

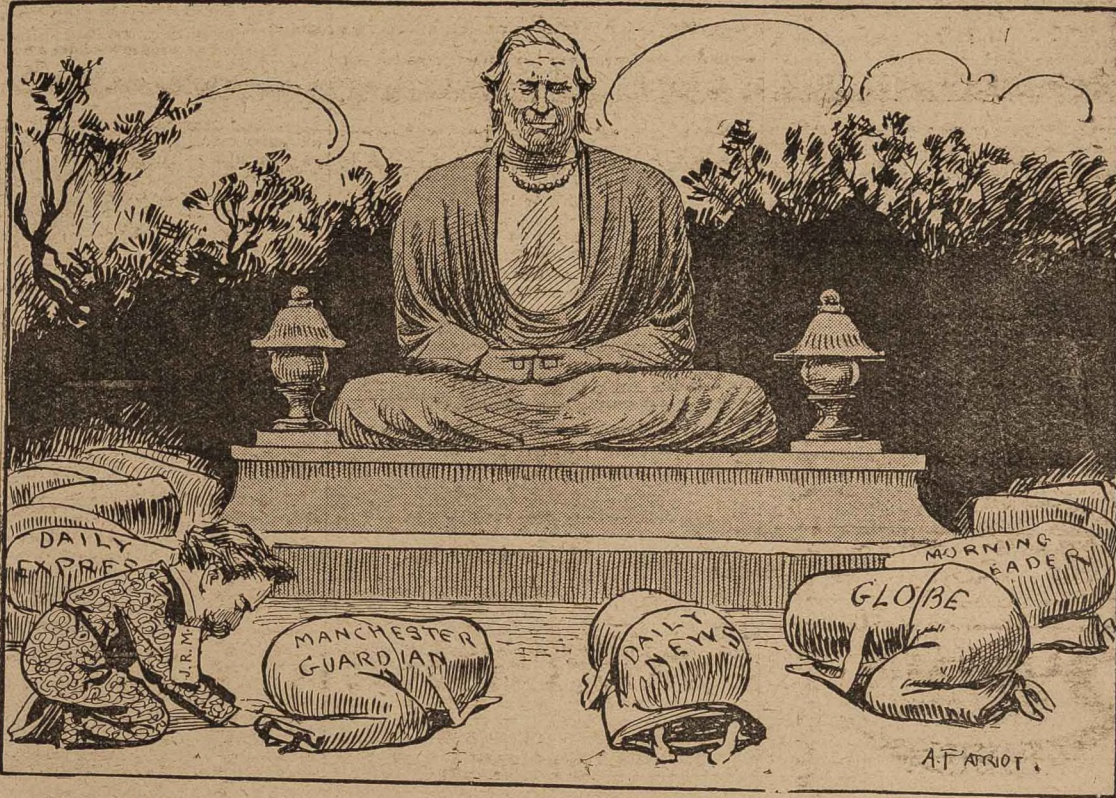
# VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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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.

If the Suffragette knows how to work and to fight, she certainly also knows how to play. Ever since Monday the Portman Rooms, Baker Street, have been full of a delightful company of happy people, enjoying to the full the entertainment provided by the members of the Women's Social and Political Union. The timid visitor, entering with hesitancy, has been converted at sight into a friend, and after a few minutes has found herself conversing without embarrassment with an ex-prisoner who has done time for obstructing the police or for breaking windows: when at last she has torn herself away from the happy gathering she has wondered how many of her preconceived ideas she must cast to the winds.

### What to See at the Fair.

For those who have only one day to spend at the Fair the difficulty is to pick and to choose which of the

many pleasures to enjoy. There are the stalls to see and to purchase from—each one of them a work of beauty in itself, with its quaint Old English sign hanging above it. There are the sports organised by the Men's Political Union. There are the plays and entertainments in the theatre, generously contributed by leading actresses. There are the palmists to consult, the artists to paint portraits, the prison cell to be visited, and, last but not least, the dainty fare of the refreshment stall to be indulged in.

### Prospects of the Week.

Of course the Fête has its serious side, which Suffragettes are not likely to forget—the importance of raising £ s. d. for the campaign funds; and if the first two days are any guide as to the result, the success of the entertainment from this point of view is likely to be no less great than from that of adding to the pleasure of all concerned. Next week we shall be able to tell our readers just what the financial result has been, but the value of the Fête on the social side will never be able to be counted up.

### Welcome Faces.

It is only on rare occasions that the members of the Women's Social and Political Union are able to meet together in large numbers except at political gatherings, and the pleasure on the present occasion has been all the greater because so many have only recently been released from Holloway prison. The presence of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence has been an unexpected and happy surprise, both to herself and to many of the visitors. When she was sentenced a fortnight ago to a month's imprisonment it seemed as though she would only be able to visit the Fête in spirit, and that her body would be in detention elsewhere; but the fates have proved more kind, and she was able to secure her release on bail in good time to be at the opening ceremony.

### The Premier Silenced.

On the political side the Union has not been idle during the past week. As our last number went to

press a most effective protest was being made in the City Temple. Mr. Asquith had arranged to speak there on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Mansfield House. He went to the meeting and rose to speak. But not a single sentence did he complete. Each time that he essayed to address the audience a woman called out to him from some part of the building reminding him of his illiberal attitude towards the women of the country. At last, after a quarter of an hour of vain endeavour, he left the meeting, and the other speakers were listened to quietly.

### Why it was Done.

The success of this protest from the point of view of those who made it was the greatest which has yet attended any demonstration of this kind. For the first time the Prime Minister has found himself driven off the platform by women. This is admitted by all concerned. But there are many people who do not understand why a protest of this kind has to be made; who think that it is at once the extreme limit of bad manners and a serious injury to the cause. This would be true if woman suffrage were a new issue and politicians were prepared to treat it fairly. But the exact opposite is the case. Woman suffrage has been before the country for 50 years, and politicians of the type of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George have been scheming to trick women all this time. Now when a mean trick is played on an individual it may be better to suffer wrong than to show active resentment, but when a trick is played upon a whole class, in consequence of which countless people are made to suffer, then an active protest is not merely justifiable but a moral duty. As to bad manners, those who act contrary to public polity cannot complain on this score. A man who blocks up a public thoroughfare must expect the public to trespass on his private ground; a man who commits a crime renders himself liable to all kinds of punishment, every one of which would under ordinary circumstances be bad manners. Finally, an active protest against an insulting proposition cannot do injury to the cause; what would



be injurious would be to allow our opponents to cheat us with impunity.

Our Critics.

Of course, as we anticipated, there are plenty of critics who think they can teach us a lesson on this subject. They fall into several classes. In a class by himself comes Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, the leader of the Labour Party, who is rapidly becoming a faithful henchman of the Liberal Party.

One would prefer to be oblivious to, and to forget, the degrading and disgusting scene at which we have just been looking. Those of us who have any regard for womanhood, those of us who have any ideals regarding woman's intelligence and woman's conduct, must simply bow the head in shame.

The consequences of this demonstration must be felt not in such meetings as this, but in the House of Commons itself. For my own part, if I felt that the cause had come to this I would go into the Lobby every time against it.

This unctuous utterance comes ill from a leader of working men who have never hesitated to use such methods when occasion demanded them. Mr. Macdonald knows quite well that when men were demanding the franchise they did far worse things, and if they had not done so they would not have forced open the door which legislators were trying to close against them.

Of course, when men wanted the franchise, they did not behave in the unruly manner of our feminine friends. They were perfectly constitutional in their agitation.

The "Daily News."

Then we have the criticism of the Liberal Press, headed by the Daily News, which devotes to the meeting a leading article, and says: "The frenzied people who, in the name of Women's Suffrage, are guilty of such an outrage, are beyond the appeals of reason or decency."

Much nonsense has been spoken and written about the antics of the Women Suffragists. Some extra wise people have been telling them that if they would only resort to constitutional methods they would advance their cause more rapidly.

The leader-writer goes on to point out that few, if any, of those who recommend constitutional methods have probably ever heard of Miss Lydia Becker, or her constitutional agitation, extending over many years, and adds that if the militant Suffragists were to cease their efforts the whole movement would collapse the next day.

The Case of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

We have received from a great number of members of the W.S.P.U. their congratulations upon the release, on bail, of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

The "Manchester Guardian."

Another Liberal paper, the Manchester Guardian, says it can understand the attitude of those who say, "Let the heavens fall, provided justice be done," but the militant Suffragists go beyond this. We were at first inclined to suppose that this remark had a subtle reference to the apotheosis of the Prime Minister, but on reading the context we found that we were mistaken, and that what was intended was to show that Suffragists had been given by the Government a splendid promise, and their attack on the Premier was a piece of pure wilfulness.

My political life began as a member of the Reform League. It is in my recollection that in 1867, and also in 1884, very few public speakers who were opposed to the extension of the parliamentary franchise to men, whether members of the Cabinet or otherwise, could utter a single word at a public meeting.

The Conservative Press.

Next we have the criticisms of the Conservative papers. It is only necessary to contrast these with their remarks only four months ago, when Conservative M.P.s with far less excuse prevented Mr. Asquith from speaking in the House of Commons.

horde of yelping women, who seem to think that they prove their fitness for public life by outraging its most elementary conventions.

Four months ago the same paper wrote:— Shameless in the prostitution of his high office, it is little wonder that honest indignation refuses him a hearing when he attempts to excuse or justify his actions.

From many other illustrations which might be given, we clip the following from the Daily Express, which is quite delightful:—

Any Minister, even a Prime Minister, may be refused a hearing in the House of Commons when strong party passions have been let loose. That experience has come both to Mr. Balfour and to Mr. Asquith. But to howl down the Prime Minister in a place of worship, where no political matter is in question, is sheer ruffianism.

Of course, as the Daily Express would be the first to point out, where any other question was concerned, when a place of worship is used for secular purposes it ceases to be entitled to any special respect.

Members of Parliament.

Finally we are informed that inside the House there has been great indignation, that the Prime Minister received a great ovation when he presented himself next day and that over a hundred M.P.s have signed a manifesto condemning the action of the W.S.P.U., and adding that such conduct, if persisted in, must make the organisation of an effective platform campaign in favour of women's suffrage difficult, if not impossible, and it gravely imperils the parliamentary prospects of women's suffrage in the coming session.

Of course, M.P.s are at liberty to sign as many manifestoes of this kind as they please. As they have never conducted a platform campaign in favour of Woman Suffrage we shall not lose by their ceasing to do what they have never done. Our own platform campaign we shall continue more vigorously than ever.

The "Nottingham Guardian."

In refreshing contrast to the hypocritical criticism on every side to which we have referred, we have pleasure in noting the manly and straightforward attitude adopted in the leading article of the Nottingham Guardian, which says:—

Much nonsense has been spoken and written about the antics of the Women Suffragists. Some extra wise people have been telling them that if they would only resort to constitutional methods they would advance their cause more rapidly. People who say this, however, have not studied the history of their own country.

The Russian Government by an ultimatum demands us to surrender to her our independence; the ears of the men of Europe are deaf to our cries, could you women not come to our help?

The Truth Has Made Us Free.

It is a strange experience to emerge suddenly and almost unexpectedly from the solitude and silence of a prison cell into the din and babel of political conflict.

The writers of these appeals have never understood the significance of the woman's movement. They are standing between the fighting forces of negation on the one hand and the fighting forces of affirmation on the other, and they understand nothing of the realities or the actualities of either.

We of the Women's Social and Political Union have dared to affirm the human and divine equality of man and woman. On that affirmation we are prepared to stake our honour, our liberty, and our life.

It is against that affirmation that the politicians are fighting. It is against that affirmation that they strive in vain with their police and their prisons, with their tricks of Parliamentary procedure and with their word spinning and their chicanery and their political press.

They cannot fight against Truth. And the Truth has made us free.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

applied for a certiorari, so that the conviction might be quashed. The first step was taken on Friday, when a rule nisi was granted; on Saturday she was released on bail. The actual hearing, when the rule will be argued before the High Court, will probably be one day next week.

The Other Prisoners.

The remaining cases of Suffrage prisoners at Bow-street were dealt with on Friday and Tuesday, when they received various sentences. A flagrant case of miscarriage of justice was that of Mr. Duval, who brought overwhelming evidence to rebut the testimony of the police, but who, nevertheless, was convicted by the magistrate; his real offence undoubtedly was that he was seen taking the number of an offending policeman.

The Pit Brow Women.

The crooked ways of the politician are well illustrated by the case of the pit brow women. It will be remembered that in the Mines Bill an amendment was carried in Committee to exclude women from work at the pit brow. A great agitation was accordingly started, and a promise was obtained from Mr. Masterman that this clause should be deleted when the Bill came back to the House on the Report stage.

The Women of Persia send us a Telegram.

The women of Persia are joining in the national demonstrations against the Russian advance. The Daily Chronicle says that they have organised processions for women only, and women speakers have appeared in the crowded mosques and have harangued the populace in the squares.

In reply the Women's Social and Political Union have telegraphed the following message:—

Your touching appeal received; unhappily we cannot move British Government to give political freedom even to their own countrywomen. We are equally powerless to influence their action towards Persia. Our hearts deeply moved by sympathy with Persian sisters and admiration for their militant patriotic deeds.

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY FAIR.

We venture to say that even Mr. Scrooge, glam anti-everything (including, of course, anti-Suffragist), sinner as he was, if he could be spirited to the Portman Rooms, Baker Street, any time this week, would be obliged to enjoy himself! Indeed, we should very much like to take Mr. Scrooge there. First we would take him through the Fair itself, put him on the Merry-Go-Round, feed him with roasted chestnuts, take him round to the side-shows, and then conduct him to the beautifully appointed little theatre.

Those who were fortunate enough to be present at the opening on Monday afternoon will not soon forget the impression of gaiety and high-heartedness, beautiful colouring, and pretty costumes, all seen against a background of exquisite mural designs from the clever brush of Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.



wares for sale, and every available corner is occupied by side-shows and other attractions. The Tea Room—and who will neglect to visit this—has for its decorative scheme some notably original designs, including one of a pelican (emblematic of self-sacrifice), and another of a broad arrow, and underneath is a dado giving a pictorial history of the Suffrage movement.

The "OYEZ" of the bellman on Monday afternoon drew the crowd to the platform, when the appearance of Lady Sybil Smith, the Hon. Lady Johnston, and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence was the signal for an enthusiastic burst of cheering. Although her release from Holloway took place on Saturday afternoon, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's appearance was a great surprise to many present.

Little Miss Joan Wilcock, a dainty little maid of four, presented her bouquets with the words: "I am very glad indeed to present these bouquets, and when I am a big girl I shall be very proud."

On Wednesday afternoon the Fair was opened by the Princess Bariatinsky, Dr. Ethel Smyth in the chair. The beautiful speech of the Princess, in which she spoke with enthusiasm of the noble work of the Suffragettes, will be given in Votes for Women next week.

It was the old London Street cries, and the sellers cawing croovingly by bearing their wares—matches, oranges, and sweet

lavender, and looking very sweet and pretty in their quaint dresses. Not far away is the old-world roundabout, which is propelled by members of the M.P.U. in costume, and here one can have a ride in a very modern "Black Maria" for the small charge of fourpence.

The general aspect of the Fair is proof positive that the militant woman can be just as feminine as anybody else, for on the many stalls the goods are the product of distinctive feminine arts. "Woolies" and blouses are to be had in abundance; the decorated pin cushion and embroidered cushion-cover appear in great profusion, and here are to be seen beautiful fat turkeys, fowls of all descriptions, hams and jams, and everything a housewife's heart delights in.

On Tuesday afternoon the Fête was opened by H.H. the Rance of Sarawak. Mrs. Percy Dearman presided, and in a speech that everyone heartily applauded, said she was glad to have this public opportunity of expressing her adherence to the cause.

The Rance of Sarawak declared herself in complete accord with the woman's movement, and said she would do anything in the world to further the cause. The most beautiful thing in the world was the rôle of mother.

ful thing in the world was the rôle of mother. If the men realised that, she thought it would not be long before the Suffrage movement was as successful as they desired. The way in which abuse had been levelled at the Suffragettes for the gallant way they had tried to get their rights made her positively furious.

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The Fair is open till the end of this week.

Entrance 1s. in the afternoon; 6d. after 6.30 p.m.

THE NEXT PROTEST.

The number of volunteers for the next militant protest is growing rapidly. Here are some extracts from letters received:—

Please place my name down for the next deputation. I was present at the last one. Success must be ours, cost what it may.

Will you put my name down for the next deputation or raid? I am so very sorry I have not volunteered before. I am an awful coward and have never been able to get up the courage. I have a splendid example in those brave women last week. They were wonderful. Lloyd George is enough to rouse even the most timid woman to militant action, and militancy is the only thing that will win.

We shall be glad if intending volunteers will send in their names to Miss Pankhurst, 4, Clements Inn.

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Debenham & Freebody Wigmore Street, London, W.







MR. GEORGE AND THE W.S.P.U.

Correspondence between Miss Pankhurst and the Chancellor.

We gave last week the correspondence between Lord Lytton and Mr. Lloyd George in which the latter spoke of "the fact that the militants were prepared to depart from their principle of sex equality in favour of a measure which would have enfranchised only a million women, and would have been unfair to Liberalism, whereas they opposed an amendment which, if carried, will enfranchise six or seven millions of women and will be fair to all parties in the State."

Miss Christabel Pankhurst accordingly wrote to Mr. Lloyd George as follows:—

In your letter to Lord Lytton you display some misunderstanding of the demand which the Women's Social and Political Union has made in respect of women's enfranchisement.

Our demand, a twofold one, is (a) that men are to have manhood suffrage, women shall have womanhood suffrage; (b) that the Government shall themselves take the responsibility of initiating and carrying a measure giving equal voting rights to men and women, such measure to take the place of the threatened Manhood Suffrage Bill.

You have referred to our support of the Conciliation Bill, which provided for the enfranchisement of women householders, as being inconsistent with our present demand for Womanhood Suffrage. The explanation of why we originally accepted the Conciliation Bill, and why under present circumstances we no longer accept it, is a simple one.

We make our demand for a Government measure in substitution for the suggested amendment to the Manhood Suffrage Bill mainly because there is no guarantee that that amendment will be carried. I will indicate one of the sources of danger:—

By associating it with the general question of Universal Suffrage the Government have made women's enfranchisement a party question. Therefore the voting on the suggested amendment would obviously follow party lines, except for the fact that the 45 Liberal Anti-Suffragists and the 22 Nationalist Anti-Suffragists would desert the Coalition forces on that occasion. Their 67 votes, counting 134 on a division, would wipe out the Coalition majority, and would cause the defeat of the amendment. If, on the other hand, the Government themselves initiate the proposals for Woman Suffrage, then the Anti-Suffragist Members of the Coalition will, for the sake of their own measures, be as keenly desirous of the passage of Woman Suffrage as will their Suffragist colleagues.

Where the Insurance Bill is concerned, you, sir, have said that you will fight it through you will fall—and, of course, the Government would fall with you. It is genuine and thorough-going service of this kind that we claim for yourself and the Government where the cause of women's enfranchisement is concerned.

Mr. George's Reply. The following letter in reply was received from Mr. E. A. Gowers:—

I am desired by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday, and in reply to inform you that he has nothing to add to what he said in his letter to Lord Lytton.

THE W.S.P.U. AND CAXTON HALL.

At a meeting of the Westminster City Council on Thursday, November 23, Mr. G. de Griffith asked whether, having regard to the wanton damage done on Tuesday evening to the property of many ratepayers in the city by members of the Women's Social and Political Union, the General Purposes Committee, which was charged with the duty of letting Caxton Hall, would give orders that in future the hall should not be let to the Union unless an undertaking was given by the organisers that the meeting was an ordinary one and not one preparatory to a raid on the place of any person or assembly. Mr. Henry Toner, chairman of committee, said that there were considerable difficulties with regard to securing any such stipulations. As far as the Caxton Hall was concerned they had watched the conduct of this Union very closely, and up to the present the members had behaved themselves very well while there. The committee would consider the matter, but unless Mr. de Griffith could give them some form of words which could be binding, he was afraid they could do nothing at all.

LABOUR OPPOSITION TO MANHOOD SUFFRAGE

At a meeting of the Kensington and N. Kilburn Branch of the I.L.P. the following resolution was passed and sent to the Prime Minister:—"This Branch calls upon the Government to withdraw their Manhood Suffrage Bill, and to introduce a Bill giving equal franchise to men and women."

A resolution demanding womanhood suffrage has been passed by the Committee of the York Fabian Society, and a copy has been forwarded to the Prime Minister.

At a meeting of the Aberdeen Trades Council held on November 29 the following resolution was adopted:—

"That this meeting views with indignation the announcement by the Prime Minister that a Reform Bill extending the franchise for men only will be introduced next year, and decides to oppose by all means in its power any extension of the franchise which does not provide for political equality between the sexes."

The chairman, in submitting the resolution, said they did not know what sort of a bill it was going to be, or exactly in what terms the franchise was to be extended, but they knew that the Government had no intention of extending the franchise beyond the male sex. The position the Council

took have ripened public opinion on a question. When the difficult task has been accomplished the Chancellor comes forward and says, "You may stop back now; the hissing and hooting have been yours; the applause and glory shall be mine." Mr. Lloyd George is a political cuckoo, and his political eggs are all laid in nests prepared by birds of less migratory and self-advertising habits. To read the Chancellor's speech, one might imagine that the case for the enfranchisement of women was being stated for the first time. His statement falls short of two important respects. It is less important to listen to a few elementary and threadbare arguments for women's suffrage than to know what the Government is going to do. There is little chance of any wide democratic franchise being passed into law except it is made from the start part and parcel of the Government scheme. But what is the Chancellor's view of a democratic franchise? Is it a complete and equal suffrage of men and women? When he really takes the platform, he ought to explain where he really stands. He is so apt to lose himself and his audience in a whirlwind of rhetoric.

Women are in some matters less easily humbugged than men. We do not think that the women of the United Kingdom will be much impressed by Mr. Lloyd George's glowing picture of their prospects under the



CHARACTERS AT THE FAIR. (Photo: "Topical.")

had always taken up in common with practically every democratic association in the country was that no extension of the franchise ought to be on the basis of citizenship, and sex ought to be no barrier. He felt that any extension which meant merely giving more votes to men, particularly on the basis of their manhood, while leaving women out of account, would make things even worse than they were at the present time.

The York branch of the Independent Labour Party on November 22 passed the following resolution unanimously:—"This branch calls upon the Government to introduce next session a Bill giving men and women equal voting rights."

The Harrow branch of the I.L.P. have also passed the same resolution unanimously. At a largely attended meeting held at the Independent Labour Party Institute, Harlesden, on November 23, the following resolution, proposed by Mrs. O'Brien Sanderson and seconded by Mr. Herbert H. Grimwood, was carried unanimously:—"That this meeting views with indignation the declaration of the Prime Minister that a Manhood Suffrage Bill will be introduced next year. The meeting calls upon the Liberal and Labour Members of Parliament at once to inform the Government that under no circumstances will they vote for a Manhood Suffrage Bill, and to demand the immediate abandonment of this Bill and the substitution of a Government measure giving votes to all women and all men on equal terms."

The Leeds Trades Council passed a resolution to the effect that all adult men and women should be included in the next Electoral Reform Bill, and urged that the Labour Party should lose no opportunity of pressing this upon the Government.

The following resolution was passed unanimously by the Tenaces and Stirling Women's Co-operative Guild on Monday, November 27:—"That this Guild expresses its indignation at the action of the Government in bringing forward a Manhood Suffrage Bill, and calls upon the Liberal and Labour Members of Parliament to vote against the Bill and demand its withdrawal and the introduction by the Government of a real Adult Suffrage Bill including men and women on equal terms."

LABOUR LEADER. The speech on suffrage delivered by Mr. Lloyd George at Bath is characteristic of our amiable Chancellor. Mr. Lloyd George dissembles his love until others by years of thankless effort and

UNIONISTS ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The Unionist Anti-Suffragists have sent to their fellow Unionist M.P.'s a manifesto signed by Mr. August Chamberlain, Mr. Walter Long, Mr. F. E. Smith, and others, urging them to note the change that has taken place in the Woman Suffrage question since the Prime Minister's announcement, which, in their view, Adult Suffrage or complete exclusion of women from the franchise.

The following letter in support of the Conciliation Bill has been sent in reply:—

Sir,—Our attention has been called to a letter signed by six highly respected members of the Unionist party, urging those Unionists who have hitherto been in favour of the Conciliation Bill to abandon their support of that measure. The principal ground upon which this course is urged is that the Government have announced their intention of bringing in a wide measure of electoral reform, and that Mr. Lloyd George has advocated the inclusion in that measure of a very extensive enfranchisement of women.

Some of us have long thought that the continued resistance of moderate men to the reasonable demands of women in this respect would lead to some such result. To us it seems that recent developments only make it more imperative to press forward the Conciliation Bill. If that were abandoned there is grave danger that the whole force of the women who desire votes would be devoted to the support of a suffrage amendment to the Franchise Bill acceptable to Mr. Lloyd George. In any case one of two consequences must almost certainly follow such abandonment. Either the Franchise Bill will become law, with an extension of the suffrage to women so wide as to more than double the existing electorate—a result which no moderate reformer can approve—or else it will fail, and no woman will get the vote, exposing Parliament to the not unjust reproach of having again "tricked" the women.

We, therefore, trust that all moderate supporters of Women's Suffrage will continue their advocacy of a Bill framed, not in the interest of one party or of the other, but designed to give the vote to those women of every political opinion who have a direct and personal interest in national affairs.

Alfred Lytton, High Cecil, W. Mitchell-Thomson, Robert Cecil, George Wyndham, W. Ormsby Gore, Geo. Cave.

The following protest has also been signed by The Hon. A. Lytton, Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Mitchell-Thomson and Mr. Ormsby-Gore:—"We, being members of the Unionist party who have supported the policy of the Conciliation Bill, desire to express our profound regret at the recrudescence of violent methods of agitation adopted by the members of the W.S.P.U., which we regard as wholly indefensible."

It would be unjust to record this opinion without at the same time expressing our strong censure of the very provocative treatment of this important subject by the Government, culminating in the proposal put forward for party purposes to extend still further the franchise to men without giving a vote even to the most highly qualified women.

SIR EDWARD GREY'S VIEWS.

Sir Edward Grey has addressed the following letter to Lord Lytton:—"Mr. Dear Lytton,—I desire to supplement my letter of the 20th of this month to you in view of subsequent developments. The present situation is that an indifferent prospect of obtaining the enfranchisement of 1,000,000 women under the Conciliation Bill may be exchanged for a good prospect of enfranchisement of some 6,000,000 women by an amendment to a Government Bill, moved, if necessary, by a Cabinet Minister. As far as I can judge, a larger measure of union is already forthcoming for an amendment of this character than has yet been apparent in the case of the Conciliation Bill."

Those of us who are united with regard to such an amendment have intended, as far as may be in our power, to advocate the cause of the Woman's Suffrage on these lines actively and publicly before the introduction of the Bill next year. Some of us have already made engagements for that purpose. But acts of violence such as accompanied the demonstration on the 21st of this month, culminating last night in the disorderly scenes at a meeting for a charitable purpose addressed by the Prime Minister, have done immense mischief to the cause. As a matter of fact, we cannot advocate it successfully when conduct of this sort alienates members of people who would otherwise be disposed to give it a fair and favourable hearing; nor can it be expected that people like myself, who are colleagues and friends of the Prime Minister, can give its supporters more than the object of a demonstration such as occurred last night.

In saying this I know that I express the feeling of others who are my colleagues as well as myself. I feel bound to say that for any of us to give active support to the cause of Woman's Suffrage while this violent conduct is continued would be repugnant to our own good feeling, and even if it were not so, it would, in the circumstances, be sheer waste of time.—Yours sincerely, E. GREY.

Sir Edward Grey referred to Woman Suffrage at the close of his meeting in Plymouth, saying it would be exasperating if a wiser measure of suffrage were given to men while women remained without.

THE IRISH TIMES.

Women are in some matters less easily humbugged than men. We do not think that the women of the United Kingdom will be much impressed by Mr. Lloyd George's glowing picture of their prospects under the

Government's Suffrage Bill. They are the fluent promises of a demagogue who is being found out.

SUFFRAGETTES AND HOME RULE.

Mr. J. Redmond and Mr. Birrell have each consented (says the London correspondent of the Freeman's Journal) to receive a deputation from the London branch of the Irish Women's Franchise League in reference to the franchise clauses of the Home Rule Bill. Mr. Birrell asks that in his case the interviews shall not take place until after Christmas, when, he states, he will be in a better position to discuss the Bill.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

The speakers at the London Pavilion, Piccadilly Circus, on Monday next, December 11 at 3.15 p.m. will be Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, I.L.P. Miss Eva Moore has kindly consented to recite "The Happy Prince." The meeting on Thursday evening, December 14, at 8 p.m. will be held in Kensington Town Hall, and will be addressed by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, I.L.P.

Dinner to the Duval family.

The Men's Political Union have arranged a welcome dinner in honour of Mrs. Duval, the Misses Duval and Mr. Victor Duval, on December 20. It will be remembered that all five were arrested on November 21. Tickets, price 5s., and all further particulars may be had at the M.P.U. Office, 13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

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

Our readers will be glad to know that Miss Pankhurst's article entitled "Broken Windows," which appeared in last week's issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN, will shortly be published as a leaflet, price 6s. per thousand, 50, per hundred, post free.

Miss Vida Goldstein.

Miss Goldstein's many friends will be glad to know that owing to private affairs she is remaining in England for another fortnight.

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ENTERTAINMENTS AT THE FAIR.

The Actresses' Franchise League has broken its record! On many previous occasions its members have proved their devotion to the Woman's Movement; they have given their time and their gifts unstintingly, and often at much sacrifice. Now once again they are organising the entertainment side of a suffrage festival, and anyone visiting the Portman Rooms, Baker Street, up to Saturday evening, December 9, may be sure of a comfortable seat, good music and delightful plays.

Every afternoon, at 3.45, there is a concert. On Monday the performers included Miss Edith Parsons, Miss Edith Clegg, Miss Eva Moore (accompanied by Madame Liza Lehmann), Miss Rosa Leo, Mr. Alfred H. West, Mr. C. Hayden Coffin (by kind permission of Mr. George Edwards), and Mr. Barclay Gammon. Then, at half-past four, Miss Sydney Keith produced Mr. J. M. Barrie's inimitable play, "The Twelve Pound Look," by kind permission of the author, to whom all suffragists will be specially grateful. The cast was a particularly distinguished one, consisting of Mr. Fowless Llewellyn (by kind permission of Miss Lillah McCarthy), Miss Muriel Hutchinson (by kind permission of Mr. Oscar Asche), Miss Doris Barton and Mr. Herbert Cox. This play was again given on Wednesday evening, and it will also be given on Saturday afternoon.

A dramatic and musical entertainment by Miss Nellie Sargent followed, and in the evening another excellent musical programme (in which Miss Scruby, Miss Grace Kemp Gee, Miss Marjorie Clemens, Miss Griffith Saunders, Miss Myrtle Meggy, Mr. Laurence Kellie, Mr. Ernest Denny and Miss E. K. Russell took part), preceded Miss Vera Wentworth's "Allegory." This little play, so full of meaning to suffragists, scored a great success. It was beautifully acted by Miss Maud Hoffman, Miss Beatrice Filmer, Miss Violet Bazalgette, Mr. Frederic Morena (by kind permission of Mr. Arthur Hardy), Mr. William Stack and Mr. Lancelot Lowther. The incidental music was played by the composer, Miss Eva Lonsdale, and the play was produced by Mr. Frederic Morena. At the close the audience called loudly for the young author.

The programme for the second day of the Fair was equally varied and delightful. "The Maid and the Magistrate" (Miss Elaine Inescort and Mr. John Wardle), caused great amusement, and the little bit of real life represented in Miss Inez Bensusan's play "The Apple," was most thoroughly enjoyed. In the unavoidable absence of Miss Muriel Popo the author herself played "Helen," and the other parts were taken by Miss Lorna Lawrence, Mr. David Darrell and Mr. William Stack. Miss Bensusan herself produced the play, and had, as she deserved (for she is giving all her time and strength to these entertainments), an enthusiastic reception.

For the evening's entertainment there were songs at the piano by Mr. Gerald Lindley, violin solos by Miss Mary Law, songs by Miss Margaret Stone, Mme. Mollton Meux, Miss Grainger Kerr, and Miss Ada Moore; Dr. Ethel Smyth's octet "1910," by Mme. Josephine Mann, Miss Jessie Jennings, Mrs. McGlasson, Miss Edith Budd, Messrs. French, Barnett, Clarke, and Martin, with Miss Agnes Jennings at the piano; cello solos by Miss May Mulke; and a humorous entertainment by Mr. Percy French. The simultaneous reciting or singing and sketching of this gentleman caused hearty laughter, and he was deservedly encoored, as were the other artists.

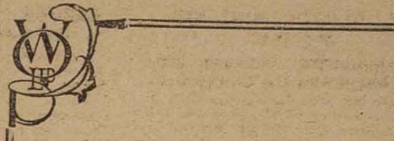
"Miss Appleyard's Awakening," the clever sketch by Miss Evelyn Glover, was played by Miss Victoria Addison, Miss Agnes Imlay, and Miss Joan Dilla. Mr. Charles Latrobe was the producer. The fifteen "Good Reasons" of Lord Curzon, quoted by Miss Crabtree, were greeted with chuckles, and the indignant words of Miss Appleyard, "It seems to me that you want every woman to be a perfect fool!" were applauded all over the house.

So ended the second day's entertainment. There is something good on the programme for every day, and Mrs. Pertwee and her helpers may be sure of an appreciative audience every time.

Special thanks are due to Mr. Walter Cross, who most kindly came forward and filled a gap caused by the absence of two artists who were unable to attend.

Visitors to the Fair should make a special point of seeing the exquisite doll "The Rose of Persia," which Miss Rosa Leo has dressed and presented to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Down to the finest detail the dress is perfect, and in view of the appeal for help just sent by the women of Persia to their sisters in England, to which allusion is made on page 154, the "Rose of Persia" is of special interest. Remember also to look for photographs of Mrs. Bury's barouche (for sale at the Special W.S.P.U. Stall); the Doll's House and the Microscope, with Slides, at the Many Inventions Stall; the Group of Coronation Dolls (which might well form a Christmas Gift to some institution for children). And don't forget the little white dogs!

BOOKS RECEIVED. "The Woman Without Sin." By Pharrall Smith. London: Swift and Co. 6s. "Daily News' Year Book, 1912." 6d. net. "The Englishwoman," December. London: Sidgwick and Jackson. 1s. net. "Women Join Hands" (song). By Laurence Hottelmann. Music by Selwyn Lloyd. London: Bach and Co. 6d. net. "Christian Science." By Mrs. Archer-Hind. Cambridge: Hefner and Sons Ltd. 4d.



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VOTES FOR WOMEN. 4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND. FRIDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1911.

WHY WE SILENCED MR. ASQUITH.

"Outrage on the Prime Minister!" "Infamous Scene!" This strong language might well cause the uninitiated to wonder what extraordinary act the Suffragettes had at length committed. It proved to be simply this—they had challenged a politician who, while accepting the office of Prime Minister, refuses to fulfil the duties of that office by giving votes to the women of the country.

ideals of womanly conduct. We reply that we have high ideals of manly conduct, and we hope that those who profess to be the champions of working women will not fall short of our ideals.

There is a fact to which we would draw Mr. MacDonald's very special attention. It is this. The Parliamentary forces which he leads are part of the majority by which the Government hold office.

Complaint has been made that a philanthropic meeting, in a place of worship, was chosen as the occasion of our protest. Our critics evidently forget that ordinary political meetings addressed by Cabinet Ministers are barred to women—men only being allowed to be present.

We hear, also, some canting talk about the right of free speech being violated by the City Temple protest. There is much confusion of thought as to what the right of free speech really is. It is the right of the people to hold public meetings without interference by the authorities.

The reason why Ministers cut so poor a figure on the platform is that they have a bad political conscience where Woman Suffrage is concerned, and a conscience doth make cowards of us all.

The amendment scheme is a snare and a delusion, and this fact becomes daily more apparent. In last week's VOTES FOR WOMEN we stated that the voting on a Womanhood Suffrage amendment, or on what is known as the Lloyd George amendment, would proceed on party lines, save for the fact that there would be 67 deserters from the ranks of the Coalition.

Some trustful persons talk with a certain degree of hopefulness of carrying an amendment on the lines of the Conciliation Bill, which they say will have the result of removing the political disability of sex.

That Mr. Lloyd George is plotting harm to the women's cause becomes more and more clear every day. This is his plan:—If he discovers that it is absolutely impossible to prevent the enfranchisement of women on any terms, he will be resigned to seeing a small number of women enfranchised, because at the same time a great and final measure of men's enfranchisement is to be carried.

The trusting ones argue that he regards the Conciliation Bill as so inimical to the interests of the Liberal Party that he must in truth prefer a wider measure of votes for women. We think it very plain that he would prefer no votes for women at all.

We shall never believe that Mr. Lloyd George is a genuine supporter of a democratic franchise for women until he secures that it be made a Government measure. Until this is done, we shall continue to tell him and all his colleagues in the Cabinet that we condemn their policy, and that we condemn their tactics.

Christabel Pankhurst.

A MESSAGE FROM MRS. PANKHURST.

The announcement that the Liberal Government intended to give more votes to men without at the same time enfranchising any women was received by thoughtful Americans with incredulity. They said: "There is some mistake. It cannot be possible in face of the progress of the woman's movement all over the world, and after the vigorous and devoted struggle that has been carried on by Englishwomen, that a responsible Government could have the effrontery to do such an injustice."

When confirmation came those who have followed the progress of our women's agitation awaited with breathless interest for the inevitable effect of such a challenge to the great army of heroic women whose uniring efforts have aroused their sympathy and admiration. The protest demonstration of Nov. 21 has been fully understood and deeply sympathised with. Many a woman has said: "If I were in England I would be with them," and men have exclaimed: "What are the men of England thinking about to allow such things to be done?"

On the Sunday before the demonstration I spoke in a church and told the congregation of our crusade for power to uplift our sex, and four ministers of religion—Methodist, Baptist, Congregational, and the Jewish Rabbi—each in his own way expressed sympathy with the Englishwomen's struggle for freedom.

The grateful love of women and the deep respect of all men who love justice go out to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and her heroic comrades for the prompt answer they have given to the insult offered to womanhood by the Liberal Government. That the Government should after all our years of effort introduce a Franchise Bill for men who have not asked for it is the crowning insult, and consideration of the Prime Minister's speech deepens our feeling of resentment and indignation.

In the United States of America where democracy for men has reached what is thought to be its extreme limit, there is a condition imposed upon the voter which it appears to me is indispensable. The women recently enfranchised in California have just fulfilled that condition with eager willingness. The condition is that the enfranchised citizen shall himself attend at a registration office in person and register himself as a voter.

When the Women's Household Suffrage Bill was under discussion in the House of Commons Mr. Winston Churchill objected that it would give the vote to women who lived by immorality. What of the men who live upon the degradation of women, who under this Bill will be automatically put upon the register, men who if they had to claim the vote in person would not dare to do so; the men who to escape the performance of citizen duties leave their wives to undertake the responsibility of the household; the men who habitually live upon the scanty earnings of their mothers, wives, and young children?

Considerations such as these will give British women the courage and enthusiasm which will inspire them to engage in a civil war the outcome of which will be the withdrawal of this unjust Bill, and the substitution of a measure giving equal voting rights to men and women.

I long to be back in the glorious struggle. In a few days I go to Canada to rouse the women of that vast Dominion of ours to unite with the women of the

Mother Country in their fight for justice. Everywhere the women are waking, and the hour of complete victory is rapidly coming all over the world. I send deep love and gratitude to the women of our splendid army.

A MESSAGE FROM MRS. HERTHA AYRTON.

Mrs. Humphry Ward is either very short-sighted or very ungrateful. Mr. Lloyd George is no more concerned to give Votes to Women than Lord Cromer, or Lord Curzon, or Mrs. Ward herself. He is out to kill the Conciliation Bill, and so he starts by saying that it has already been "torpedoed"—which is unkind to Mr. Asquith, who is supposed to be gallantly standing by his promise of facilities for that Bill.

The Women's Social and Political Union are not quite so complaisant. They demand that Mr. Lloyd George shall prove his sincerity in the usual way, by insisting on the inclusion of Votes for Women in the Manhood Suffrage Bill from the beginning, and by threatening to resign his seat in the Cabinet if this is not done.

FROM MISS LILLAH MCCARTHY.

"L'audace et toujours l'audace!"—this is not only a duty but a necessity at this moment. The offer of a Manhood Suffrage Bill scarcely seems to come from minds friendly to the cause of Women's Suffrage. I do not take my stand on the question of sex; I ask the franchise right for all. With the property qualification as a base, I would uphold the right of every man and woman, properly qualified, to vote in parliamentary elections.

A HOLY WAR.

Fast in a beleaguered city, mothers of the race Cry aloud their hurt and hunger in the market-place; Courage, sisters, look and listen, see the gathering throng, We are marching to the rescue, twenty thousand strong!

Band of little wounded mothers, struggling in life's flood, Victims of a world's injustice, love misunderstood, Lift your tear-stained wondering faces to the lightning sky; Do ye hear it? "God and Justice!" is our battle-cry!

There are mighty foes against us, Fear, and Pride, and Greed, Hydra-headed social customs that in darkness breed; Ambushed by lust and licence lurk beside the way; We but grasp our sword the tighter, eager for the fray!

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £250,000 FUND.

Table listing names and amounts contributed to the £250,000 fund. Includes names like Mrs. Any Hicks, Mrs. Saul Solomon, Mrs. Daisy Solomon, etc., with amounts ranging from 10s to £100.















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CORSETS made to ladies' own measurements, from 1s. 11d.; also patterns carefully copied from 10s. 6d. price list and particulars on application.—Madame Lee, the popular Corseteer, Elm Grove, Southsea.

DRESSMAKER (Suffragette) with wide experience in cutting, fitting, and remodelling (best work only), visits ladies' residences. Highest test monthly, 4s. 6d. per day.—Apply Box 888, VOTES FOR WOMEN Office, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

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DRESSMAKING—"Patricia," 39, Hereford Road, Westbourne Grove. French chic with excellence of cut and fit guaranteed; terms moderate; materials taken and renovations done during winter months only.

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LINGERIE.—Miss L. M. Bovis, of 7, Clipsestone Street, Great Portland Street, specialises in hand-made lingerie at moderate prices. A trial solicited.

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A MODEL LAUNDRY.—Family work a specialty. Daily performed. It is the only PERMANENTLY established laundry, every description treated with special care. Flannels and silks washed in distilled water. No chemicals used. Best labour only employed. Prompt collections; prompt deliveries.—Billies, Greasy House Laundry, Reynolds Road, Acton Green, W.

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ELECTROLYSIS scientifically and antiseptically performed. It is the only PERMANENT cure for superfluous Hair. Highest medical references; special terms to those engaged in teaching, clerical work, &c.; consultation free.—Miss Marion Lindsay-25, Cambridge Place, Norfolk Square, W. Telephone: 337 Mayfair.

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VISITORS desiring to see the Holy Thorn at Glastonbury in Bloom at Christmas time can be accommodated at the Lotus Tea Rooms, Limited. Engage rooms in advance. Telegrams: "Lotus, Glastonbury."

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A JAPANESE Magic Finger-nail Polish, "GILTO." NO PADS, NO POWDER, NO LIQUID, NO PASTE. John Strangé Windsor, the celebrated Author, writes: "We are all enchanted with Gilto." Post free, 1s. 1d.—Belvoir and Co., New Southgate, N.

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