."

Our American Colonies were lost by actions precisely similar to t Industrial and Prefessional Women's Suffrage Society. On Monday the Church League and the Free Church League marched along the Embankment, one attending Evensong at the Abbey, and the other a special service at Christ Church, Westminster Bridge Road. The Forward Suffrage Union within the Women's Liberal Federation held a reception on the same day.

### MEN'S DEMONSTRATION

### SIR HORACE PLUNKETT ON WOMEN'S

### IN THE TUBE.

First Lady: Yes, I think she must be a Suffragette, or at least she looks like one.
Second Lady (smiling): But why?
First Lady: Because she was so badly dressed!
Uncomfortable pause, while a rather smartlydressed lady sitting opposite loosens her furs so
as to show her "Votes for Women" button!

Youthful Undergraduate (with a laudable ettempt at the Oxford manner): Votes for Mon, Votes for Women, Votes for Children, Votes for Babies, Votes for Dogs-we can't get much lower than that, can we?

Paper Seller: Oh yes, we can. Votes for silly

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### WODERN YOUTH.

Dr. Schirmacher \* has many things to say which should he of interest to readers of Votes for Women. In two very interesting portions of her book she deals with the struggl of the "stronger" sex and the "weaker" sex. She writes broad-mindedly and without prejudice; but she is not afraid to face facts, and towards the "strong" sex she i not sparing in her criticisms, although there is entire

She first shows, in the part entitled "Struggle of the Strong Sex," that the whole of our moder a civilisation is built upon wrong foundations—namely, on those of force or what she calls "fist right" and entire self-seeking; and in passing she points out that as men are so fond of telling us that women have never attained to great heights, it is well to remember that no man's successes have been achieved without the co-operation of women :-

Every man's personal success is built up on the sacrifice of wome

In the part devoted to the struggle of the "weaker" set Dr. Schirmacher has many sad things to tell of—things that workers in the woman's movement know about only too well —of the hindrances placed in the way of women's moral and ental development, of their under-payment, and of the ousands of deserted and ill-treated married and unmarried others; and we are led to see that the "impotence of nen outside the home has made the struggle for exist e the savage and unsocial thing it is." Frauleir irmacher looks forward, however, to the day wher voman shall come into her own."

To the writer of this notice the most inspiring portion of To the writer of this notice the most inspiring portion of the book is that wherein the writer deals with "The Idealist in the Struggle." Here Fraulein Schirmacher exhorts the young Idealist to face life: all see things as they are. She has no use for the person who blindly refuses to see all that is ugly and hateful; but, on the other hand, the Idealist is is used and inacture, but, or all center hand, the recease is necouraged not to lose heart, even though cherished illusions must go one by one. The highest, finest kind of courage consists in facing facts, learning from suffering, and

When all is said and done suffering has been a great school for humanity, and the authoress reminds us that it was after losing her only daughter that Josephine Butler took up the sword in defence of the daughters of the people against the mighty powers of evil.

In the fights to come women will have to learn of much In the ights to come women will have to learn of much that is evil and bad, and only when armed with the sword of knowledge will it be possible for them to let in the light on dark corners. Fraulein Schirmacher has a message for all such fighters, and they will lay down her book feeling encouraged and refreshed. A mighty bond of sympathy ites women of all countries together in their struggle fo and in Dr. Schirmacher we hail a stimulating teacher and a true comrade in the fight.

### A MUSICAL GENIUS.

We have read with very great interest Miss Ethel Sidgwick's first book, "Promise" (Sidgwick and Jackson 6s.). first book, "Promise" (Sidgwick and Jackson 6s.). Not being ourselves a musical genius, we cannot give any opinion as to that side of Antoine Edgell's complex nature; we leave that to the author, whose exceedingly careful and artistic workmanship gives great pleasure in these days of much hasty and slipshod writing. But won't Miss Sidgwick one day give us men with a higher opinion of women, and women who deserve that opinion? There is only one woman in the book who is at all out of the common, and she is only ightly sketched. Madame, Antoine's aunt, is delightful, but nen, she is a Frenchwoman, and delightful in an entirely rench way. We don't want to hurry Miss Sidgwick (she is ot likely to write in a hurry), but we shall be glad to meet ome more women of Mrs. Archerson's type. We are sure she

### BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Leaders of the People." By Joseph Clayton. London: Martin Secker. 12s. 6d. net.

"English Poetical Institutions." By J. A. R. Marriott. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 4s. 6d.

Oxtord: Clarendon rress. 4s. 6d.
"The Emancipation of English Women." By W. Lyon
Blease. London: Constable and Co. 6s. net. "Divorce or Separation: Which?" By Richard T. Gates. Divorce Law Reform. 6d.

> "Power usurped Is weakness when opposed; conscious of wrong,
> 'Tis pusillanimous and prone to flight.
> But slaves that once conceive the glowing thought Of freedom, in that hope itself possess
> All that the contest calls for—spirit, strength,
> The scorn of danger, and united hearts, The surest presage of the good they seek."

"Modern Youth: A Guide in the Struggle for Existence." By Dr., he Schirmacher. (Munich: Ernst Reinhardt. 3 marks.)

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Southport, December 14, 15, 16, 17, 1910.

Although we are eagerly watching every development of the political crisis in order to turn it to political account, and although we are concentrating so much of our energy just now upon militant action and the General Election plan of campaign, we must not forget that the next big social function and national enterprise is the Southport Pageant, Fair, and Fête. This very ambitious scheme is now being finally organised by Miss Dora Marsden, with the co-operation of all the Lancashire organisers. Its main purpose is to raise funds for the Lancashire Campaign.

The Pageant will be arranged by Miss Edith Craig, who with characteristic generosity is placing her great technical knowledge and her wonderful organising gifts at the disposal of the Union. She will be assisted by Miss Olive Terry and others.

The Fair will comprise about 30 stalls, including a café restaurant, a cake stall, pound stall, and stalls for art, embroidery, plain needlework, Christmas presents, toys, curios, jewellery, antiques, books, and many other

The Fête will include entertainments, sports and musements, to be specified later.

The help of every member of the Union is needed to make this Fair and Fête the same great success as was the Exhibition held in London in 1909, and that in lasgow in April, 1910.

Those who are unable to join the deputation, or take an active share in the work of the General Election, are asked to spend the ensuing four weeks in working for the Southport Bazaar.

The Lancashire organisers want to raise a special Guarantee Fund to cover the preliminary expenses, so that the proceeds from the sales shall not be discounted, but shall be available intact for the immediate surpose of Lancashire propaganda and organisation. They urge the members and readers of this paper, who wish them luck, to express it in a practical fashion. Let each one, says Miss Marsden, send one shilling (more if possible) to 13, Neville Street, Southport, towards the Guarantee Fund.

Members all over the country are asked to send goods. Special appeal is made for the farm produce stall; also for the plain needlework, embroidery, curio and jewellery stalls.

In Southport itself Miss Marsden invites the help of ladies willing to impersonate those great women of the past who figure in the Pageant. There are still some rôles not appropriated.

She calls upon the most generous class in the whole community, namely, the artists, and invites them to give further support to the cause, which they have warmly espoused by taking part in the Café Chantant that is being organised in connection with the Fête.

Palmists, lightning sketch artists, sellers, buyers makers, waitresses, and hosts of others are needed whose willing help, given in hearty co-operation, will secure the success of this enterprise in Southport and establish the reputation of the Woman's Movement for organisation and efficiency in Lancashire as it has been established in London and in Glasgow.

Only four weeks remain. Therefore, all hands are needed. All energies that can be spared from the immediate political warfare must be devoted to the brilliant success of the Pageant, Fair, and Fête.

Bazaar President: Mrs. Sykes, "The Warren," Birkdale Hon. Pageant Sec.: Mrs. HARRY PARR, Allerton Road,

Sec.: Miss Grace Jardine. Hon. Treas.: Mrs. Langton. Contributions may be sent to the following, who will forward



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### VOTES FOR WOMEN 4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1910.

### WHO IS TO BLAME?

Sir Edward Grey's reply to the deputation of Berwick-on-Tweed suffragists shows that a resumption of women's conflict with the Government is He began by saying that it is the decision of the Government not to give facilities this autumn for the final stages of the Conciliation Bill. This decision he sought to justify by urging the shortness of the Session. Such an excuse will arouse keen dissatisfaction amongst women who remember that the Government not only refused to provide time for the Bill's discussion in the earlier part of the Session, but deliberately shortened the Autumn Session by calling Parliament together innecessarily late. Sir Edward Grey's further contention that the remaining stages of the Bill will be 'a question of weeks not days," and that a greater amount of time will be needed to carry this Bill than was needed to carry the Reform Bill of 1884, is, of ourse, very wide of the mark. As Mr. Brailsford in his speech on Saturday last pointed out, the Reform Bill of 1884 was an extremely elaborate Bill and had eleven clauses very technical and very difficult, the shortest of these clauses being longer than the entire Conciliation Bill. To carry this Reform Bill through the Committee stage took only nine days, so that on the same ratio it would require for the Conciliation Bill not more than two or three days. In view of this fact, it is adding insult to injury for Ministers to pretend that between July 12, the date of the second reading of the Bill, and the present time it has been impossible to spare the very few necessary days for its discussion. Government hostility, and Government hostility alone, is responsible for the disappointment of women's hope of citizenship. This being the fact, we dissent from Sir Edward Grev's statement that the Government have not vetoed the Conciliation Bill. He attempts to shift the responsibility of CThe great events of the militant agitation from February, 1909, to February of the present year, pass before us as if reflected in the clear, bright surface of a mirror."—Votes for Women. ment by saying that if the Commons wished to proceed with the Bill they could have refused time to all Government business unless it was understood that another member of the Government, who declares: time should be given to this Bill. So they could and would were they in the habit of asserting their constitutional right to control the action of the Government, but as Sir Edward Grey well knows, they seldom or never attain to the counsel of perfection and file of the Commons have risen in revolt against their political leaders in defence of any cause whatsoever. Indeed, they came nearer than usual to revolt !

when, in defiance of their political leaders, they carried the second reading of the Conciliation Bill.

As the present Parliament seems doomed to a sudden end, the Government's intentions as to the future ssume a new interest and importance. Is Woman Suffrage to form part of Mr. Asquith's election programme, or is he determined, while denouncing the veto of the House of Lords, to continue his policy of vetoing the Woman Suffrage measure? Sir Edward Grey's speech gives no sign that the policy of the Government is to be amended in this regard. "As to the question of granting facilities next year to the Conciliation Bill, I can promise," he said, "nothing on behalf of the Government." Evidently the Government hope to go through the coming Election without pledgng themselves to give citizen rights to the women of the country. The one really satisfactory feature which marks Sir Edward Grey's utterance is that he abandons the discredited "pledge" formerly made by the Prime Minister. Recalling the fact that "the Prime Minister gave a pledge in the last Parliament that the House should have an effective opportunity of dealing with the Woman Suffrage question when a Reform Bill should be introluced," Sir Edward Grey observed that owing to nstances no Bill was introduced in the present Parliament, and then proceeded to say that the Government are not in a position to say that a Reform Bill is likely to be introduced soon. It is most useful to have this illusory pledge definitely and finally cleared out of the way, for although suffragists themselves have never placed any reliance upon it, it has proved emsing because of the use made of it by opponents, including Mr. Lloyd George, who not long ago declared that "why suffragists did not give that pledge made by the Prime Minister a fair run is one of those things that, when the history of this movement comes to be written, will be one of the most inexplicable episodes." Sir Edward Grey declared his complete understand-

ing of the growing exasperation felt by women owing to the fact that the House of Commons passes the second reading of Woman Suffrage Bills by large majorities, and that these Bills then make no further progress. But women's exasperation and indignation will be in no wise allayed by the speech in which he has made so clear the Government's intention to do nothing to remedy this great injustice.

There is a truly astounding similarity between the grievance which the Government claim to have against the Lords, and the grievance which women have against the Government. Every word used by members of the Government in their denunciation of the Lords is precisely applicable to the Government's own treatment of the Conciliation Bill. Thus we have Mr. Winston Churchill declaring in his letter to the chairman of the Dundee Liberal Association: that friendly discussion, prolonged with earnestness and candour for so many months, could do has been done. and has been done in vain." Does not this describe exactly the conciliation movement for Woman Suffrage and its unfriendly reception by the Government! And are not the attitude and conduct of the Government in denying the House of Commons freedom to carry the Conciliation Bill through its final stages fully described by the following words taken from this same letter:-They assert themselves to be a superior political caste; they refuse equal rights to their fellow citizens." They employ this same oppressive veto to ruin the work of the House of Commons.

"Veto-utter blank, sullen veto!" This telling phrase of Mr. Churchill's coining applies with overwhelming force to the veto which the Government have placed upon the Conciliation Bill. We gladly adopt Mr. Churchill's words to express our view of the Government's denial of our liberties. can submit no longer to this injustice . . . We have long claimed equal political rights in the constitution of our country. We are now going to take them."

The deputation of women which proceeds to Westminster on Friday must be taken as a sign that women are now determined not any long to beg for justice but to take it. The conviction which inspires their action could not be better expressed than in the words of "Though it has been said that no constitutional resettlements have ever been attained except by consent, I prefer to say that no great advance and progress in human freedom have ever been obtained except by stern fighting." With the breakdown of the Conciliawhich he lays down. It is long indeed since the rank tion movement due to the Government's unfriendly attitude opens a new chapter in the history of the

Christabel Pankhurst

### WOMEN'S VOTES AND WAGES.

By F. W. Pethick Lawrence.

SUMMARY OF PREVIOUS CHAPTERS.

November 18, 1910.

Statement of the Problem.—The grinding poverty under which many women live, the miserably low wages that they receive, make their more fortunate sisters determined to find a means to put an end to this blot on civilisation; and with the view of winning power to effect this many women are working for the vote. They are met by the anti-suffragist with the statement that the vote cannot affect wages. Women's wages are lower than men's, it is said, for three reasons. These are, firstly, that women are weaker than men and they do less and poorer work in a day; the answer to this is that women are not asking for an equal day's wage, but for equal pay for equal work. Secondly, it is said that women get paid less than men because the latter are working to support a family; part from the fact that many men have no one dependent upon them while many women are supporting a family by their work, it is not true that wages are paid on this principle—married men and fathers do not command a higher wage than single men, nor do widows than spinsters. Thirdly, it is said that wages are determined not by Act of Parliament, but by the law of supply and demand.—It is quite true that wages are

Supply and Demand.—It is quite true that wages are determined not by Act of Farianient, but by the law of supply and demand.

Supply and Demand.—It is quite true that wages are determined mainly by the law of supply and demand; but both the supply of women's labour can be altered by means of the vote, and therefore the yote, acting through supply and demand, can alter wages. To understand how the vote could alter the supply of women's labour consider the effect of the following laws:—(I) Increasing the school age from 14 to 15; (2) compelling husbands to give a certain proportion of their wages to their wives. (3) providing a special maintenance for widows. Each of these laws (which might or might not commend themselves to women with votes would have the effect of withdrawing women from the labour market, and thereby reducing supply. Women might also induce the Board of Education to insist that technical training more nearly equal to that given to boys should be provided for girls, and in this way alter the character of the women's labour supplied.

The Exclusion of Women from Employment.-The vote will also enable women to increase the demand for women's labour by breaking down the exclusive traditions which prevail at present. Men only are eligible to-day for nearly all the better-paid civil appointments under Government, such as Cutcoms officers, tax collectors, clerks in Government offices, and the senior billets in the Post Office. There are only 20 women factory inspectors to 900 men, and only 20 women school inspectors to 250 men. Further, there are many other employments besides those under the Government from which women are at present excluded by law or by Government regulation. The possession of the vote by women will open them up.

The Underpayment of Women by the Government. The Underpayment of Women by the Government.—
The Government employs directly 50,000 women; in addition there are 110,000 teachers employed by the local authorities and indirectly controlled by the Severnment; further, many thousands of women are working for employers on Government work—making a total of about 200,000, or one-twentieth of the whole number of women working for wages. It is in the power of Parliament to secure directly an increase in the wages of everyone of these women. Moreover, the direct raising of wages of this one-twentieth cannot fail to have an important effect on the wages of the remaining nineteen-twentieths through the operation of the law of supply and demand.

### Chap. V.

Every true political economist knows quite well that all the forces which go to make up an economic result are not capable of detailed economic analysis; they cannot be labelled and pigeon-holed and the exact quantitative value of their contribution ascertained This is essentially true of the question of wages.

Thus, while it is true that wages depend in the main on supply and demand, it is true also that other factors -some tangible, others intangible-contribute their quota to the result. I have already shown how the enfranchisement of women may affect women's wages by altering both the supply and the demand for women's labour; it remains to notice that these other supplementary factors are also dependent on the power given by the vote.

### Direct Legislation.

That wages can, under certain circumstances, be altered directly by Act of Parliament (or by the fiat of a body responsible to Parliament) is evidently the opinion of the statesmen of Australia and New Zealand who passed the laws relating to minimum wages and to Wages Boards, and also of the statesmen at home who have recently caused Wages Boards to be appointed in this country. The results in Australia and New Zealand and in this country at Cradley Heath, where the women chainmakers have secured a considerable increase in wages, certainly bear out their opinion; and it may be that much of the worst sweating of women's labour can be prevented by similar means. Again, it is also hardly disputed by anyone that legislation can directly modify the conditions under which labour is performed or the hours during which it continues. These matters are intimately bound up with the remuneration in money which that labour obtains.

### Political Goodwill.

important local political magnate. In this respect | dustrial world of women,

women employees, because they are voteless, do no receive the same attention

### Custom and Sentiment.

In spite of all that is said to the contrary, custom and sentiment still count for a good deal in busines An employer will appoint a woman to do precisely the same work as has hitherto been done by a man and give her half or two-thirds his wages. Asked why, he will answer, "It is customary." And though this may not be in fact the whole reason for his action, yet there is enough in it to make it a factor in the result. In my opinion the increased status which women will get when they are enfranchised will help them to shake off this custom.

### Collective Bargaining.

It is now almost universally recognised that the power of collective bargaining as exemplified by trade anions and by associations of employers has an important influence on wages, for though this was denied for many years by the rigid theorists who took their stand on the sole action of the law of supply and demand, facts have been too strong for them. Women by their isolated position have long been at a great disadvantage in this respect. Sometimes through ignorance of the condition of the labour market, some times through their sheer inability to combine, they have been induced to accept wages which in association they could have resisted. When women obtain their contact with one another they will escape to some

contact with one another they will escape to some extent from their present isolation, and will gain some of the advantages of collective bargaining. This point was clearly put by Mr. Haldane in the House of Commons on July 11, 1910, when he said:

Everyone knows that the position of women in point of remuneration, of their wages, is not as good as is the case with men, and that is to some extent due to the fact that women cannot associate themselves together with that force and with that authority which is given by the fact that people possess a certain political footing in the State. If for that reason alone I should like to see that happen.

These four examples illustrate the influence of the yote in affecting wages in other ways than through

vote in affecting wages in other ways than through supply and demand.

It remains to notice three rather pertinent question which have been put with regard to this discussion.

(1) Are not the wages of women in reality dependent on the prices which the articles made by women obtain and in view of international competition is it possible to pay higher wages without placing a tariff on foreign goods?

I have no intention of entering into a discussion on the merits of a tariff as applied to the industries in which women work; I shall confine myself to showing that wages of women can be raised without necessarily imposing a tariff.

In the first place it is not true that price alone

In the first place it is not true that price alone determines wages; the price which can be obtained for goods is only one element in determining the demand for labour; and it is by the interaction of demand and supply that wages are determined. Secondly, a very large part of the women of the country are engaged in occupations (e.g., postal employees, teachers, domestic servants, etc., etc.) in employees, teachers, domestic servants, etc., etc.) in which there is no question of international competition. Thirdly, low wages by no means necessarily imply cheap labour, nor high wages dear labour; employers often find it more economical to pay high wages and get the best work. Fourthly, international agreement is already tackling some of the problems relating to the condition of sweated work; and it might easily be that the provision of Wages Recorderals. easily be that the provision of Wages Boards and of similar ameliorative legislation might simultaneously be carried out in different countries.

(2) Will not the entrance of women into the labou market on more equal terms with men injure me and reduce their wages?

Whether men like it or not, women are being driven to-day more and more by economic necessity into the labour market and are competing with men And the most dangerous form of competing with men.

And the most dangerous form of competition is that in
which women are undercutting men by selling their
labour for a lower price. When women's wages are
raised so that equal work commands equal wages whatever the sex of the worker, this unfair competition will come to an end.

(3) Do you expect that the result of women's enfranchise ment in increasing women's wages will be immediate

The full result will certainly not be immediate. It will be gradual, and it will not be finally complete until all the artificial hindrances have been removed and Political Goodwill.

It is often a small consideration which finally decides an employer whether to grant or refuse a demanded increase in wages; and among those considerations the desire to keep on the right side of employees because they have votes sometimes plays a considerable part, especially where the employer regards himself as an important local political magnate. In this respect

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### FACTS FOR MR. ASQUITH.

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Albert Hall (London) Queen's Hall (London)	6 34	0	3 13
Free Trade Hall (Man- chester)	5	1	12

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Some interesting Letters relating to the properties of the present of the present of the present of the present of the countries of the countries

### DEPUTATIONS TO M.P.'s.

Mr. Falle, M.P.

Mr. Bertram Falle, M.P.

Mr. Bertram Falle, M.P.

Mr. Bertram Falle, M.P.

On Thursday afternoon, at the Queer's Head Cafe, Bangor, a meeting was held of the Bangor women's Liberal Association. Mrs. Price, vice presided, and proposed the following resolution in English and Welsh:

That this meeting of the Bangor Women's Liberal Association of the Queeting given to the consideration of the question, he replied that all men had not votes, and that a year or two more would not matter!

FRACTS FOR MR. ASQUITH.

The following letter has been sent by the Concilitation Committee to Dr. Asquith:—
Six:—In accordance with our understand, I should be the concentration of the concentration

### MORE LIBERAL RESOLUTIONS.

On Thursday afternoon, at the Queen's Head Café, Bangor, a meeting was held of the Bangor Women's Liberal Association. Mrs. Price, vice

About 13st (Anothon) of the control of the control

Thursday, 24.—Scala Theatre, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy Square, Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabol Pankhurst, LL.B., 8 p.m. Nork: Not Memorial Hall, but Scala Theatre.

A full list of other meetings will be found on

## November 18, 1910.



SHEERAGE STAMPS. To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

but what I can do I shall never fail to do con amore. It your readers can give me any names and addresses of members or friends of woman suffrage in India, and especially in Calcutta, I should like to co-operate, if possible, in any scheme of help and propaganda. I have ordered two copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN to be sent to me weekly, and will place one in a public reading-room every week while I am there. All good luck to the cause !—even "Old Moore," of Almanack fame, predicts the success of woman suffrage for 1911, and we all say "Amen."—Yours, etc.,

FLORENCE E. SMITH.

work on which their bread depends, dare not follow in your leader's footsteps.

Therefore, keep brave hearts as well as brave faces. Remember, the struggle cannot last, and yours may be the shot to bring the enemy's colours down. In the days to come, when sweated labour and immorality shall be behind us instead of ever in our midst, your downtrodden sisters will, from the depths of their bursting hearts, blees the names of those whose heroism eased their yoke and made their burdens lighter. Remember, too, no virtue can appeal so strongly to the men as courage. As the Spartan mothers of old armed their cons for battle, so do you by your own strength and fortitude brace your weaker sisters, and touch the hearts of the men, so that where reason and justice, have failed, courage may succeed.—Yours, etc.

A Sympathier.

Yours sincerely,

(Mrs.) LA Reine Helen Bare.

Yours sincerely,

(Mrs.) LA Reine Helen Bare.

12, Fairlox Road,

Bedford Park, W.

WIMBLEDON ASKS FAIR PLAY.

Leading inhabitants of Wimbledon have sent a letter to the Right Hon. Henry Chapin, P.C.,

M.P., asking him to exercise his considerable influence so that the conciliation Bill way receive the fair treatment to which its intrinsic importance and its number of supporters within and justice, have failed, courage may succeed.—Yours, etc.

A Sympathier.

A Sympathier.

### VOTES AND WAGES.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Sir,—Why not Suffrage String? The tricelour ribbon, as used in your shops and depôts, is so dainty. May I suggest, pared lending time being shortly upon us, that all your readers will fill up their string boxes with above, and yow at the same time to use none other?—Yours, etc.,

FRIEDLAND.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Sir,—I thought you might like to see a luggage label lenclosed, of which I have had a dozen printed in the W.S.P.U. colours to affix to all my baggage going out to India on 25th inst. I feel I must carry both the colours and the cause with me, and I hope to do all I can to further the ideas and ideals of woman suffrage curing my visit there; also to tell the story of the devotion and heroism which the women of England have shown and are showing in the cause of all womannood and of the human race as a whole. I can't do much. I am not a speaker or public verker, but what I can do I shall nover fail 'o do con amore. If your readers can give me any names and addresses of members or friends of woman suffrage or in readers can give me any names and addresses of members or friends of woman suffrage in India, and especially in Calculata, I should like to co-operate, if possible, in any scheme of help and propaganda. I have ordered two copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Sir,—In connection with the above, may I draw attention to the thousands of trained extincted women tending time that its because the sister of the one and the wife of the other brave the prison and destired to the indicate of the cachers in excess of the schools is directly responsible. The need of some of the schools is directly responsible. The need of some of the schools is directly responsible. The read of some of the schools is directly as the cacher, while the teaching profession altogether, whilst other have dear the rate paid to untrained and uncertificated teachers. By this means

The visible of two copies of Year for Worse to be sent to me worth; and well plane on so are a public reading-come every such while I can be sent to me worth; and well plane on so are a public reading-come every such while I can be sent to me worth; and well plane on so are a public reading-come every such while I can be sent to the sent to

### MRS. SWANWICK AT MANCHESTER.

THE ROUGH END.

The London Education Committee has given another object lesson to women, which should teach them that there can be no equality of treatment for the women employed directly or indirectly by the Government until they win the same political power that men possess through the vote. A scheme of superanuation has been considered by the Committee. To this scheme the teachers are to committee. To this scheme the teachers are to committee. The superanuation has been considered by the Committee. The superanuation has been considered by the Committee and the scheme of the same work, are to contribute a higher percentage of their salary towards the Pension Fund according to the following scale:—

Mon. Women.

It is said that Bonaparte, when Consul, rearked to Mme. Condorcet: "I don't like to

### GRAND MATINEE AT THE ALDWYCH THEATRE.

### MEN'S POLITICAL UNION FOR WOMEN'S

## ENFRANCHISEMENT. Offices: 13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C. Telephone: City 3104. Hon. Organising Sec., Victor D. Duval.

### THE PRESS ON THE SITUATION.

THE TIMES.

Abandonment of all the business of the session has some obvious advantages for a Government confronted with many awkward questions, stoch as the taxation of Irish whisky, Woman Shiffrage, the Osborne judgment, and the disastrous consequences of its mining legislation.

THE SPECTATOR.

Consider for a moment how much the Government would be relieved by not having to meet Parliament before the Dissolution.

(1) They need not make specific but only general promises to the Irish. (2) They might be forced to say definitely whether they mean to reform or not reform the Upper House on the lines of Sir Edward Grey's scheme. (3) They will be freed from coming to any definite decision as to woman's suffrage, and so will be able to secure the help of the Liberal suffragists at the polls without having to pay the price. Promises to women are easily made by candidates at a General Election, and it is the custom on one side not to keep them and on the other to forget this fact and to trust to "Liberal principles, etc., etc."

THE CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH.

This staunch friend of the Woman's Movement

THE CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH.

This staunch friend of the Woman's Movement

### THE CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH.

ed, and we appeal to the Government at leas

### WHERE TO SHOP. Bedding Manufacturers.

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Coal Merchants. W. Clarke & Sons

Drapers and Hosiers.

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Florists. &c. Derry & Toms

Furnishers.

Ladies' Tailors and Court Dressmakers.

Musical Instruments.

Nursing Requisites.

Restaurants and Tea Rooms.

to give such guarantees as will prevent next week a repetition of the painful scenes which have marked the later stages of the agitation for the enfranchisement of women."

But a pretended friend is worse."

As an example of cowardly and provocative shuffling, the Chancellor of the Exchequer's recently reported interview with cortain of the Women's Suffrage advocates would be difficult to match. Having given them every reason to regard him as an active and convinced sympathiser with their olaims, and one who was prepared to use all his Ministerial and personal influence for their advancement, the Chancellor of the Exchequer now makes it clear that he has been cynically playing a double game in this business and that nothing is further from his intention than to give any effective help to the cause to which he has rendered so much meaningless lip-service. It is not in the least

### ADVICE GRATIS. THE GLOBE.

### CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

history of the woman's movement. While others are in the foreiront of the fight itself, what are you going to do ? A special announcement about the Deputation to-day will be found on p. 108.

Inn. Strand. W.C.

Members are reminded that the success of the Whist-Drive in Avondale Hall, Peckham, to-morrow (Satur-day) at 7 p.m. degends upon the personal efforts of each one. Will they please let the Secretary know as soon as possible how many friends to expect.

CHELSEA, KENSAL TOWN, AND BATTERSEA.

Shop and Office—308, King's Road.

Hon. Secs.—Miss Halg and Miss Blackicck.

On Ftiday last a very interesting debate took place at the office between Mr. Valon and Mr. Whiteside, the latter being a real Anti and a clever debate. Local friends are heartly invited to these interesting

CROYDON. Office — 2. Station Buildings, West Croydon. Tel. 959 Croydon (Nat.). Hon. Secs.—Mrs. Cameron-Swan, 79, Mayfield Road, Sander-stead, Surrey, and Miss Leslie Hall.

A drawing room meeting was held at Mrs. Fried-tender's on Wednesday, November 9, when Dr. Garrett

GREENWICH AND DEPTFORD.

Shop and Office-89, Heath Street. Organising Sec.-Miss M. Rowlatt.

Hon, Sec .- Miss E. C. Haslam, 68, Cranbrook Road.

Hon. Sec - Miss E. M. Casserley, 39, Church Crescent, Muswell Hill, N. Bill distributing, selling papers at open-air meetings d chalking are most useful at present. Workers are

## REPRODUCTIONS

The master cabinetmakers of the XVIIIth Century produced pieces which have never been surpassed before or since. These have been reproduced by Heal & Son with an admirable and exact fidelity, while others have been skilfully adapted to accord with modern requirements, retaining at the same time the simple dignity of the originals,

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HEAL & SON

Tottenham Court Road, London, W.

SERVICE OF STREET, STR

### November 18, 1910.

LAMBETH.

Crganising Sec.—Miss Leonora Tyson, 27, Drewstead Road, Streatham. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Bartels, 23, Acadia Grove, Dulwich

Shop-905, Fulham Road. Hon. Secs.-Miss Cutten, 37, Parson's Green, S.W., and Mrs. H. Roberts.

Home Counties.

Hon, Sec.—Miss Billinghurst. 48, Tavistock Place.

Hon. Sec.: Miss Young, "Berbice," Sea Road, Bexhill.

Office -8, North Street, Quadrant. Tel. 4883 (Nat. Organiser - Mrs. Glarke.

The 'Level' demonstration on Saturday last was a great success, the resolution being carried at each of the four platforms. Local members sent £40 10s

CANTERBURY AND EAST KENT.

PORTSMOUTH AND SOUTHAMPTON.

Organiser—Biss C. A. L. Marsh, 7, Craneswater
Avenue, Portsmouth Thanks to Portshouth members who came forward
so splendidly for poster parades on Friday and Saturiay.
To this the success of Monday's meeting, was largely
due. There was a very good attendance, and the
due. There was a very good attendance, and the
Additional of the second of the second of the second of the
Medical of the second of the second of the second of the
Wednesday, November 30, at 3.30 botton Hall on
Wednesday, November 30, at 3.30 botton Hall on
Wednesday, November 30, at 3.30 botton
Helder of the second of the second of the
Mediano Es 6di, Mrs. Taylor 1s., Mrs. Whitehead 1s.,
Southampton Friend 2s.
Saturday, Nov. 19. — Southampten, Palace Theatre,
3 p.m.

at Diglis, Newbury. Wednesday, Nov. 23.—Y.M.C.A. Debate, 8 p.m.

metion with the N.U.W.S.S. and the W.S.P.U. was gld in the Market Hall on Friday, Nov. 11. Miss resettiness and effect. W.S.P.U. platform with great red, Nov. 23.—Cartion Room. 77, Station Road, Miss Ford, Miss Wilson. Chair: Mrs. Richmond. 8 p.m.

ROCHESTER AND CHATHAM. Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Gundry, 32, Stuart Road, Gillingham.
Will members please note that the next meeting akes place on Tuesday. November 29, when a well-amown local sympathiaser has kindity promised to speak.

The Midlands

BIRMINGHAM AND DISTRICT.

date? Seventeen members have volunteered to join the deputation.

Friday, Nov. 18.— Studley Castle Horticultural College, Miss Dorothy Evans, 3 p.m.

Wednesday, Nov. 23.— Stourbridge, Young Liberal Association, Miss G. Hazel, 8 p.m.

Friday, Nov. 25—Queen's College, Mrs. Cameron-Swan, 3 and 8 p.m.

LEICESTERSHIRE.

LEIGESTERSHIKE.

Office-14, Bowling Green Street, Leicester.
Tel., 1719 Leicester.
Organisers—Miss Dorothy Pethick, Miss Bowker.
Members are urged to be present with their friend
at the lecture next Monday. Admission is free, but,
collection will be taken to defray expenses. Th
organiser reminds all members that the Christmas Sal

Office-6, Carlton Street. Tel., 4811. Hon. Sec. - Miss C. M. Burgis, 21, Chaucer Str

West of England.

BATH.
Organiser—Mrs. Mansel, Bayford Lodge,
Wincanton.
Shop—12, Walcot Street, Bath.

Organiser - Miss Annie Kanney. Hon. Sec. - Mrs. Montague, Penton, Crediton. riday, Nov. 18.—Victoria Hall, Miss Annie Kenney,

ILFRACOMBE AND BARNSTAPLE. Hon. Sec. and Treasurer.—Mrs. du Sautoy Newby, St. Mary's, Broad Park Avenue.

Hon. Literature Secretary - Miss Ball, Nursing Home, Larkstone, lifracombe.

Organiser.—Miss Annie Kenney, 37, Queen's Road, Gifton. Hon. Sec.—Miss Katharine Abraham, 2, Estcourt Street, Daylzes.

the chair with great charm. On Wednesday aftermoon Mrs. Gould again addressed anecting at the Guildhall Restaurant, Newbury. At all these meetings fresh and good and

## SPECIAL SALE-AMERICAN BOOTS & SHOES

Also Large Quantity of

MANUFACTURERS' HIGH-CLASS SAMPLES

, , At Very Low Prices to Clear , , SALE Continues till NOVEMBER 26, 1910.

Some of the Lines in the Sale. Tan Willow Calf Derbys and Laced Boots - - - - Special Price 10/11 Tan Willow Calf Laced Shoes-Wear Guaranteed - - Special Price Large Quantity Ladies' Boots-Sizes 2, 3, 4, 7, 8 only, Usual Price 16/9 Special Price American Boots, Laced only, Fashionable Grey Suede tops -12/11 American Shoes, two designs-Patent or Glace Kid, Goloshed, 8/11 Real Glace Kid Laced Shoes, a few pairs only-Grey Suede tops 7/11 Real Glace Kid, Smart, Laced or Bar Shoes, Solid Leather Soles Special Price Job Line-Best All Felt Slippers, Felt Soles, Black, Red, Fawn Special Price

SAMPLE PAIRS AT REMARKABLY LOW PRICES-CASH ONLY.

LILLEY & SKINNER, LTD., 63, WESTBOURNE GROVE.

NOTE ADDRESS.—The only Branch where these goods can be obtained.

### Wales. NEWPORT AND SOUTH WALES.

Nov. 24.—Sayoy Hotel, 3.30 p.m.

NORTH WALES.

## Organiser—Miss Rachel Barrett, B.Sc., East Lynne Upper Bangor.

will be found elsewhere.

lay, Nov. 24.—Bangor, Town Clock, Miss Barrett, Mr. Simpson, 7 p.m.

Nov. 25.—Carnarvon, The Square, Miss Barrett,
Nov. 25.—Carnarvon, The Square, Miss Barrett, Mr. Simpson, 7 p.m.; Drawing-room M Miss Barrett; Hostess, Mrs. Evans, 3 p.m

### Eastern Counties.

IPSWICH AND DISTRICT.

Women outside the Theatre on Saturday afternoons esh paper sellers will be giadly welcomed and shou we in their names at the shop. turday, Nov. 19.—Shop, Members' Meeting, 3 p.m.

### North-Eastern Counties.

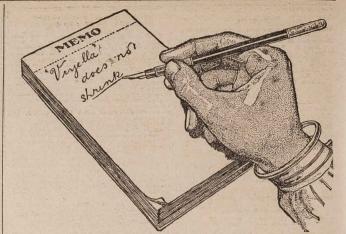
BRADFORD AND DISTRICT.

Office-77, Blackett Street.
Organiser-Miss A. Williams, 203, Westgate Road.

### LONDON MEETINGS FOR THE FORTHCOMING WEEK.

_		-			ALCO CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF
Friday,	ember	-	Balham, near Assembly Rooms	Miss Cather	7.30 p.m.
Friday,	, 10		Camberwell, Grove Lane	Miss Cather	7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 8.30 p.m.
11	,,		opposite Empire Theatre		8.30 p.m.
***	**		Catford, Tram Terminus	Miss Emily Davison	7.30 p.m. 8 p.m.
"	**	***	Chiswick, 496, High Road		
**	***	***	Croydon, Katherine Street	Mrs. Cameron-Swan	8 p.m. 7 to 9.30 p.m.
***	**	***	Fulham Open-Air Campaign Harrow Road, Sutherland Avenue Harvist Road, Police Station Herne Hill, near Station	Miss Jarvis and others Mrs. Baldock. Chair: Miss Davis Miss Wright, Miss Grant	7 to 9.30 p.m.
	**	***	Harrow Road, Sutherland Avenue	Miss Weight Miss Crant	7 to 9.30 p.m. 8 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m.
**	11	***	Harvist Road, Police Station	Miss Richard, Miss Bartels	7.30 p.m.
.11	**		Hornsey Road Seven Sisters Road	Miss Margaret West	7.30 p.m.
**	"	***	Hornsey Road, Seven Sisters Road Islington, Penton Street Kilburn, Brondesbury Road Stratford Grove	Miss Gibson. Chair: Miss Bain	
	"		Kilburn, Brondesbury Road	Miss Naylor, Miss Auerbach	7.30 p.m.
11	11	***	Kilburn, Brondesbury Road Stratford Grove Thornton Heath, Clock Tower Wimbledon, 6, Victoria Crescent, The Broadway	Miss L. Hall	8 p.m.
**	**	***	Thornton Heath, Clock Tower	Miss L. Hall	8 p.m.
- 01	**	***	The Broadway	Miss Evelyn Sharp, Chair: Mrs.	
		30.0	Tue Broadway	Miss Evelyn Sharp. Chair: Mrs. Lamartine Yates	8 p.m.
			Woolwich, Royal Standard Balham, 14, Balham Park Road		8 p.m.
Saturda	ay, 19.		Balham, 14, Balham Park Road	Miss Leonora Tyson. Chair: Ken- neth Harvers, Esq.	
		16	P. 44 AUI 20 P. 3	Mice Permall	8 p.m. •
91	"	***	Brixton Rushgroft Road	Miss Barwell Miss Bartels, Miss Blundell Miss Joachim. Chair: Miss Ellison The Misses Coombs	8 p.m. 7.30 p.m.
**	"	***	Chelsea, Blacklands Road	Miss Joachim. Chair: Miss Ellison	8 p.m
"	11		Chiswick, High Road	The Misses Coombs	8 p.m. 7.30 p.m.
**	**		Cricklewood, Yew Grove	Miss Auerbach, Miss Bain	7.30 p.m.
**	17		Battersea, Allwell Road Briston, Rusberoft Road Chelses, Blacklands Road Chiswick, High Road Cricklewood, Yew Grove. Cryslon, Rei Manner Chelsen, Black Brander Hamped Hamped Thechley Road Hardesten, Manor Park Road Hford, Baifour Road Hord, Baifour Road Lewitham, Market Place. Shop. Peckham, Avondale Hall, Bellen-	Miss Joachim. Chair: Miss Rillson The Misses Coombs Miss Auerbach, Miss Bain Miss Dodd Mrs. Hicks	o p.m.
**	17	***	Hampstead, Finentey Road	Mrs. Hicks Mrs. Brindley Miss Caning, Miss Llewellyn Miss Laslam Mrs. Cameron-Swan Victor Duval, Esq., Miss R. Hyams Wise Elsa Moors	3 p.m.
**	11		Harlesden, Manor Park Road	Miss Canning, Miss Llewellyn	3 p.m. 7.30 p.m.
**	**		Hord, Balfour Road	Miss Haslam	7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m.
-	**		Islington, Copenhagen Street	Mrs. Cameron-Swan	7.30 p.m.
11	**		Kilburn, Messina Avenue	Victor Duval, Esq., Miss R. Hyams	7.30 p.m.
11	11		, Victoria Road	Miss Elsa Myers	7.30 p.m.
"	**		Lewisham, Market Place	Miss Elsa Myers	7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 4.30 to 7 p.m.
**	***	***	Peckham, Avondaie Hall, Bellen- den Road	many. Memoers and friends	4.00 to / p.m.
*11	"		den Road	Whist Drive	7 p.m.
"			Purley, Tram Terminus	Miss L. Green	8.15 p.m.
"	"		Putney Open-Air Campaign	Miss L. Green Miss Naylor and others	7 p m. 8.15 p.m. 7 to 9.30 p.m.
**	11		Richmond, Fire Station		8 p.m. 7.30 p.m.
**	11		Streatham	Mrs. Massy Miss C. Cather, Miss Shoults Miss Jacobs, Miss Burton Miss Camping	7.30 p.m. 6.30 p.m.
"	**	***	Upper Holloway, Giesbach Road Willesden Green Library	Miss Jacobs, Miss Burton	7.30 p.m.
unday	200			Miss Canning	3 n.m.
			Clapham Common	Miss Cauning Miss Vera Wentworth Miss L. Hall	3 p.m. 3 p.m.
"	20		Croydon, Katherine Street	Miss L. Hall	7 p.m.
11	"		Clapham Common Croydon, Katherine Street		The state of the s
		1	Heath Islington, Newington Green Lewisham, Hilly Fields Putney Heath	Mrs. Massy	11.30 a.m.
**	31		Islington, Newington Green	Miss Tyreon Chair Miss Trans	7 p.m. 3.15 p.m.
**	.,,		Putper Worth	Mrs Rousier	3.15 p.m.
11	**	***	Wimbledon Common	Mrs. John Brindley. Chair: Mrs.	3 p.m.
"	111	***		Miss Tyson, Chair: Miss Townsend Mrs. Bouvier Mrs. John Brindley, Chair: Mrs. Lamartine Yates	3 p.m.
Monday	v. 21 .		Bassano Street, Lordship Lane Borough, Polytechnic		3 p.m. 7.30 p.m.
"	**		Borough, Polytechnie		8 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 8.30 p.m.
	**		Horough, Polytechnic Clapham, Plough Chelsea, Manor Street Sloane Square Dulwich Library Fulham Hampstand Town Hall Haverstack	Miss Bonwick	7.30 p.m.
**	**	***	Chelsea, Manor Street	Miss Joachim Miss Canning, Miss Ellison	8.30 p.m.
**	11		Dubrich Library	Miss Canning, Miss Eduson	8 p.m. 8.30 p.m. 7 to 9.30 p.m.
"	11		Fulham	Open-air Campaign	7 to 9.30 n.m.
"	,,		Fulham Hampstead, Town Hall, Haverstock Hill	Open-air Campalgn  Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Brailsford,  Mrs. Joseph Clayton. Chair: Mrs.	
			Hill	Mrs. Joseph Clayton. Chair: Mrs.	
		50		Hicks	8 p.m.
11	11	***	Harlesden, Manor Park Road	Miss Vera Wentworth	8 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m.
**	11	***	Herne Hill, near Station	Postor Parada	
"	**	***	Islington Highbury Corner	Miss Vera Wentworth Miss Heatley Poster Parade Miss Gibson Miss Gibson	8 p.m. 8 p.m.
"	"		Harlesden, Manor Park Road Herne Hill, near Station.  Hiford, 68, Cranbrook Road Hislington, Highbury Corner Packington Street Farnel Pisc, Harwist Road	Miss Gilliatt	7.30 p.m.
"	"	***	Kensal Rise, Harvist Road	Miss Feek, Miss Leila Smith	7.30 p.m.
11	11	***	Lewisham, Obelisk	Miss Coombs. Ghair: Mrs. Bouvier	7.30 p.m.
15	17		Packington Street  Kensal Rise, Harvist Road  Lewisham, Obelisk Norwood, Victoria Hall, Gipsy Road Pentonville Road, Welsh Church  Hall	Miss Giliatt Miss Feek, Miss Leila Smith Miss Feek, Miss Leila Smith Miss Country Miss Country Miss Listbel Seymour Hailway Clerk's Association, Miss Douglas Smith	8 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 8.30 p.m.
11	- 11	***	Pentenville Road, Welsh Church	Douglas Smith Miss	1 - 1
		37	mad	Douglas Smith	8 p.m.
		388			
n	11		Queen's Hall, Langham Place, W.	Mrs. Pankhurst. Mrs. Fethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B.	112 12 12 12
The state of	200		The state of the second second second	Lawrence, Miss Christabel	
		3		Pankhurst, LL.B	3 to 5 p.m.
				S. C. Shanner and S. San and S. S	
		150	West Croydon, 2, Station Buildings Lordship Lane, S.E., I.L.P. Centre, Hansler Road————————————————————————————————————	Mrs. Lorsignol	8 p.m.
uesday	v. 22		Lordship Lane, S.E., I.L.P. Centre		o Pint.
-		1	Hansler Road	Miss Anson	- 8 p.m
	"		Paddington, 50, Praed Street	Mrs. Brailsford	8 p.m. 3.30 p.m.
	10		50, Praed Street	Miss Keeling	
Vednes	dan o		Walham Green Chelsea, 308, King's Road Hampstead, 12, Belsize Square	Mes Vinaton Parkes	
	may, 2		Hampstead 12 Belsize Square	Mrs Brailsford Hostess Mrs	8.30 p.m.
11	4 30	-	party and motions of antibarran	George Gulich	
"	**		Islington, Highbury Corner	Miss C. Maguire	8 p.m.
11.5	11		Kilburn, Brondesbury Road	Miss Auerbach	7.30 p.m.
	**		Messina Avenue	N.W. London Union	8 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m.
11	11	***	Kilburn, Brondesbury Road ,, Messina Avenue Nutford Place, Edgware Road Tollington Park	Mrs. Kineton Parkes Mrs. Brailstord: Hostess: Mrs. George Guileh Miss C. Maguire Miss Auerbach N.W. London Union Miss Myers. Chair: Miss Fagg Miss Myers.	8 p.m. 7.30 p.m.
**	-91	***	Tollington Park	Miss McNamara	7.30 p.m.
hursda	11 24	000			
- tue Still	31 44	743	Scala Theatre, Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, W.	Lawrence, Miss Christahal Pank-	
				hurst, LL.B.	8 p.m.
		1	TARKET A		SECTION AND DESCRIPTION OF THE PARTY OF THE
riday,	25		Brecknock Road, Boston Corner	Mrs. Leigh	7.30 p.m.
11	"		Breeshoek Road, Bossen Corner Chiswick, 496, High Road Earlham Grove Harlesden, Manor Park Road Harrow Road, Sutherland Avenne Harvist Road, Police Station Konnington Park		8 p.m.
11	11		Harland Grove	Miss Theodora Bonwick	8 p.m. 7.30 p.m.
**	-17	***	Harrow Road Sutherland Avenue	Mrs. Penn Gaskell. Miss Blundell. Chair: Miss Dixon Miss Augrbach, Miss Wilson Very Republic Institute Miss I	7.50 p.m.
**	11	**	Harvist Road, Police Station	Miss Augrench, Miss Wilson	8 p.m. 7.30 p.m.

" " Wimbledon, 6, Victoria Crescent, Mrs. Lorsignol. Chair; Mrs. Lamartine Yates



## "Viyella" Blouses

for WINTER WEAR.

¶ Your Draper has the new Winter designs and patterns in "VIYELLA" Blouses ready to show you.

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November 18, 1910.

regards more as productioned programs for women, use object, being to make them realise the importance of the vote. Friday, Nov. 18.—North Shields, Open-air Meeting, Miss Williams and others, 7.30 p.m. Monday, Nov. 21.—Long Benton, Working Women's Class, Miss Williams, 3.5 m.
Tuesday, Nov. 22.—Jarrow, Out-of-door Meeting, Miss Eden, Miss Williams, 7.30 p.m.
Wednesday, Nov. 22.—27. Blackett Street, Public Thursday, Nov. 24.—Corbridge, Debating Society, Miss Williams, 7.30 p.m.
Friday, Nov. 25.—Bigg Market, Miss Williams and others, 7 p.m.

tion was taken.

Saturday, Nov. 19.—72, Westboro', Miss Suffield and
Dr. Mackenzie, 8 p.m.

Monday, Nov. 21.—7, The Valley, Sewing Meeting,
5 p.m.

### North-Western Counties.

LIVERPOOL AND CHESHIRE. Office-28, Berry Street. Tel. 3761 Royal. Organiser-Miss S. Ada Flatman.

lay, Nov. 18.—Wavertree, Mrs. Morrisey's, Sewing

leeting, 7 p.m. r. Nov. 22.—28, Berry Street, Exhibition Work and Discussion, 7 p.m. ay, Nov. 24.—New Brighton, Green Tea Rooms,

## MANCHESTER AND DISTRICT.

## Scotland.

GLASCOW AND WEST OF SCOTLAND.

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Tol.: 615, Charing Cross.

Organiser - Miss Barbara Wylle.

Members must work their hardest to make the meeting on Dec. 8 a record one for Glasgow. Bill distributions and canvasers are still needed. Miss Hogg of Stirling gave a may address at last week's at home. On Tuesday, November 29, a meeting will be held in the Chartest of the Company of the Co

### BROCKENHURST.

RIVERHEAD.

Members are reminded that considerable clerical work is entailed at the Head Office by the failure to notify Miss Kerr, W.S.P.U., & Clements Inn, Strand, of any

## SPEAKERS' CLASS.

SPEAKERS CLASS.

Hon. Elocution Mistress—Miss Rosa Lio. 45,
Ashworth Mansions, Eigin Avenue, W.
Hon. Scoretary—Miss Hale. 4, Clements Inn,
Strand, W.C.

Miss Margaret Cameron very kindly attended
the class last Friday, and gave the speakers some
extremely seful hints. There will be no class
this Friday evening, and it is very necessary
for everyone who possibly can to attend on Friday,
November 25, when, in view of the approaching
General Election, an especially important class
will be held.

## THE QUESTION OF THE HOUR. The question of Votes for Women is so momentous that all should study it carefully and make themselves acquainted with both sides of the question. —Thanct Times.

If Parliament thinks women are equal to selecting fit and proper representatives on local authorities, we cannot see why they should be debarred from choosing members of the House of Commons.

—Municipal Journal.

We do not think that, at this time of day, the opposition of those reactionary folk (troglodytes a wit has called them) who are opposed in principle to the inclusion of women in the ranks of responsible citizenship need be seriously considered as a barrier to an essential and to long-delayed reform.

—Richarked Name



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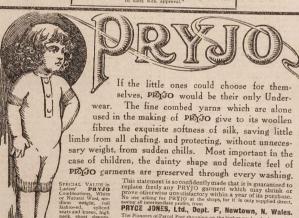
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### IRISH WOMEN'S FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

has passed a resolution demanding from the Government immediate facilities for the passing of the Conciliation Bill. The subject was brought to the notice of the Councillors by a deputation of the members of the local branch of the Irish Women's Franchist League. Miss Day, local secretary, is to be congratuated on her masterly management of the Council campaign. It is hoped Befast and Derre will follow

### NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Members of this Society can congratulate themselves on the share they have taken in two large public mest-ings last week. On Friday evening at the Memorial-Hall, Farringdon Street, they held, in conjunction with the Professional and Industrial Women's Suffrage Society, a very successful meeting. The Society's re-presentative, Mrs. Louis Fagan, whose cloquence is already well known, had a splendful and well-deserved receiver from a large and suprophetic addinges. already well known, had a splendid and well-deserved reception from a large and sympathetic audience, whilst the Rev. Herbert Williams made his debut on the Women's Suffrage platform in a speech full of reasoned conviction. This So-iety also took part officially in the Albert Hall Demonstration on Saturday, and in addition members have supported the various other meetings held during Suffrago Weck. Miss Muriel Matters spoke at the weekly At Home on Tuesday last, when the office was crowded to ever-flow-ing. The Committee hope that members will do their best-to be present at the Sale of Christmas presents at the Office on Tuesday, December 6, as funds are especially needed in view of the coming General

### CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

### President—The Bishop of Lincoln. Offices—11, St. Mark's Crescent, Regent's Park, N.W.

On Nov. 3th the Rev. C. Hinschiff addressed a meeting of the Woman's Liberal Association at Bromley, at thich the following resolutions were carried:— (a) that the Government be asked to give facilities this ession for the Conciliation Bill, (b) That members of

### "TOO LIMITED."

e buys bee is not to be compared with the busy ragist. . . for the Suffragist week, seven days are of ewe—of strenuous effortand unceasing eloquence schall of the Conciliation Bill . . . And the milistration bill the seven a mere week whose efforts are more strength of the seven and the seven and the seven and the seven and the seven because the seven and the seven because the seven and the nging, -Sheffield Daily Telegraph.

One of Mrs. Pankhurst's crowning charms in oratory is her "sweet reasonableness." With sliver tongue she combines a cool head, a wholesome outlook, a logical mind.

—Liverpool Daily Courier.

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NOMEN'S TAX RESISTANCE LEAGUE

## EIGHT AND A-HALF YARDS OF

In our paragraph under above title last week v referred to Mr. Cameron Swan as Hon. Sec. of the Cro-don Men's League. His title is Hon. Organisis Secretory, the Hon. Sec. being Mr. Read, Yew Tre Cottage, Reedham, Surrey.

### IRISH WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.

BELFAST.

This is an important week in the history of this Society, as Miss Helen Ogston, B.Sc., is with us. Or Tuesday evening she held a speakers' competition at Dr. E. Bell's, and on Wednesday she took part in debate, having as an opponent Mr. Anderson, Barrister at-Law. Last night (Thursday) she spoke in the Orang Hall, Ballynateigh, and to-night (Friday) she will speal in the Clarence Place Hall. There will be two A. Homes, one kindly eiven by Mrs. Hickey and the othe by the Society in Ye Olde Castle Restaurant. A short time ago, two members, Mrs. Hobson and Mrs. Wads worth approached Mr. R. Thompson, M.P., and go him to sign a paper promising his support to the Con worth approached air, it. Hompson, air, a him to sign a paper promising his support to the C clilation Bill or any other Bill for Woman Suffre which shall be brought before the House.

### A MUSIC-HALL SONG.

A topical duct, by "Spry Palmer," is being sung: the music halls by Foy and Gibson, of which the following is the final verse:— (SHE) There's a lot of piffle talked about the Woma Suffragettes.

(SHE) I should think so. (HE) They are brave, deter

(IEs) Iney don't want to wear the trousers, or act the "girldy goat." (SHE) But they want to make things better, so they ought to have the vote.
(HE) And they'll get it.
(SHE) Sure as eggs!

Among the many bouquets presented to Mrs. Pan hurst at the Albert Hall was one from the members the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchis ment, and one had a card attached with the word "From a Street seller to The Liberator of Women

### IN ME TORIAM.

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(SHE) I should think so.
(IE) I should asy so.
(SHE) They don't want to sit in Parliament, or robman of his coat,
(ILE) They don't want to wear the trousers, or act the "middle month" is middle month."

from Suffragette who makes them herself. Dainty Boxes for Presents.

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