

# THE SUFFRAGETTE

EDITED BY CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

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## PRIMEVAL JUSTICE!



"It was difficult to carry out strictly the law in the case of people who were absolutely reckless of consequences and for whom punishment had no terror and penal servitude no shame."  
*The Magistrate at the trial of Miss Gladys Evans on October 29.*

## WHEN THEY HAD JOAN OF ARC AMONG THEM.

I blush for what our grandchildren will say of the men of my generation. Our grandsons and granddaughters will ask: "Were they sane in those days? Were they human beings? Were they not crazy and blinded? What was it in them? They cried out and raged and stormed upon those who burned Joan of Arc. They honoured those Spartans who combed their hair for death before going up into the Pass. They put up statues to the martyrs who drew the sword, and told the truth, and held up shaking hands in the fire. Yet when they had Joan of Arc among them they lacked the living eyes to see her. They thrust her into prison with the rest as an unsexed shrieking sister. When Thermopylæ was nobly played out again before them, they took the side of the Persians and the big battalions. They sent their troops against the Spartans with a great deal of brag about the bull-dog breed. And when the martyrs were among them—in the dock, in the gaol-yard, in the gaol hospital, speaking in the parks among horse-play, or selling papers in the streets amid chaff—the men of that generation took no heed. They were so dead to the old spirit of England that a struggle for liberty, a struggle for justice, a struggle to make whiter the spotted old rags in which life walks among us was nothing to those men but an opportunity for insult.—

*From "My Faith in Woman Suffrage."*

JOHN MASEFIELD.

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Review of the Week.

The Woman Suffrage Amendment to the Home Rule Bill, introduced by Mr. Snowden, has been defeated by a majority of 173 votes. The situation thus created is fully discussed in the leading article. The chief lesson to be learnt from the division on this Amendment is that pressure stronger than ever must be brought to bear upon the Government in order that the question of Woman Suffrage may be lifted out of the realm of unofficial measures, and be made a Government measure.

Miss Gladys Evans' Life in Danger.

Within one week of Miss Gladys Evans' discharge after a seven days' fast the Government again arrested her on the charge of failing to notify her residence. She was taken before the magistrate and remanded in custody until to-day (Friday). With amazing courage she immediately resorted to the hunger strike, in spite of the condition of health to which she has been reduced by her previous sufferings.

The Militancy of the Week.

Immediately after the defeat of Mr. Snowden's Amendment, a bold and dramatic reprisal was made by militant Suffragists, who broke many windows in Bond-street and district, as well as those of the offices of the National Insurance Commissioners.

During the past week it has been reported that further attacks have been made upon the contents of letter-boxes in various parts of the country. Miss Margaret Ker, one of the Suffragists arrested upon the charge of destroying letters, has been committed for trial.

Magnificent and successful protests have been made at the meetings of two Cabinet Ministers, Mr. McKenna and Mr. Hobhouse. These are reported on another page.

The Sale at Holmwood.

Last Thursday the Government proceeded to the extreme step of selling the goods of Mr. and Mrs. Bethick Lawrence at Holmwood, in order to compel the payment of the costs in the recent conspiracy trial. Cabinet Ministers have not paid out of their private purse the heavy police and legal expenses

which have been incurred in the course of their resistance to women's enfranchisement, and therefore it is a gross injustice that individuals who are on the opposite side in this struggle should be called upon to pay law costs. If the State actually pays the expenses of one party to the franchise battle, it ought not to penalise the other party by order to pay law costs. An important item in the Bill of Costs which the proceeds of the sale at Holmwood are to meet, is the Attorney-General's fee. Considering that at the time of the conspiracy trial he drew from the public funds no less than £2,258 as his fee for appearing in the Titanic inquiry, we consider that he could well have afforded—and obviously it would have been in better taste—to refrain from picking the pocket of a political opponent.

The W.S.P.U. versus the Official Labour Party.

A favourite device of anti-militants is to complain that the moment chosen by the militants for putting into operation some particular development of their policy is inopportune. Thus the W.S.P.U. is being asked why, since it attacks the official Labour Party now, it did not attack that Party at the beginning of the Session? The answer is, that for a long time the W.S.P.U. gave the Labour members the benefit of the doubt and hoped that they would of their own accord become the champions of Votes for Women.

"Constitutional" Suffragists Under a Misapprehension.

For "constitutional" Suffragists to sanction the Labour Party's support of an anti-Suffragist Government is, as we said last week, a deliberate encouragement of masculine selfishness. When these ladies say, as they do, that for the Labour members to oppose the Government would be a breach of faith with their constituents they betray a complete misapprehension of the facts of the case. The Labour members were not elected on the Liberal programme. They were elected on the Labour programme, in which Votes for Women takes a much more prominent place than do Welsh Disestablishment and Home Rule.

Mr. Brailsford on a "Dishonourable Alliance."

Mr. Brailsford, in a letter to the "Daily Citizen," states that the Nationalist Party will, in voting on the amendment to the Reform Bill, obey the Prime Minister and the other Anti-Suffragists in the Cabinet, unless the Labour Party is prepared to threaten, and if necessary to make some grave danger for them. "On the one hand," says Mr. Brailsford, "Mr. Redmond has to face perfectly definite threats of resignation conveyed to him by Ministers. The Labour Party cannot meet this by saying gently, 'We shall be very angry, we shall think it a dirty trick, but of course we shall go on voting with the Coalition.'"

Do It To-day.

People of experience in such matters say that this paper, THE SUFFRAGETTE, has a great future before it. There is certainly matter in women's struggle for the vote to make a paper of absorbing interest to the public. The newspapers, and one great newspaper in particular, are making great use of the Balkan War as a means of appealing to their readers. Yet how can the story of a war, fought so far away between peoples comparatively little known to the general public, be as thrilling as the story of the women's war against the British Government?

There are many outlookers who hold aloof from the struggle for the vote because they do not quite understand what it is all about. THE SUFFRAGETTE will explain that matter, too, for the paper makes its appeal to the unconverted as well as to the converted. For example, there will be articles for the husbands and fathers who want to be enlightened as to why their wives and daughters are not satisfied with the present condition of affairs. There will be articles that can be sent to our readers' anti-suffrage relations, if they have any.

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but the W.S.P.U. believes that Suffragists are not only entitled but in duty bound to indicate the strategy whose adoption will satisfy them. After all, this question of supporting or opposing the Government is not one of great complexity. It is as easy as distinguishing between A and B. The only difficulty involved is to induce a political party to renounce a dishonourable alliance and to be true to its principles.

What the "Daily Herald" Says.

The "Daily Herald," the first of the Labour morning papers, endorses our view, and says: Is it any wonder that we have the amazing situation of women militantly opposing the Labour Party? Is it any wonder that Mr. Lansbury, who believes that the honour of the Labour Party is pledged in this matter, strenuously resists the efforts being made to coerce him, under the whip of "Party Loyalty," into supporting a capitalist Government which refuses to give citizen rights to women? The Liberals will gladly give votes to women if that is the price to be paid for keeping in office. Then why don't the Labour men, who say they will leave no stone unturned to get votes for women, put the pistol to the head of the Government? Their answer is, that they won't. Well, then, there is no further use for argument. The women are perfectly justified in opposing the Labour Party, because they have been downright dishonest in this matter.

The White Slave Bill.

In their anxiety to abate the Suffrage agitation the Government have made an abject surrender in connection with the White Slave Bill. In committee they urged and procured the deactivating of the measure, but they soon became aware that what they had done was highly unpopular and calculated to strengthen the revolutionary Women's Movement. When the Bill came back to the House of Commons last week they therefore urged its restoration to its original form. We have here another of the by-products of the Suffrage agitation. The Women's Local Government Act was yet another of these. In

the eighties the Women's Suffrage Movement was very strong, and its by-products in those days were the "Married Women's Property Act" and the "Guardianship of Infants Act," giving mothers increased rights of guardianship over their children. If the present Government think that to remove a few long-standing abuses will enable them to parry the demand for Votes for Women they will find themselves greatly mistaken. The White Slave Bill is at best an imperfect measure. Those who are offenders under the measure can be flogged, but the maximum term of imprisonment which can be imposed is inadequate, and long imprisonment is a better deterrent measure than flogging. Moreover, the whole effect of the Bill depends upon the mode of its administration and, as Sir Edward Carson recently said in attacking the Home Rule Bill, it is through administration even more than through legislation that injustice can be done to those who are politically defenceless.

Anti-Suffragists' Crude Sex Prejudice.

The recent Anti-Suffrage meeting at Glasgow derived its sole importance from the message sent by the Prime Minister, who is indefatigable in his opposition to Votes for Women. This message was, of course, another blow directed at the women's amendments to the Manhood Suffrage Bill and against the amendment to the Home Rule Bill. It was another invitation to his supporters in the House of Commons not to "embarrass" him by passing Woman Suffrage. Lord Curzon's speech at Glasgow is as good an argument in favour of women's enfranchisement as we have ever seen, because, whether intentionally or not, the speaker betrayed the crude sex prejudice which underlies the opposition to this reform. For example, he said that if women could use the vote to extort increased wages that would be, in his opinion, the strongest reason against their enfranchisement. He knew nothing, he said, of what the anomalies and injustices are under which women are said to suffer. It is such ignorance upon the part of Lord Curzon and other men which makes it imperative that women shall have the vote as a protection. Lord Curzon's ignorance is further illustrated by what he said concerning the number of women candidates at the municipal elections. We can tell him that the scarcity of women candidates is due, first, to the reluctance of the political parties to nominate women candidates; secondly, to the legal restriction upon the candidature of married women; and, thirdly, to the fact that the most active and public-spirited women are absorbed in the struggle for the more important right to elect the House of Commons. When he says that the interests of the State must override the interests of women, what Lord Curzon really means is that the interests of men must override the interests of women.

Political and Mental Stability.

Forgetting that the male electors have little share in deciding such questions (which are dealt with behind their backs by politicians and diplomats), Lord Curzon protested against giving women a vote in deciding the issue of peace and war. In a supreme crisis of their national fortunes, would his hearers, he asked, like their destinies to be decided by persons of the political and mental stability of certain Suffragists whom he named? A strange question to ask at a time when the Admiralty is in the charge of a person of the "political and mental stability" of Mr. Winston Churchill! Some women think that even Lord Curzon's political and mental stability leaves something to be desired. How would the enfranchisement of women be regarded in India? Lord Curzon wants to know. The answer is, that to those who accepted the rule of "The Great White Queen" and have known the sway of native women rulers the enfranchisement of women in Great Britain will seem a perfectly natural thing. The allusion to the war in the Balkan Peninsula was an unfortunate one from the Anti-Suffrage point of view, because in that war, apart from actually fighting—as some of them have done—women have played an absolutely indispensable part, and but for their activities the number of men available for the fighting lines would not be nearly so large. Recent militant protests Lord Curzon describes as "puerile." Other people have been known to denounce them as being much too extreme and dangerous in their character. It is apparently impossible to please everybody.

What Might Have Happened.

We have received one or two letters urging that protests such as those made by Miss Helen Craggs at Nuneham, and by Mrs. Leigh, Miss Evans, and Mrs. Baines at Dublin, must endanger human life. This very same argument used to be raised in the days when great demonstrations in Parliament-square were organised by the W.S.P.U. When the Union

issued a bill calling upon the public to rush the House of Commons, there were many resignations on the part of members who feared that the immense crowd would be seized by panic and that thousands would be trampled to death. And in truth, the danger to human life created by the Parliament-square protests was really greater and more probable than any that has arisen in connection with protests made since that time. Even at the great peaceful demonstration in Hyde Park in 1908, when three-quarters of a million people were packed together, a tragedy might easily have occurred, especially in view of the presence in the crowd of a rowdy and irresponsible element. The promoters of that meeting were thankful indeed when it was safely over. We suggest that those who are alarmed by recent demonstrations of militancy should at once address urgent representations to the men who, being members of the Government, are responsible for the maintenance of law and order and for the safety of the public. Let them remove women's discontent and it will cease to be a peril! The Government have not hesitated to endanger human life by feeding women by force instead of giving them the vote. One Cabinet Minister, in the person of Mr. Lloyd George, has given no proof that he forbade or discouraged the violence which as everyone knew his followers intended to do to Suffragists at Llanystudny. Certainly the life of Miss Gladys Evans is being endangered!

Contrasts in Militancy.

The people who are shocked by some of the recent acts of militancy persistently refuse to explain why, while disapproving of these acts, they thrill with enthusiasm and admiration for the militant action which is being taken by the Balkan States. It is not there a question of "what might have happened" and "lives that might have been lost." It is a question of 40,000 soldiers killed and wounded in a single battle. It is a question of exposing women and children to outrage, mutilation, and slaughter at the hands of the enemy. As the result of all this militancy the Turk is crying out for help. The Turk is the Aquilid of Europe. No sympathy is extended to him, just as there is no denunciation of the militancy which has brought him to his present desperate extremity. "The Times," we believe, expresses the opinion of these people who are the very first to attack and denounce the women fighting against fearful odds for liberty at home when it says:

We are certainly expressing the practically unanimous feeling of the people of Great Britain. No land will we believe, be raised to check such readjustments as have been so gallantly and unexpectedly won at the point of the sword. By their tremendous sacrifices, by their valiant deed, by all the deeds of heroism which have received such unstinted admiration, the Allies have earned the right of a foremost voice in deciding their own future. We challenge the critics of Mrs. Leigh, Miss Evans, Mrs. Baines, and Miss Helen Craggs to explain why they support the war waged by the Balkan peoples while they condemn the infinitely less violent acts of these four women.

THE WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC BILL.

The much-discussed clause in the White Slave Traffic Bill respecting the power of the police to make arrests, which had been amended in Committee, has been restored to its original value, the amendment to restore it being carried without a division. Our readers may remember that in Committee the Bill was so amended that no constable below the rank of sergeant should be empowered to arrest procurers, so that so amended the Bill would have been utterly null.

The flogging clause in the Bill for a second conviction of this awful offence was carried by a large majority. An amendment to give the court power to order flogging on a first conviction was proposed and carried by a majority of four votes only.

WAR AGAINST POVERTY.

Poverty is, in my opinion, the real national enemy against whom our defences should be raised. At present we are arming against shadows, for so long as a large part of our people is ground down under the iron heel of destitution it matters little whether the supreme Government be in London or elsewhere. The resources that should be used in this war against want are at present trifled away on Dreadnoughts—or dreadmores. The wealth of a nation is the wealth of its poorest class. While we are under the dominance of poverty we are an oppressed and subject race. The time is long overdue for a rebellion against this ignominious slavery. No empire can be called great in which little children are crying for food. It is because women may be better able to realise the true *venue* of modern warfare that they should be armed with the vote. Then womanfully they will be able to play their part in it.

(Mrs.) EDITH AYRTON ZANGWILL.

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**THE DEBATE ON MR. SNOWDEN'S AMENDMENT TO THE HOME RULE BILL.**

Government of Ireland Bill, 1912. Clause 9.—(1) The Irish House of Commons shall consist of one hundred and sixty-four members, returned by the constituencies in Ireland named in the first part of the first schedule to this Act in accordance with that schedule, and elected by the same electors and in the same manner as members returned by constituencies in Ireland to serve in the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

Mr. Snowden. Clause 9, page 6, lines 30 and 31, leave out "said electors and," insert "the local government electors but otherwise."

**Mr. Philip Snowden's Amendment.**

For Amendment:—30 Liberals, 27 Labour, 5 Nationalists, 79 Unionists.  
Against:—175 Liberals, 5 Labour, 71 Nationalists, 65 Unionists.  
Liberals, 40  
Labour, 6  
Nationalists, 135 Unionists.  
Total for Amendment ..... 141  
Total against ..... 214  
Majority against ..... 173

Of Suffragists who voted against the Bill there were 35 Liberals, 4 Conservatives, and 5 Labour.

Conspicuous among the features of the debate was the absence of arguments for or against Woman Suffrage. The debate chiefly revolved around the point whether the granting of the vote to Irish women was one for the Imperial Parliament to decide or whether it should be left to the Irish Parliament. The representatives of the Government and its allies, Mr. Birrell, Mr. John Redmond, and Mr. William Redmond, made strong appeals to Suffragists in the House not to consider their vote as being for or against Woman Suffrage. This was a question which the Imperial Parliament would come before the House later in the Session under the Franchise Bill. Suffragists were urged not to complicate and endanger Home Rule by voting for the Amendment. Mr. Birrell, in the early part of the debate, announced that the Government could not accept the Amendment, and the Government Whips were turned out against the Bill.

Mr. SNOWDEN (Labour, Blackburn), who introduced the Amendment, stated that he did not intend to bring forward the arguments usually used in favour of Woman Suffrage at all, but that his intention was to show that a subordinate Parliament should be created for the purpose of the exercise of women's activities. The Lord Chancellor also gave expression to this opinion.

"Therefore," said Mr. Snowden, "we have the express support of three members in the present Government for my amendment. Mr. Snowden addressed the House by arguing that the Home Rule Bill should be a democratic bill, and if his Amendment was not incorporated then it was not truly a Home Rule Bill.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. Birrell): Mr. Birrell first asserted that there was a large body of opinion in Ireland in favour of the principle of Woman Suffrage. He appealed to the House to consider that on this occasion they were voting on the Woman Suffrage question. In a few weeks' time, when the Franchise Bill would be before the House, there would be an opportunity for deciding whether women should vote in the whole of the United Kingdom, including Ireland. This was his reason for thinking that the Government would do well to resist the Amendment. He concluded by saying definitely that the Government would not accept the Amendment.

Mr. MAISON (Liberal, Coventry): Mr. Dawson replied to the speech of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, arguing that as they were an Imperial Parliament it lay with them to decide what form of constitution they should delegate to Ireland. He appealed to the Irish Party for a free vote on the question and to

the anti-Suffragists in the House that they should vote for the Amendment, as the Irish Parliament was a local Parliament. He concluded with a solemn warning that if military contingent Suffragists would come to the real root cause of it and would say, "For Heaven's sake why not grant it?"

Mr. W. REDMOND (Nationalist member for Clare) declared himself to be against the amendment on the ground that it was a question which should be left to the Irish people to decide. He argued that in self-governing portions of the Empire the question had been left to local Parliaments to decide. While declaring himself a Suffragist, he stated that this should not be considered to be a vote on Woman Suffrage and that the real opportunity for voting on that question would come on the Franchise Bill. In reply to a question as to whether any pressure would be put on the Irish members on the occasion of the Franchise Bill, Mr. Redmond replied that so far as he knew there had never been any pressure put upon Irish members in this matter. He proceeded to state that when the Franchise Bill came before the House the Irish members would probably follow the example of the Australian Parliaments and confer the franchise on women. He declared that a number of votes would be given for the Amendment by members actuated solely by a desire to complicate and retard the passage of the Home Rule Bill.

Mr. RONALD McNEILL (Unionist, St. Augustine's) declared his intention of voting for the Bill, and pointed out that proportional representation had been adopted in the Irish Senate. This was an experiment already untried, and therefore unless the House was going to give effect entirely against the idea of enfranchising women it ought to be prepared to make an experiment with Woman Suffrage in the subordinate Parliament of Ireland. Mr. McNeill pointed out that it was added as an objection to giving the franchise in Ireland that there had been no money demand, while it was objected in this country because there had been a noisy demand.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND (Nationalist, Waterford) declared that this was not a decision on Woman Suffrage at all, but that that question would be dealt with when the Franchise Bill came up for discussion. He declared that he had no hesitation in saying that there would be a free vote on the merits of the general question by the members of the Irish Party, but that Lord Robert Cecil on this matter he replied that the members of the Irish Party would be as free to vote for the amendments as would the members of the Liberal Party. He appealed to his friends in the House who were in favour of the Bill not to allow themselves to be made tools of those who were not friends of Woman Suffrage at all, but who thought they saw in this amendment an opportunity for striking a blow at the Government.

Mr. WALTER LONG (Unionist, Strand) declared himself anti-Suffragist and stated his intention to vote against the amendment, because a vote for the Irish Parliament would not, as described by Mr. Snowden, be similar to a municipal vote, it was intended by Donogh W. Lawrence, who has just been elected to vote for the extension of the Franchise to women under the Franchise Bill, he would not vote for the Amendment, as he did not believe in common consent concerning them at least as much as they concern the male electors, and for the handling of which they are by equal general consent perfectly well qualified. Ireland decided not to resist the Franchise Bill, and she would start on her way with a finer prospect and more generous hopes than her representative had the courage and the heart to trust their women no less than their men, and we think that the Government are called upon to make it a party question for their followers to place this stigma upon Irishmen and at the same time to strike an indirect blow against the whole Suffrage cause. It is indeed no direct violation of Mr. Asquith's promise of official neutrality, because that related only to the electorate of the Imperial Parliament, and it would be another example of unfriendliness uncalled for in the circumstances. Perhaps they are afraid that even anti-Suffragists in the House might vote for the inclusion of women in the Irish electorate, and so undoubtedly they ought to believe in their own oft-repeated assertion that they are eager to enlist the services of women in all that concerns local government. But Irishwomen no more than Englishwomen will consent to be permanently excluded from a share in the government of their own land, and if they do not to-day they will soon be knocking at the door.

Mr. RAMSAY MACDONALD, in opening his speech, stated that in what he said he was speaking for himself and himself only. He argued that the question to be decided upon was whether from henceforth every Constitution given by this Parliament was or was not to contain a provision for Woman Suffrage. This was a question which ought to be decided on its merits, and they should, if necessary, that afternoon establish a new precedent in the matter. He referred to the question of public health, housing, family and factory legislation as questions which would be dealt with by the Government, and which would be decided from the beginning the experience of women.

In condemning militancy, as having done grave injury to the cause of Woman Suffrage, he added that it was difficult to explain to the members of the House the reasons why the vote was not given to them, except in such a way as to suggest that they were dishonest representatives who were not willing to carry out their duties. It is not a new thing to have general and most unfortunate results would happen. He was bound to say that in voting as he was going to vote, he was largely taking the responsibility on himself. He stated that Mr. CHAPLIN (Unionist, Wembleton) stated that he was going to vote against the Amendment because he believed the right to vote would carry with it the right to be voted for.

Mr. WILLIAM GILLESPIE concluded the debate by a speech, a large part of which was given to a strong appeal to all who were Home Rulers and inclined to support the Amendment to support the Amendment. He stated that a measure which had secured the unanimous support of the Liberal Party, for the sake of which the United Kingdom, he proceeded to say that while disapproving of militancy the House of

Commons did not give him and others who felt like him much assistance in controlling the women. He appealed to the House of Commons not to say that they were in favour of Woman Suffrage in principle, but in practice they must vote against it.

Mr. MUNRO-FERGUSON (Liberal, Leith, Borough) though an Anti-Suffragist, said he would vote for the Amendment, as the Irish Parliament would be a domestic Legislature.

Mr. LANSBURY, after dwelling on the importance of giving women the vote for a Parliament which was to decide with industrial questions, made a strong protest against members who, though Suffragists, intended to vote against the Amendment. He said: "The one thing that the women outside who really believed in this cause, and who are fighting for it, are always saying is there is not one of us in this House can see how it is possible for the four hundred members who pledged themselves at the last election to vote for Woman Suffrage should not vote for it to-night. It is only Party expediency and the exigencies of the Government. The women outside do not believe that any of us believe the statements we make when we are up for election. He appealed to Suffragists to vote against the Amendment, and to the Liberal Party for the sake of principle. He concluded with a warning to the Irish members that if the cause of Woman Suffrage was going to be wrecked by the Amendment, it would be a real or only a good conscience. He himself, believing as he did in Woman Suffrage as likely to be good all round, had no choice as to which lobby he would vote in.

Mr. BALFOUR made an appeal to the Anti-Suffragists in the House to give the lobby for the Amendment, as the Irish Parliament would not have to deal with questions of the navy, the foreign policy, and the Imperial Government. Members who believed that women should not have a say in the affairs he had mentioned might still go into the lobby for the Amendment with a good conscience. He himself, believing as he did in Woman Suffrage as likely to be good all round, had no choice as to which lobby he would vote in.

THE PRIME MINISTER maintained that there were no objections to Woman Suffrage in general, which would not be interpreted as a large and not a limited sense, and for ourselves we are not without hope that this is their true significance. Mr. Redmond's position may well be, as he declared last night, that Ireland might be a subordinate Government, and his followers is that they shall not first settle it for us, and settle it in the wrong way.

THE PRIME MINISTER did not meet this objection, but reiterated his conviction that we should not insist on a condition in the grant of self-government to Ireland which had applied nowhere else in the length and breadth of the British Empire. He was unable to prophesy what would happen when the question of Woman Suffrage as a whole came up for decision before the Session was over. He pointed out that even if Woman Suffrage were established for the United Kingdom it would still be in the power of the Irish Parliament after three years to alter the Suffrage—to take it away from women if that were in accordance with their opinion.

Lord ROBERT CEIL, here interjected that this would be the case also if the Amendment were passed.

THE PRIME MINISTER did not meet this objection, but reiterated his conviction that we should not insist on a condition in the grant of self-government to Ireland which had applied nowhere else in the British Empire.

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**LEGAL DEFENCE FUND**

Already acknowledged	£ s. d.
Mrs. Yealton	208 16 8
Mrs. Dorobea Moss	0 2 0
	0 6 6
Total	209 5 2

Hon. Treasurer, Miss Goodfille, 62, High-street, Hampstead, N.W.

**"THE NOTTINGHAM GUARDIAN."**

It is expected that the Government will seek to evade the issue raised by Mr. Philip Snowden will raise at the beginning of next week on the Home Rule Bill, by pleading that it is a matter which ought to be left for the Irish Parliament itself to settle. This, it is stated, will be the attitude of Mr. John Redmond himself, and if this correctly foreshadows the Nationalist leader's policy, it follows as an inevitable corollary that the Government will adopt a similar line. It can be easily understood that Mr. Redmond is not at all anxious to have the red horning of women's suffrage dragged across the Home Rule trail. The subject will be dangerous enough for the Government when the promised Franchise Bill comes before Parliament, and in the meantime the Nationalist leaders have no intention of allowing it to jeopardise the progress of the Irish Bill.

MR. McKENNA SILENCED!

Mr. Reginald McKenna presided at a lecture on "Race Regeneration" at the Town Hall, Holborn, on Monday last.

Wondering very much whether Mr. McKenna would turn up, the first thing I remember when I reached Holborn Town Hall was hearing my name called out and the Mayor of Holborn coming forward to shake hands with me.

"Mr. McKenna," said I, "may I speak to you for a few minutes?" "Certainly," said he. "It is about Votes for Women."

"You know that I am against Votes for Women," retorted Mr. McKenna. "Yes, but what is your reason?" "First of all, the majority of women don't want it, but if they did I should be prepared to put aside my own prejudice and vote for the measure."

Further Accounts.

Mr. McKenna's attempt at chairmanship at the meeting on "Race Regeneration," promoted by the National Council of Public Morals, was not a success.

Mr. McKenna attempted to say that his task "was a very simple one, which was—" Votes for Women" finished a lady in the audience. He went on to try to say that he wanted the help of women, and immediately got the answer, "You will never get the help of women till they are enfranchised!"

The Home Secretary's retreat was effected in a very ungraceful manner. He slid along a side gangway and, on reaching the door, made a bolt which for all the world reminded one of a rabbit scurrying into its burrow.

Before the meeting on public morals there was a reception given. To one who has had the great pleasure of knowing Mrs. Leigh and Miss Craggs it seemed too absurd to think of Mr. McKenna being an honoured guest at such a gathering.

"The pages throbb with their author's irrefragable convictions, her vivid knowledge and experience of the world, her fervid enthusiasm. There is always the story, the brilliant scenery, the practised writing, the vigour and aplomb to delight."—THE TIMES.

Will have no peace now in all the country until women have received their just rights. "I hope I am enough of a soldier not to run away on account of them."

When he rose to attempt a few final words he found it quite impossible to make himself heard. His quivering smile in response to the remark, "Christabel Pankhurst can deal with hecklers," soon vanished. It gave me much pleasure to say forcibly, and, I think, fairly audibly, "You are a coward and a bully to torture women. You do not deserve to be called an Englishman."

I noticed a strained and anxious look on the face of Mr. McKenna when he took his place in the chair at the lecture by Mr. J. A. Spender on "The Influence of the Press on Public Morals."

When the seconder of the vote of thanks to our now silent chairman spoke of his services to women, a man at the back said "Rats," and when he urged that the Home Secretary had remarked that the liberty of our poorer sisters is what he was going to stand for, I thought it excusable when the same gentleman at the back said, "Humbly!"

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MR. SYDNEY BUXTON AT POPLAR.

It was not possible to obtain an invitation ticket to the prize-giving of the London County Council School for Girls and Boys at the Poplar Town Hall on the evening of October 31, but my conscience warned me that I should not sleep peacefully in my bed that night if I missed my opportunity of reminding a member of the Cabinet of the women's demand.

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our just demand." It is not often that one gets the opportunity of giving a Cabinet Minister so much useful information, but the audience and officials were taken by surprise, and had to collect their breath and their wits. Then about six men in uniform arrived at the same moment, but they were wearing white cotton gloves in honour of the occasion, and in consequence it took them longer than they expected to unfasten my hands from the chair in front of me.

John Harries Westbourne Grove W. IMPORTANT SALE OF READY-TO-WEAR COSTUMES THIS WEEK at Exceptional Discounts, viz.: 50% to 60% Off Season's Prices. For ten days only. Detailed Catalogue sent on request.

The Two Great Novels of the Year By Two Great Women ADNAM'S ORCHARD By SARAH GRAND 6s. BETWEEN TWO THIEVES By RICHARD DEHAN 2nd Imp. 6s.

RICHARD STRAUSS' NEW OPERA, "ARIADNE IN NAXOS."

By ETHEL SMYTH, Mus. Doc.

By the time the fourth number of THE SUFFRAGETTE is out everyone will know that "Ariadne in Naxos" is not pure opera like "Salome" and "Electra," but an experiment concerning the unsatisfactoriness of which, as far as I could gather last night—I have not yet seen the papers—opinion is unanimous. The thing is half comedy, half opera; it is as if the Play-scene in "Hamlet" were cut off from the rest of the work and expanded, the group of Royal and courtly personages being brought in, as it were, merely to form an audience to the murder of the stage king.

The general idea of this section is, I think, delightful. To Ariadne, forsaken and heartbroken, enters the troop of the old Italian "Comedy of Masks," of which the harlequinades of our youths is the unworthy descendant, including harlequin, pantaloon, and more particularly Lerbinetta, priestess of Infidelity, a cheerful maiden who, taking the faithfulness of man in good part, pays him back in his own coin and deprecates bitterness on either side.

The opera proper swept me away in parts; the music seems to me warmer and deeper than nine-tenths of the music Strauss generally writes, and none the less as diabolically clever as usual. The arrival of Bacchus is overwhelming; the wealth of musical resource reminds one of a man diving into sacks of money and throwing the contents into the air; sometimes copper, sometimes gold, but the store is inexhaustible, and this wealth seems to me, together with the unequalled will power displayed, the chief characteristic of Strauss.

"impossibility" of the libretto as compared to the taut brilliance, whether you like them or not, of "Salome" and "Electra." Myself I think that what will happen will be that the Molière half will be quietly dropped, and the opera, with a few cuts, stand by itself, which in these days, when half an act of Phèdre satisfies the public appetite, will be quite feasible. The world is familiar with the juxtaposition of ideal and terrestrial love, and would catch on at once; Don Quixote and his Sancho, the master and servant in "The Magic Flute," occur to all. In "Ariadne" the simultaneous appearance of heroes and the old pantomime figures is in obedience to a whim of the parvenu entertainer who, fearing to bore his smart guests by unrelieved tragedy, insisted that the harlequinade and the opera should be served up together; but in his dread of long tragic entertainments, Monsieur Jourdain, creature of the sixteenth century, fills our music halls to-day, and everyone present last night, though one does not know if the newspapers will swing them round, would, I am certain, have preferred the opera shown of the extremely boring comedy to which it is by way of being a mere appendage.

Professor Reinhardt arranged the scenery, lighting and costumes, and it was all most hideous, crude and vulgar: Jourdain's ballroom, like the gigantic waiting-room of the German railway station; the scenery on the desert island like nothing ever seen except perhaps the mound and the blasted tree at Olympia in "The Miracle," which was the creation of the same hand, and which all London thought ridiculous and frightful till persuaded by the "Daily Mail"—(Ah! Reinhardt is up to date in his methods)—that it was poetical and suggestive.

When the curtain finally fell it was to rise again a countless number of times. Some Americans behind me turned their backs, at this stage, to the scene, and commented on the exact amount of applause indulged in by the King and Queen, who, with other high personages, occupied the Royal box. "She'll clap now." "Not till the King hasn't moved yet, and he won't." Nor did he; and I think the Americans admired him for this excess of dignity, and regretted that the Queen gently tapped the back of one hand with two fingers of the other, or was it a fan? I said to myself that, as usual, the one to show signs of life under circumstances in which apparently insensibility is the correct note, was the woman.

To-night the performance is to be repeated, and unable to resist hearing this music again—for only professional critics know all about a novelty at first hearing—I indeed before hearing it at all—I shall skip the comedy part. And I rather suspect that most people who were present yesterday will do the same. Stuttgart, October 26.

"John of Jingalo."

When contemporary England has forgotten the iniquities of the present Government, and when the fierce light that beats upon a Parliament overshadowing the grievances and injustices which it deliberately maintains, has faded, "John of Jingalo" will remain as potent a political satire as ever issued from the pen of satirist or cynic. It is said that a cynic is a sentimentalist who has been hurt. Laurence Housman is an idealist whose ideals have been outraged. It is the idealists who are the practical men of the world, and "John of Jingalo" is an arrow bent from the bow of a keen-sighted political archer. It is not for nothing that Mr. Housman has seen the depths of the underworld, gauged the cruelty of the economics that permit of a sweated humanity, witnessed the grappings of moral rights with the swamping forces of a superior power rooted in indifference. Not for nothing has his sympathetic mind grasped the "pains and penalties" of the down-trodden. The world knows him as a censored dramatist, champion in the tournament for a queen's character. It knows him as a fearless fighter in the women's cause, and it will know him henceforward as a "John of Jingalo." Laurence Housman. Chapman & Hall, G.

satirist who chastises with scorpions where others have chastised with whips.

John of Jingalo, King of an imaginary country, is a monarch whose natural human sentiments have been almost suffocated out of existence by the yards of red tape that surround a throne. He had been trained to be a marionette, a gaily puppet that responded to the wires pulled by the Prime Minister and a despotic Cabinet. Gazing out of his window one day, he sees a steeplejack commissioned to rig the weathercock on the Houses of Parliament, fall from the pyramid and disappear into the abyss. Affected by the circumstance, he desires to compensate the widow, but is brought forcibly up against the red tape by the announcement that the workman was a blackleg, and that the royal donation would therefore be taken as a hit at the Trades Unions.

This is the keynote on which Mr. Housman bases his story of the rebellion of the human being and monarch to the powers behind the Throne. It is this despotism of the powers that shackle the King, that Mr. Housman lays bare in all its rigidity, its perverse and underhand methods. The Car of the Juggernaut tramples under its wheels any movement that threatens to undermine its potency. The Cabinet must stay in office at any cost.

Every member of a Cabinet has to think of saving for himself some £5,000 a year, together with an enormous amount of departmental power and patronage. The life and death struggles of a Ministry are bound therefore to be more desperate, more unscrupulous and more peculiarly corrupt than those of any other branch of legislature. And of course when we put all the leading strings into fingers so lathered with gold, political corruption is the necessary and inevitable result, and such incidental things as mere justice must wait.

So grievous wrongs are glossed over, discontent and sedition concealed, and documents shorn of their truth and couched in the vaguest terms and presented for the Royal signature. Before the monarch can appreciate the inner significance of the rebellion of the "Women Chartists," the King's daughter must join the movement and be taken to prison as "Ann Juggins," the King himself, mixing incognito in the rabble collected to hunt the women petitioners at the gates of Parliament, must be arrested by his own constables. Little comment is needed on the following excerpt:

Some went their way wide-eyed with terror in their looks, yet still set to their end; some with rigid faces and eyes shut fast, as though scarcely conscious—their souls elsewhere, submitting passively to the buffeting of fate; and a few—strangest sight of all—smiling to themselves, almost with a look of peace, as though in the very violence by which they were assailed they discerned a triumph for their cause.

And with all the pushing, screwing and wrenching, the driving forward and the hurling back, scarcely one woman's arm was raised, except now and again to protect her breast from the lewd or wanton assaults of the crowd. Some held, tight-clasped in their hands, crumpled bits of paper—the petition, presumably, over which all this trouble arose—stained, torn, almost illegible now, useless, yet still a symbol of fight that was being waged.

The picture is not highly coloured. But this is an imaginary story of an imaginary country.

The book closes on no note of optimism. Brain fever supervenes on the turmoil, and "the divinity that doth hedge a King" closes once more round John of Jingalo, to the increasing complacency of a Ministry that does not intend a monarch to be more than a figure-head.

When time has focussed the history of the present, "John of Jingalo" will be read with as absorbing interest as "Diana of the Crossways," and it will be remembered that Mr. Housman was a sane and wholesome-minded observer, and that he has tried by satire as well as by the weight of his personality, to expose the rottenness of the systems that prop the pillars of the State.

"John of Jingalo" is a book for a King. Will it penetrate to the palace? We wonder! A. M.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- "Woman and To-morrow." By W. L. George. (London: Jenkins, Ltd., 2s. 6d. net.) "Marie Antoinette, Her Early Youth." By Lady Younghusband. (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 15s. net.) "John and Irene." By W. H. Beveridge. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 4s. 6d. net.) "The Charm of London." By Alfred H. Hyatt. (London: Chatto and Windus, 5s. net.) "Story of Cambridge Baptists." By Bernard Nutter, M.A. (London: Hoffer and Sons, Ltd., 2s. 6d. net.) "Handbook on Woman Suffrage." Published by the Men's League, 136, St. Stephen's House, 6d. net.

A Social and Political Club

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Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement.

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On FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 8th, 1912, at 8 p.m. Doors open at 7.50

Mr. F. PETHICK LAWRENCE

and Mr. CHARLES GRAY,

Who will address the Meeting.

Other speakers: Mrs. LAMARTINE YATES, Mr. HENRY D. HARBEN, Mr. REGINALD POTT, Chairman, Mr. F. B. DUVAL, Vice-Chairman.

Admission Free. Reserved and Numbered Seats, 25. Tickets can be obtained from the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement, 25, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C., Kensington W.P.U. Shop and Office, 143, Church Street, Kensington, and at the door.

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Women's Tax Resistance League. A RECEPTION

WILL BE GIVEN AT CAXTON HALL, WESTMINSTER, ON MONDAY, NOV. 11th, at 8 p.m., to Dr. ELIZABETH and Mr. MARK WILKS.

Mr. GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P. DR. ELIZABETH WILKS. MR. MARK WILKS. MRS. DESPARD. MR. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

Chair: Mr. R. CHOLMELEY, Head Master Owens' School, Islington. Tickets (price 2s. each, including refreshments) may be obtained from all Suffrage Societies, and at the Offices of the Women's Tax Resistance League, 10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane.

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THE SUFFRAGETTE.

LINCOLN'S INN HOUSE, KINGSWAY.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 8th, 1912.

The Home Rule Fraud.

Mr. Philip Snowden's Amendment, which would have made the Home Rule Bill a genuine measure, applying to Ireland as a whole, instead of to a privileged class, consisting of men only, has been defeated by a majority of 175 votes. The measure becomes, therefore, avowedly a fraud. It is based upon no principle of justice, but upon the political necessity of giving to a male aristocracy further power in addition to that which they already possess.

The defeat of Mr. Snowden's Amendment seals the doom of the unofficial Women's Amendments to the Manhood Suffrage Bill. No member of the Coalition who puts party before principle will vote for including women's enfranchisement in that Bill, if he thinks that his vote will cause such an Amendment to be carried. As we know from the division upon Mr. Snowden's Amendment, the great majority of the Coalition put party first and principle second; and therefore they will make up their mind not to force upon the Prime Minister the responsibility of carrying a measure to which he so strongly expressed his hostility in the course of the recent debate.

When the Prime Minister said that Votes for Irish Women is a question which ought to be left to the new Irish Parliament to decide, this meant that no Woman Suffrage Amendment must be added to the Manhood Suffrage Bill. Because, if such an Amendment were to be added, Irish women would as a consequence be given the right to vote for the Irish Parliament, and that Parliament would therefore be precluded from settling the question for itself. This is the fact which dominates the situation and it is no good for peace-at-any-price Suffragists to try to escape from a recognition of that fact, unpalatable as it doubtless is to them.

The speeches of the Redmond brothers were in themselves enough to show that, so far as the Nationalist Party is concerned, no votes for women for the Irish Parliament means no votes for women for the Imperial Parliament.

The second comment which is to be made is as follows: The debate and division on the Snowden Amendment vying the final proof that the Labour Party, by simply voting in Committee for Woman Suffrage Amendments, cannot prevail against the opposition of the Nationalist Party, and the Liberal Suffragist deserters, who, at the instigation of the Prime Minister, will vote against the enfranchisement of women.

It is as well that the issue has been made clear. Hitherto Mr. MacDonald and the Labour Party have talked of the "great fight" that they will make in Committee upon unofficial Amendments. Now we know in what that great fight consists. It consists in recording twenty-seven votes in the division lobby! We have said it before, and we say it again: there is one way, and one way alone, in which the Labour Party can serve the cause of Votes for Women.

accepted from him. His word has by experience been proved to be more than worthless.

Mr. Redmond and his Party are out to wreck women's enfranchisement. The W.S.P.U. was perhaps the first society to become aware of this. Now all the world knows it. It is shocking hypocrisy on Mr. Redmond's part to speak, as he did, of Suffragist methods as being a determining cause of the Anti-Suffrage policy of the Nationalist Party.

Mr. Redmond's "assurances," uttered in the House of Commons on Tuesday, as to leaving his followers a free hand were, on the face of them, unconvincing enough, but apart from the practical experience which Suffragists have already had of his tactics we have Mr. Balfour's telling us that Nationalist members are saying in the smoking-rooms and lobbies of the House of Commons that they are faced by threats of resignation by Cabinet Ministers if Woman Suffrage is passed by the House of Commons; and that they as Nationalist members, in order to prevent the break up of the Government and to save the Home Rule Bill, intend to prevent it from passing and from becoming a source of "embarrassment" to the Ministry.

What of the Labour members? Twenty-seven of them voted in favour of Mr. Snowden's Amendment. Five of them voted against it. Nine of them were absent, for reasons of which at the time of writing we are unaware.

There are two comments to be made upon the action of the Labour Party where this Amendment is concerned. In the first place, it must be remembered that they gave their vote for the Amendment and against the Government, with the full knowledge that the Unionist Party would not give a solid anti-Government vote, as it would have done on a great many other Amendments to the Home Rule Bill.

Simon of Montfort, the great Earl, who stood like a giant oak for the freedom of England, and died fighting at Evesham for the good cause, was counted a rebel and his body was mangled savagely by his enemies. To him it seemed that fair death was better than foul life; yet there were many in that thirteenth century who thought otherwise, and deemed it easier to live quietly under the base government of Henry III., or even to bear arms for Henry, than dare rebellion.

When the American Colonists declared in 1776 that taxation and representation went together and that the English Parliament, in which they had no part, had no right to burden them with taxes, Pitt maintained that "this kingdom had no right to levy a tax on the colonies without their consent," and Edmund Burke stood by the Colonists in their resistance. For seven years the Americans fought before their freedom was acknowledged by the English Government, and so reasonable a man as Doctor Johnson could only find that they were rebels, utterly undeserving of sympathy or support.

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How often in the early part of the nineteenth century were English workmen arrested, tried, and condemned to long terms of imprisonment simply for daring to combine in trade unions in self-defence against the oppression of their masters. Cotton spinners and weavers, coal miners and printers, shoemakers and bricklayers, have all suffered the penalty of the law for the cause of trade unionism. And whenever men were prosecuted to conviction for having combined to regulate their

Continued on page 50.

THE INTOLERABLE TYRANNY THAT PROVOKES REBELLION.

By JOSEPH CLAYTON.

It is always an intolerable tyranny, fettering the healthy activities of soul and body, that provokes rebellion.

Yet so averse are we all in civilised communities from violence, from resistance to constituted authority, and from conflict with our neighbours, and so prone are we to put up with bad usage (being commonly too tired or too indolent to move in the matter) that even when tyranny has driven people to rebel there are always found great numbers of men and women who are angry not with the tyrant, but with the rebel, and without sympathy or understanding, these join in the chorus of denunciation against the law breakers.

(We distinguish, of course, between riot and rebellion; riot being generally an unpremeditated business, resulting from loss of self-control akin to the burst of fury of children; and rebellion a serious affair, slow in finding vent, everlastingly associated with self-sacrifice, and inspired by the keen, unquenchable desire in mankind for greater opportunity of action and the removal of irksome restraints.)

The rebellion may be personal or impersonal, and the rebellion may be aggressive or passive; but time after time throughout the ages the conflict is provoked, the rebels often enough hated by contemporaries, and their life work only seen and honoured when the battle is well over.

Religion over and over again has sanctioned rebellion, discriminating between the rebel for conscience sake against an odious tyranny and the rebel fired with pride seeking personal advantage.

Joan of Arc, condemned and burnt at the stake by the rulers of this world, is declared a saint and acclaimed an immortal heroine 450 years after her death.

Sir Thomas More is executed as a traitor for denying the supremacy of the King; and he also is found to be a martyr and a glorious example for Englishmen in the fulness of years. So "the whirligig of time brings in its revenges."

Simon of Montfort, the great Earl, who stood like a giant oak for the freedom of England, and died fighting at Evesham for the good cause, was counted a rebel and his body was mangled savagely by his enemies. To him it seemed that fair death was better than foul life; yet there were many in that thirteenth century who thought otherwise, and deemed it easier to live quietly under the base government of Henry III., or even to bear arms for Henry, than dare rebellion.

Surely here is an intolerable tyranny that obviously provokes rebellion; a tyranny that men would resist even at the cost of life were they beneath it. And this tyranny endures because a Liberal Prime Minister is allowed to set up his personal opinion against the will of the majority in the House of Commons! The obstinate folly of George III. is displayed in all its fulness by Mr. Asquith.

Must we wait for the years to pass before we condemn the tyranny and do honour to the rebels? Now is the time for men with understanding and for men of good-will to declare that this tyranny must cease and that this stupidly obstinate Prime Minister must yield or go.

Men of understanding can, at least, make it plain that rebellion is provoked by Mr. Asquith's wretched folly, and that loving liberty themselves they are on the side of all women seeking political liberty.

The sensualist and the servile, the dull of soul and slow of brain, may stand by Mr. Asquith, as in all ages such have stood grinning for the favour of tyrants, but the plain, average man would have justice done, and now is the hour for him to join in the battle for Votes for Women.

Contributions towards our £250,000 fund flow steadily in day by day and week by week as may be seen by a study of the subscription list. From all parts of the country they come, and from all over the world. A friend in Dorset writes, enclosing £50: "I most heartily wish God-speed to the W.S.P.U." Another, writing from far-distant California, sends £5, saying: "I should like to be more helpful. A long illness has, however, narrowed my point of view lately. I wish you all success in your new premises." From India arrives a cheque in a letter speaking strong words of denunciation of the brutalities in Wales.

wages or the hours of working, however heavy the sentence passed on them was, and however rigorously it was inflicted, not the slightest feeling of compassion was manifested by anybody for the unfortunate sufferers." (Francis Place.)

In 1834, under the Whig Government, six labourers in Dorchester set up a "Friendly Society of Agricultural Labourers." They were Methodists and simple-minded men, but their act was flat rebellion to the ruling classes of the day and they were sentenced to seven years' transportation for their offence. Lord Melbourne, the Liberal Prime Minister, announced that in his opinion "the law had in this case been most properly applied," and its victims were hurried off to Botany Bay—not to be allowed to return till four years had passed.

And, then, in this very year, 1912, a monument is put up to these Dorchester labourers and trade unionists sit in the Cabinet and hold high office at the Board of Trade.

"But turn to the pages of 'The Times' to learn what a 'public opinion' thought of workmen who tried to better their condition eight years ago.

All along it is the want of understanding, the inability to feel the injustice that falls on others, or to discern that a tyranny rightly becomes intolerable, and the refusal to help remove the tyranny that drive people to rebellion.

So now there are thousands of men who cannot, or will not, see that to live under a Government which refuses the plain liberty of political enfranchisement is intolerable to multitudes of women.

Here are women taxed, compelled to pay to the salaries of Members of Parliament, and ordered to obey all manner of laws affecting their every-day life; denied opportunities of earning their living in professions open to men; handicapped by gross underpayment and by exclusion from educational privileges given to men; tried by men when they break laws made by men; judged and sentenced by men; and imprisoned in goals governed by men—and still refused the right of any choice in the election of Parliamentary representatives, and stubbornly and savagely held by a Liberal Government to be unfit for citizenship!

Surely here is an intolerable tyranny that obviously provokes rebellion; a tyranny that men would resist even at the cost of life were they beneath it. And this tyranny endures because a Liberal Prime Minister is allowed to set up his personal opinion against the will of the majority in the House of Commons! The obstinate folly of George III. is displayed in all its fulness by Mr. Asquith.

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As I write comes a telegram telling that Miss Gladys Evans has again been arrested! The feeling of horror and deep indignation aroused by this act of brutal tyranny should lead many to send money to swell the Legal Defence Fund, particulars of which are to be found in another part of the paper. We need all the help possible in order to overthrow our enemies and to bring our struggle for emancipation to a triumphant issue.

EMMELINE PANKHURST.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £250,000 FUND

OCTOBER 18 to OCTOBER 22.

Table listing contributions to the £250,000 fund, including names and amounts. Columns include 'Already acknowledged', 'Hendon and Golders', and 'Total £136,577 10 6'.

To the Editor of THE SUFFRAGETTE. Dear Editor.—So far my visit to Canada can only be described as a triumph for militancy. Everywhere I have spoken I have been publicly thanked for explaining the situation in England, and so clearing away the misunderstanding which exists in this country owing to the garbled accounts which have been sent to the Press. So far from being unwelcome, the general demand is that more English Suffragettes should be sent over to help to awaken the women of Canada to the necessity of making their demand for votes for women this session a sufficiently emphatic one. At a very successful public meeting held in the Guildhall, with Dr. Margaret Gordon in the chair, a resolution was carried unanimously demanding that the Dominion vote should be given to women this session. Questions were asked which showed the desire of the audience to really get at the inner meaning of the militant action, and after the meeting was over the women were unwilling to leave without expressing their personal sympathy with our actions. The meeting at Trinity College was a crowded one, but the procedure was rather remarkable! Before I had spoken a vote was taken on "the merits of the case," i.e. "Votes For Women." Only six young men stood up to vote for it. But after the explanation had been given to them I knew the voting would have been very different. I asked the president why they adopted this topsy-turvy method, and what the young men voted on. "They voted on principle," he said. But we know they voted on prejudice. On Saturday I spoke at the Progress Thought Club, and a keen discussion followed. Here once again much gratification was expressed that they had had what the speaker described as an "eye opener" as regards the attitude of the Government towards the women. At a drawing-room meeting where several women engaged in a most interesting and intelligent discussion, they all agreed that their ideas on militancy had been entirely wrong.

On Monday, October 20, a large meeting was held at the house of Mrs. Campbell. A resolution was carried unanimously demanding votes for women this session. Several women said they were convinced that Canadian women will not hesitate to be as militant as English women should their demand not be granted. Out of this meeting arose another one, for a lady present said she could not rest until she began to work for the woman's movement, and I am to speak at her house at an evening meeting, when more men will be able to be present. The "Equal Suffrage Society" of Toronto, has written asking me to speak for them at their opening meeting. The Ottawa Society has fixed a meeting on October 30, and I hope to speak in London and Hamilton before then. I forgot to say the collection taken at the Guildhall meeting is the largest they have ever taken, and since everywhere the heartiest of welcomes is extended to me as representing the militant women of England, everything seems to point to the same thing, namely, that women will make their demand practical politics, and get the vote this session—and they need it. This is a new country, but the old evils are rampant here as elsewhere. Slums, sweating, and prostitution, the White Slave Traffic and the drink problem, all are here, and women must come out now and deal with them.

Last Saturday I attended a demonstration held in honour of General Sir Isaac Brock's centenary. Speeches were made blowing the national trumpet, very loudly, liberty, justice, and the glory of the Empire were taken from their shelves and aired for the occasion, and one listened and wondered if these traditions had really fallen into the mire and yellow leaf and were but dry bones. Then an Indian, one of the "Six Nations," made a speech, he was one of the tribes who were cheated out of their rights when the treaty of peace was drawn up. He suddenly rose and breathed the breath of life into these dry bones by demanding human rights and liberties for himself and his tribe. A wave of real feeling swept over the crowd as he spoke, and he spoke like a Suffragette, and his speech was the only one discussed or remembered as their dispersed. "That Indian spoke well," they said, "and he shall have my vote." One writer has even dared to clothe this brutally selfish idea in very beautiful language: "There has arisen in society a figure which is certainly the most wonderful, and in some respects the most awful, upon which the eye of the moralist can dwell. "That unhappy being, whose very name is a shame to speak, who counterfeits with a cold heart the transports of affection and submits herself as the perpetual symbol of the degradation and sinfulness of man."

WOMEN IN WAR.

The boys and girls of the Balkan States are trained on equal terms, and they are rapidly qualifying for entire equality in the professions which have been so long monopolised by men. But not only the civil but the warrior professions are also enriched by the energy and spiritual courage of women. Balkan women take a keen and evergrowing interest in national affairs and politics, and the most advanced women's societies are steadily working for woman suffrage in the States. Meanwhile they are steadily developing socially, intellectually, and practically. They have also the courage to face the national enemy on the field of battle. A volunteer student of Belgrade named Michael Shepovich has cause to be proud of the bravery of the woman he is to marry at Uskub with a ring made from a Turkish gun. Sophia Lohitza Jovanovich, a beautiful girl of twenty-two, a Belgrade typist, obtained permission to don a uniform, had her hair cut short, and joined her lover at Berdri. Sophie was one of the bravest in the skirmishes with the Albanians and has been named Queen of the Army.

THE BURGLIED HOMESTEAD.

It was less of a Government sale than a Government "sell" that was attained by the latest effort of that extraordinary combination of entities known as the "Government" to recoup its wounded self-esteem where the W.S.P.U. is concerned by attacking the personal property of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence at Holmwood, Surrey. Many hundreds of people, among whom were considerable numbers of various Suffrage Societies (especially was that of the W.S.P.U. represented), filed the garden, the house, and every available piece of standing room to listen to the speeches made by Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence in explanation of their own action in refusing to pay the costs of the Treasury prosecution in respect of the conspiracy charge brought against the leaders of the W.S.P.U. in May last. The principal beneficiary under the extraordinary claim of the Government is, I believe, Sir Rufus Isaacs, but I think that high-minded member of the Cabinet will not have received what he doubtless considers is his adequate share from the proceeds of the "sell" yesterday, for although the whole of the lots were disposed of there were no articles of fancy value or any bidders of fancy prices. Yet all was sold and bought. Perhaps—who can tell the straightforward, many speech of Mr. Pethick Lawrence, the explanation that the protest the women reformers had made was made in the interests of girls and children whose lives and youth were subject to the vile dangers of the White Slave Traffic, perhaps the calm yet impassioned speech of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, declaring that liberty and human life were the sacred possessions of life—perhaps the repeated cheers for them both sent up by the Suffragists present, took the dash out of the projected sale, and perhaps the unflinching patience and courtesy of the victims of Government jobbery struck a sympathetic response in the minds and manners of the interested and puzzled country neighbours—who shall say? One thing is certain, the pamphlet which is the latest published by Mr. Pethick Lawrence called "The Man's Share," was sold with wonderful swiftness, and almost invariably as one penny was paid another was offered for "that one, too," "Votes For Women." At the conclusion of the speeches photographs were taken of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, surrounded by the "lots" the Government had had the effrontery to steal, but, somehow, as one walked round and about the burgled homestead, one could not but feel that the Government had not increased its prestige by such petty meanness. "He's a barrister, isn't he?" I was asked by one of the good-natured men in the crowd. Yes, and he was fourth wrangler, and gained his Fellowship of Trinity College, Cambridge, by an article on economics and has sacrificed his own career to help the cause of women. "And what a splendid speaker she is," was the next remark from another. "I should have thought you know that before to-day, though"—but, then, after all, it was only another instance of a prophet being without honour in his own country. Yet the stupidity of a pawnbroking Government has its moral and its lesson for the village when it "burgles" the home of such people as Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. The police were entirely ornamental.

THE WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC BILL.

Mrs. Nellie Best writes to point out that the White Slave Bill does not restrain those primarily responsible for the evil, namely, the men whose demand the White Slavers set themselves to supply. She says: "Though the most respectable, conventional, unobnoxious man or woman won't publicly admit the fact, just let any reader privately ask those types why they do not enthusiastically work for the overthrow of sexual vice, and nine times out of ten they will reply, "It sounds all right, but if it were not for the Magdalen you good women would not be safe!" One writer has even dared to clothe this brutally selfish idea in very beautiful language: "There has arisen in society a figure which is certainly the most wonderful, and in some respects the most awful, upon which the eye of the moralist can dwell. "That unhappy being, whose very name is a shame to speak, who counterfeits with a cold heart the transports of affection and submits herself as the perpetual symbol of the degradation and sinfulness of man."

Herself the supreme type of vice, she is ultimately the most efficient guardian of virtue. Beside for her the unchallenged purity of countless happy homes would be polluted, and not a few, who in the pride of their untempted chastity think of her with an indignant shudder, would probably have known the agony and remorse of despair. "On that one degraded and ignoble form are concentrated the passions that might have filled the world with shame. She remains, whilst creeds and civilisations rise and fall, the eternal Priestess of Humanity blasted for the sins of the many." Assuming, then, for the moment, that the present Bill will do little or nothing to decrease the volume of vice, or give women the name and address of the "male necessaries."

These male rons are renowned for their selection of the purest and most innocent women when they do elect to marry. Their wives learn when too late that not only have their bodies become polluted, but also those of their little children.



The last word in Afternoon Gowns and Walking Frocks

finds expression in the two charming Styles illustrated below; these are typical examples of the many smart shapes we are showing in high-grade ready to wear Costumes, all of which are equally splendid value.



The "Nina" and The "Olive" gowns.

Orders by Post receive Immediate Attention. PETER ROBINSON'S OXFORD STREET, LONDON



The "Nina" Gown is here depicted in purple cheviot serge, neatly ornamented with self buttons and satin buttonholes, and finished at neck with skunk collar and satin roses. Bodice lined satin mervellieux. Price 98/6. Also available in other useful shades and pastel colourings.

The "Olive" Gown is here depicted in dark green velvet, with a high collar and long sleeves. Price 89/6. Also in other colours and black, same price.

GREAT DEMONSTRATION, SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 10.

On Sunday next, November 10, the great event of the East End campaign will take place. This is, of course, the procession of many societies and the demonstration in Victoria Park.

The procession will form up at 2.0 p.m. in the Old Ford-road, where it joins Bow-road, close to Bow Church and close also to our Votes for Women shop at 198, Bow-road. Those who come from the West End to join the procession will probably find it best to come by the District Railway to Bow-road and then either take a halfpenny tram or walk to Bow Church. Those who find Broad-street and Fenchurch-street Stations convenient can take the train to Bow Station, which is opposite Bow-road Station.

At 2.30 the procession will start and march via Bow-road, Mile End-road, and Grove-road (a distance of a mile and a half) to Victoria Park, where the meeting will be held at 3.30 p.m. Amongst the societies co-operating in the demonstration are the New Constitutional Society, the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement, the Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage, the Bow and Bromley and Poplar L.R.C. and B.S.P., and other Labour organisations.

We want to make a very special appeal to all readers of THE SUFFRAGETTE to come down to the East End during the few remaining days before the demonstration and help to make this East End demonstration the biggest thing of its kind that we have ever done.

We shall be having innumerable meetings, poster parades and chalking parties. Also there is a great deal of work to be done in connection with the flags and banners. The various societies will, of course, carry their own banners in the procession and, in addition to these, as at Hyde Park, there will be the grouping of twelve banners and caps of liberty at each of the platforms in the Park. The rigging up of these caps and banners takes, as we learn by experience last July, a very great deal of time. So for Thursday, Friday and Saturday next we need a very large army of volunteers.

On the Sunday we shall need 180 standard bearers for the platforms as well as the banner bearers in the procession, and the stewards, marshals, and literature sellers.

Will all who can help with the special arrangements for the procession please communicate with Mrs. Drummond at Lincoln's Inn House, or with Mrs. Bartlett at 198, Bow-road. Of course, workers and speakers to advertise the demonstration are wanted in each of the East End districts, but the bulk of the week's work must be done by the Bow and Bromley and Poplar L.R.C. and B.S.P. (Mr. Lansbury's constituency).—Workers urgently wanted to help with the preparation of banners and for speaking, poster parading, chalking, etc., to advertise the procession and demonstration in Victoria Park. Organisers: Mrs. Bartlett and Miss Jenkins. Shop, 198, Bow-road, E.

BETHNAL GREEN (Mr. Masterman's constituency).—Speakers and workers urgently wanted to advertise the demonstration. Also canvassers for the Women's Local Government electors' petition, and the deputations to Mr. Masterman. Organiser: Miss E. N. Dalglish. Shop, 34, Green-street, Bethnal Green. This shop will be open for another week. Helpers will be welcome. LIMEHOUSE.—Address, 570, Commercial-road, E. Chelsea workers, come to make the procession a success! Give your names in at the Chelsea shop. POPLAR (Mr. Buxton's constituency).—Paddington members, come to make the demonstration a success! Address, 174, East India Dock-road.

West End members, please remember that the success of this demonstration depends on your coming to walk in the procession, and this demonstration will have an important bearing on the future political work which our union will have to do in the East End.

FLORA DRUMMOND. E. SYLVIA PANKHURST. The procession will form up at Old Ford-road (Bow-road end) on Sunday next, November 10, at 2 p.m., and start at 2.30 p.m., proceeding with bands and banners

via Bow-road, Mile End-road and Grove-road to Victoria Park, where a great demonstration in support of the inclusion of women in the Reform Bill will be held at 3.30 p.m. There will be fifteen platforms and over sixty speakers, including many representatives of the Labour organisations, viz.: Mr. Percy Young, Mr. J. Clayton, Mr. Balstone, Mr. Westcott. The chairman at the different platforms will include: 1, Miss Sharp; 2, Miss Slieve McGowan; 3, Mrs. Mansell-Moullin; 4, Mr. Mark Wilks; 5, Mrs. Cameron Swan; 6, Mr. Kerbahl; 7, Miss Lennox; 8, Mrs. Ayrton Gould; 9, Mr. U. Duval; 10, Miss Mayo; 11, Miss S. Pankhurst; 12, the Hon. E. Haverfield; 13, Miss Glidewell; 14, Enquiry; 15, Mr. Banks.

- The following is the order in which procession will march: Group Marshal: Miss A. Hicks. Banner Marshal: Mrs. Aylton Gould. SECTION A. Colour-Bearer. Two Bands. Silk Banner. Chelsea and Limehouse. Bow and Bromley. SECTION B. Two Bands. Croydon. Ealing. Fulham. Greenwich. Hampstead. Hendon. SECTION C. Two Bands. North Political Union. Men's Federation. Labour Representation Committee. British Socialist Party. SECTION D. Two Bands. N.W. London. Paddington. Poplar. Streatham. Hertford, Bull Plain. Hitchin, Market Place. Leicestershire, Market Place. Bristol, Victoria Rooms. Cardiff, opposite Wyndham's Hotel. Hastings, Lower Public Hall. Preston, Broadgate. Nottingham, Friends Adult School. Bexhill, W.S.P.U. Shop. Harrogate, Spa Concert Rooms. Leeds, 3, Cookridge-street. Preston, Horrocks's Mill. Whitechapel, Council School. Birmingham, Queen's College. Cardiff, 27, Charles-street. Cardiff, corner of Clifton and Elm-street. Newcastle, Town Hall. Northampton, 32, East Park-parade. Northampton, Whyte Melville Hall. Preston, Electric Works. Preston, Market Flags. Shrewsbury, Sycamore House. Tunbridge Wells, Five Ways. Wallington, Dinham, Hillside-gardens. Aulston, Top of Old Lancaster-lane. Cardiff, Kingsway, Cathays. Eastbourne, 28a, Grove-road. Edinburgh, 27, Frederick-street. Halifax, Cafe Royal. Preston, Assembly Rooms. Reading, Palmer Hall. Southend, Cottage Tea Rooms. Hicke, M.A. Cardiff, opposite Wyndham's Hotel. Dundee, 14, New Inn Entry.

Programme of the Week.

Table with columns for Day, Location, and Time. Includes sections for LONDON (Friday, Saturday, Sunday), COUNTRY (Friday, Saturday, Sunday), and WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 13.

Table with columns for Day, Location, and Time. Includes sections for THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 14, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 15, and SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 16.

Table with columns for Day, Location, and Time. Includes sections for MONDAY, NOVEMBER 11, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 12, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 13, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 14, and FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 15.

The Labour Party and Woman Suffrage.

Mr. Wilkie, Labour member for Dundee, interviewed in the House of Commons by a deputation of Dundee W.S.P.U. members, stated that he was pledged to Adult Suffrage.

Mr. J. C. Hanecock, Labour member for Mid-Derbyshire, in an interview stated that he was prepared to support Woman Suffrage amendments provided they did not endanger the safety of the Franchise Bill.

Resolutions.

We have received information that the following organisations have passed Mr. Lansbury's resolution: National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks (London Women's Section), the Barchard branch of the Independent Labour Party, the Acton branch of the Independent Labour Party.

What the Working Men Think.

A Trade Unionist writes: When all has been said that it is possible to say in order to present in as favourable a light as possible the recent letters emanating from Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, leader of the official Labour Party, in extenuation of the position taken up by himself and that party in regard to the cause of Women's Suffrage, we are confronted by one significant question—the question of supreme weight for the working man, and upon his answer to this he must, in reason, base his future conduct in facing the situation.

Is the enfranchisement of women a democratic cause? Who will deny it to be so? Has it not the very pith of democracy in its composition? To one in daily, constant association with the workers—labouring at their side, one of themselves, taking part in their discussions and their confidences—there is forced home this conclusion: Although Mr. MacDonald may have been the mouth-piece for that portion of the Labour Party located at Westminster, he certainly did not express the views held by a majority of thinking working men in the country.

The tone of his letters published in the "Daily Citizen" gives rise to a feeling of regret; it was scarcely as dignified as one might expect. Again, the letters were not of a convincing nature even where they did not flagrantly avoid the point at issue, which is not how should W.S.P.U. be governed? As workers, this is no concern of ours, and when we are brought down to employing this as a support to our case, who shall marvel if we are described as being poverty-stricken for argument?

So we can profitably lay this aside. We have no business with the inner workings of the W.S.P.U.; as working men we are called upon to address ourselves to obtaining further power in Parliament through the addition to the register of more male voters and the granting of the franchise to woman on terms of equality with man. As democrats, this way lies our duty.

Again, Mr. G. N. Barnes writes, in a letter to the "Daily Citizen" on Wednesday of last week, of the W.S.P.U. being justified "if we (the Labour Party) had been elected on women's votes as the dominant issue." Both these gentlemen are shying the real question. I suggest that the dominant issue upon which the Labour representatives were elected was as follows: The advancement of democracy in any shape. Surely the gaining of justice for women of all classes is sufficiently democratic for any man! The working women for whom Messrs. MacDonald and Barnes claim to want the vote will obtain it just as soon as the representatives of Labour at Westminster do their duty and utilise the power in their hands of either forcing this Government to enfranchise women or driving them out of office.

The "Labour Leader" of November 1, writes: Last week a deputation, consisting of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Mr. Philip Snowden, and Mr. G. Lansbury, waited on the Irish leader, and were much encouraged by the sympathetic reception accorded them.

The Home Rule Fraud—Continued from page 52.

Women. The Labour members' forty-one votes, if put into the scale against the Government, count eighty-two on a division.

Mr. J. C. Hanecock, Labour member for Mid-Derbyshire, in an interview stated that he was prepared to support Woman Suffrage amendments provided they did not endanger the safety of the Franchise Bill.

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What will women do in this crisis when they see more clearly revealed than ever the political pit that has been dugged by the Government and the Government's allies? On the very night of the debate, some women gave an eloquent answer to that question, and by a defiant deed announced their intention to fight for the citizen right of which the politicians are trying to cheat them.

They were as firm as that same moment gathered together. What action had they to announce in view of the final destruction of every hope of winning success by peaceful, patient methods? None whatever. Their only policy seems to be to continue to give trust where trust has already been betrayed.

How strange it is that there still survives some women entirely devoid of the militant spirit! Women ready to live without freedom for ever rather than fight for it! No insult and no betrayal, the non-militants have assured us, will rouse them to commit any breach of law or order.

They could not if they would, and they would not if they could, depart from courses of the most perfect propriety. Well, the militants are made of different stuff.

They will not cry "Peace, peace!" where there is no peace. They are incapable of patience when, as now, patience has become a crime.

Other women may, if they will, as lambs to the political slaughter. The militants prefer to play a different part. They believe that it is well within the power of militant Suffragettes to create for the Government difficulties so great that they will be thankful to escape from them by giving women the vote.

OFFICIALS KEPT BUSY.

According to the "Daily Chronicle," High Sheriffs for England and Wales, except the counties of Lancaster and Cornwall, will be nominated next Tuesday, "the morrow of St. Martin," in the Lord Chief Justice's Court, with the circuit judges in attendance.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer will preside, and the Lord President of the Council (Viscount Morley of Blackburn) will attend. Officials of the Law Courts will take every precaution to prevent interruptions by Suffragettes.

A correspondent sends us the following: Mr. Churchill was chief guest at the Cutlers' Feast on Wednesday, October 30, and great precautions were taken. Regiments of police were at the station, formed up in line, to prevent the Suffragettes getting near him at the principal exit, but, in spite of the number of police, he was taken out by a luggage lift over a seldom-used bridge and escorted out through a side exit.

Mr. Churchill was in a dilemma. It is pledged to the suffrage platform in any and every form; but above and beyond all else it will not vote, as a party, against the Radical Government. To send a condition in this so-called Independent section reduced. It has resolved, therefore, to allow its members to go as they please, especially as the Government is understood to have resolved to nominate its own Whisky to tell against the amendment.

"Morning Post." The Labour Party is in a dilemma. It is pledged to the suffrage platform in any and every form; but above and beyond all else it will not vote, as a party, against the Radical Government. To send a condition in this so-called Independent section reduced. It has resolved, therefore, to allow its members to go as they please, especially as the Government is understood to have resolved to nominate its own Whisky to tell against the amendment.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Christmas Sale.

We are glad to be able to announce that Mrs. Pankhurst will open the house-warming Christmas Presents Sale at Lincoln's Inn House on Thursday, December 5, at 3 p.m.

In order to do this Mrs. Pankhurst will be obliged to travel from Liverpool by night as she is speaking there on December 4, and we know that all members will show their appreciation of this sacrifice of her rest by being at the sale, whatever happens, to give her greeting. It will be open every day after December 5, from 11 to 6.

The first point to be remembered is that this is a Christmas Presents Sale, and that only the kind of present you yourself would wish to give is likely to find purchasers.

The second point is that whilst duly considering the quality and character of the contributions sent there must be no mistake about the great need for quantity as well, if the sale is to fulfil its initial purpose of replenishing the war chest and helping the funds. So we make confident appeal to the splendid members of our splendid Union who have never yet failed to realise and accept any opportunity given them of sharing the heavy burden which must inevitably rest upon the treasurer of a great organisation.

We must see that our sale is a huge success. This can only be achieved if we, one and all, give liberally towards the stalls, by others to make their purchases from them, and publish the existence of the sale far and wide. The following suggestions may help: Presents suitable for men (whom we must not forget), ties, also home-made sweets, jams, marmalade, new-laid eggs, cakes, dolls, lengths for servants' dresses, aprons, authors' signed copies of book, and all kinds of needlework, are only a few of the things that occur to one's mind.

This will again be in the able hands of Mrs. East, 31, Brandenburg-road, Chiswick, who will be grateful for gifts ranging from one penny to a shilling.

Hon. secs., Miss Fergus, Miss Goodfille, and Miss Vibert, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway.

Lucky Tub.

Eighty yards from the marquee was a horse trough, and men were preparing to duck Mr. Taylor in this, but somebody had time to think better of it.

Had Mr. Taylor desired to disturb the meeting, declared counsel, he would have waited until Mr. Lloyd George made a telling point, but all he did was to object to Mr. Lloyd George being described as the greatest living democrat when he was withholding representation from taxpayers.

Reference was then made to Mr. Justice Amory's decision at the Leeds Assizes, March, 1911, in the case of Hawkins v. the Bradford League of Women's Suffragettes, in which employers were held responsible for the conduct of their stewards authorised to suppress disturbances.

Mr. J. A. Bartlett, who was present at the meeting, said there were several interruptions, and they looked like a riot. Two other witnesses, said that he told the stewards to be Englishmen. He was told to "shut his mouth" or he would be served in the same manner.

Mr. Bratton stated he did not see any violence used. It was to the plaintiff's interest to get out as quickly as possible, and he was assisted out.

His Honour Mr. Justice Avery said that counsel had raised some very material questions of law, and that in view of their importance he could not give a ruling off-hand, and therefore reserved his decision.

The Tory anti-Suffragists, as at present advised, refuse to take advantage of this situation (on the Snowden amendment), and it is even stated that there is understanding on the subject amongst anti-Suffragist leaders in all quarters of the House. When it is remembered that the Opposition did not hesitate to vote for single-chamber Government in Ireland, with a view to embarrassing the Bill, it will be seen that the suggested caution on women's suffrage and proportional representation has a significance. These are regarded as living issues, not to be played with, whatever happens to Home Rule and Ulster.

The Labour Party is in a dilemma. It is pledged to the suffrage platform in any and every form; but above and beyond all else it will not vote, as a party, against the Radical Government. To send a condition in this so-called Independent section reduced. It has resolved, therefore, to allow its members to go as they please, especially as the Government is understood to have resolved to nominate its own Whisky to tell against the amendment.

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AN ACTION FOR DAMAGES. NATIONAL UNION MEETING AT THE ALBERT HALL.

A case of interest to Suffragists was heard at Bow County Court on Friday last, when Mr. Thomas S. Taylor of Newark-street, Leicester, a captain in the Army Service Corps (Territorial), brought an action for damages for assault against Mr. Bristol, Liberal agent, Mr. J. H. Redman, ward secretary, and Mr. C. H. Pollard, all of Walthamstow, and Mr. J. Shepherd of Woodford, members of a committee which had the direction of a small army of stewards at the meeting. Mr. Taylor alleged that on June 29 he attended a meeting at Woodford Green at which Mr. Lloyd George spoke, and that the defendants, by their servants or agents, assaulted him at The Harle, Woodford Green, by violently ejecting him from a marquee and attempting to duck him in a horse trough. The plaintiff lost his silk hat and gold spectacles, which were broken, and his silk umbrella, and he received injury. He claimed £3 10s. 6d. for the articles destroyed and £50 as special damages.

Mr. Arthur Powell, K.C., and Mr. Profumo appeared for the plaintiff; and the defendants were represented by Mr. H. A. McCaig and Mr. Field. In the course of the evidence it transpired that Mr. Taylor was a person of strong convictions, one of which was that all persons who paid taxes should have the power to elect those who made those taxes. Having never previously heard Mr. Lloyd George, he obtained a ticket and duly attended the meeting.

At the opening of the meeting Sir John Simon, the chairman, described Mr. Lloyd George as the great democratic champion of the time. This Mr. Taylor objected to, because he was disgusted with the way in which women were treated at the meeting. They were pressed behind a barrier and kept waiting a long time while their tickets were scrutinised. After Mr. Lloyd George had risen to speak and address the chairman, all he said was, "For he's a jolly good fellow," Mr. Taylor arose from his seat with the object of leaving the meeting.

As he passed down the gangway he began to address the chairman. All he said was, "Mr. Chairman, I protest against Mr. Lloyd George being described as the greatest living democrat when he was withholding representation from taxpayers."

Reference was then made to Mr. Justice Amory's decision at the Leeds Assizes, March, 1911, in the case of Hawkins v. the Bradford League of Women's Suffragettes, in which employers were held responsible for the conduct of their stewards authorised to suppress disturbances.

Mr. J. A. Bartlett, who was present at the meeting, said there were several interruptions, and they looked like a riot. Two other witnesses, said that he told the stewards to be Englishmen. He was told to "shut his mouth" or he would be served in the same manner.

Mr. Bratton stated he did not see any violence used. It was to the plaintiff's interest to get out as quickly as possible, and he was assisted out.

His Honour Mr. Justice Avery said that counsel had raised some very material questions of law, and that in view of their importance he could not give a ruling off-hand, and therefore reserved his decision.

The Tory anti-Suffragists, as at present advised, refuse to take advantage of this situation (on the Snowden amendment), and it is even stated that there is understanding on the subject amongst anti-Suffragist leaders in all quarters of the House. When it is remembered that the Opposition did not hesitate to vote for single-chamber Government in Ireland, with a view to embarrassing the Bill, it will be seen that the suggested caution on women's suffrage and proportional representation has a significance. These are regarded as living issues, not to be played with, whatever happens to Home Rule and Ulster.

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Campaign Throughout the Country.

A demonstration took place on Tuesday evening at the Albert Hall, under the auspices of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, to demand the inclusion of women in the Reform Bill. Mrs. Henry Fawcett presided, the other speakers being Lord Robert Cecil, Miss Margaret Robertson, Miss M. Royden, and Mr. W. C. Anderson.

The platform was crowded with notabilities, and Sir Edward Grey and Lord Haldane were among the many who sent messages of entire sympathy with the objects of the meeting. Mrs. FAWCETT, who was very warmly received, said that they were standing on the eve of the most momentous struggle in the history of the movement, but they entered upon it full of courage and of hope. They were armed with the sword of the spirit and with the sword of the flesh also—a perfectly lawful and constitutional weapon, the policy of supporting at contested elections the best friends of Woman Suffrage—the Labour Party. They would carry on this policy if need be for years.

Lord ROBERT CECIL, who had come directly from the debate on Mr. Snowden's amendment to the Home Rule Bill, characterized the cause for women's suffrage in his direction in which their votes were cast as "inexpressibly contemptible." In spite of apparent defeat he had never felt more hopeful for the cause of the suffragist. He looked upon Woman Suffrage as the most important of political reforms, believing that it would form a bulwark against two great dangers of the age—corruption and irreligion. He believed in the direction in which they were cast as "inexpressibly contemptible."

Mr. W. C. ANDERSON said he believed in Woman Suffrage from the standpoint of human right, and that it was wrong that women should have to submit to laws and be punished for breaking them when she had no voice in the making of those laws. He noticed the fulfilment of the Suffrage cause. He believed in the direction in which they were cast as "inexpressibly contemptible."

On Friday last a very successful drawing-room meeting was held by the kind hospitality of Mrs. Cumbers, at Teakewbury, Oakland-road, and Mrs. Isabel Green was in the chair. Mrs. Cumbers, who is a member of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, presided, and she was ably assisted by Mrs. Isabel Green. The meeting was very successful, and a number of new members were secured. It was held in the drawing-room of the house, which was very comfortable. The ladies who were present were Mrs. Cumbers, Mrs. Isabel Green, Mrs. Cumbers, and Mrs. Isabel Green.

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DO NOT FORGET THE CHRISTMAS PRESENTS SALE

which will be opened by

Mrs. PANKHURST on December 5th, at 3 p.m., at LINCOLN'S INN HOUSE, KINGSWAY.

Save your money and come and buy your Christmas Gifts. Books, Provisions, Needlework, Toys, Sweets. Lucky Tubbs full of Surprises.

Classified Advertisements.

Single Insertion 1d. per word, minimum 1s. (Four insertions for the price of three.)

All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, The Advertisement Manager, 'The Suffragette,' Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

LOST PROPERTY.

MISS KERR is in charge of this department, and all articles found at meetings should be sent to her immediately. Found at Albert Hall meeting, silver and paste bracelet. To members kindly notify Miss Kerr of change of address.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

GIVEN at the Albert Hall to be sold for the Funds:- Gold and Diamond Bracelet ... £ s. d. 25 0 0 Turquoise and Diamond Brooch ... 12 10 0 Single Stone Diamond Ring ... 3 3 0 Gold Curb Bracelet (15 ct.) ... 2 10 0 Ox-eyed Silver Chain and Pendant (artistic design) ... 0 12 6 Gold Pin, set pearls ... 0 12 6 Gold brooch ... 1 1 0 Gold and Mossie Brooch ... 0 10 6 Pair Silver Maltese Bracelets, each ... 0 7 6 Apply to Mrs. Sanders, W.S.P.U., Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway.

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ABSOLUTE Privacy, Quietude, and Refinement, no extras. At the Strand Imperial Hotel opposite Gaiety Theatre, ladies will find the freshest, cleanest, cosiest quarters; sumptuous bedroom, with h. and c. water, fire, etc.; breakfast, bath, attendance, and high s from 5s. 6d.; on pension, 9s.; finest English provisions; terrace, garden, lounge. - Managers, 752 Gerrard.

ALBEMARLE COURT HOTEL, 35, 36 & 37 CLEVELAND SQUARE, LANCASTER GATE, W. Re-opening with the following attractions:- Handsome new Lounge, Smoking and Drawing Rooms, large airy Bedrooms, with telephone, multiplicity of baths, continuous hot water service, exceptional cuisine; visitors can have use of private sitting room for receptions, etc.; pension from 50s.; a trial will ensure permanent patronage; under direct management of Mrs. Horne. - Phone Mayfair 3708.

BOARD-RESIDENCE, superior, from 30s. Close Baker Street Underground and Tube. Bed and breakfast, 3s. 6d. per day. Telephone 4339. Paddington.-Mrs. Oampbell, 5 and 7, York Street, Portman Square, W.

BRIGHTON.-A COMFORTABLE HOME at moderate terms; ordinary or reform diet.-Miss Turner, W.S.P.U., Sea View, Victoria road, Brighton. Tel. 102.

BRIGHTON.-TITCHFIELD HOUSE BOARDING ESTABLISHMENT, 21 Upper Rock Gardens. Near the Palace Pier and New Winter Garden; congenial society; terms from 25s. to 35s.

LONDON.-CARLTON PRIVATE HOTEL, 14, CRAVENSTREET, STRAND. Room and Breakfast, 4s.; tel. 219 Gerrard.

RAVENSCOURT PARK, W. Comfortable home at moderate terms; good table; comfort considered.-Box 110, THE SUFFRAGETTE, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway.

TO LADY WORKERS and others. Week-ends and holidays can be spent in little country cottage, 1 1/2 miles from London. By letter apply to Sister, 47, Morington-road, Bow, E.

TO BE LET OR SOLD.

TO LET.-Winter Months. OLD TUDOR COTTAGE; furnished antiques; 3 miles Tunbridge Wells; 2 sitting, 3 bedrooms; Kitchen; well water; outside sanitation; rent 15s a week; careful tenants.-Napier, Amersham.

FURNISHED OR UNFURNISHED ROOMS, with or without attendance; bath, h. and c.; rd. ride City.-Home Lodge, 39, Lansdowne-road, Clapham.

WELL FURNISHED BED-SITTING ROOMS to let. Board if desired; gas, bath; very convenient for City and shopping centres.-18, Talbot-road, Bayswater.

WANTED.

CHILDREN. Lady (by birth) would like few little guests; own healthy girl 4; highest references; country. 19s. inclusive.-Felicitas, c/o THE SUFFRAGETTE, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

PROFESSIONAL & EDUCATIONAL.

GOD'S WORD TO WOMEN has never been a word of disapproval and suppression. The Bible encourages the development of woman and stands for her perfect equality with man; in spite of the teachings to the contrary. Do you wish to equip yourself for meeting the arguments of those who attempt with sacrilegious hands, to throw the Bible in the way of woman's progress. Do you wish to know WHERE and HOW they mistranslate and misrepresent it? send 1d. (5 cts. American stamps) for 101 Questions Answered, a Woman's Catechism, prepared purposely to solve your perplexities.-Katharine Bushnell, "Bourard Lodge," 10a, Drayton Park, Highbury, London, N.

NURSING HOME for nervous and other cases; highly recommended by doctors; other cases; chronic patient; successful results; massage treatment by experienced workers; patients visited and received.-35, Beauchamp-road, Clapham Junction.

PRACTICAL INSTRUCTION given on Utility Poultry Farm; 16 acres; incubation, rearing, fattening for market; terms moderate.-Spang, Felbridge Poultry Farm, East Grinstead, Sussex.

TO SUFFRAGIST SPEAKERS.-Miss ROSA L. H. HONORARY INSTRUCTOR in Voice Production and Public Speaking to the W.S.P.U. Speakers Class, requests those desirous of joining her private classes or taking private lessons to communicate with her by letter to 45, Ashworth-mansions, Elgin avenue, W. Separate classes for men. Mr. Israel Zaung will write:- "Thanks to your teaching, I spoke nearly an hour at the Albert Hall without weariness." while my voice carried to every part of the hall."

SITUATIONS WANTED.

LADY WANTS WORK as Parlour or House Parlour-Maid, with other lady servants; or daily household work; thoroughly capable.-Box 102, THE SUFFRAGETTE, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

MEMBER desires to recommend SHORT-HAND TYPIST for business firm, office, or club.-Sellers, 12, Monmouth-road, Bayswater.

YOUNG LADY requires post as Shorthand-typist; business firm, office, or club.-Baty, Gerrard's Cross.

SITUATIONS VACANT.

RESIDENT LADY desired by professional woman to take care of little boy, aged 3, and do the work of small flat; must be healthy; under 30 preferred. Salary £20.-Box XIII, THE SUFFRAGETTE, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

WANTED IMMEDIATELY, reliable tactful woman, some knowledge nursing, to attend old lady. Salary about £25. Personal references essential. Write-M. C., 28, Primrose-mansions, Battersea.

LAUNDRY.

A MODEL LAUNDRY.-Family work a speciality. Dainty fabrics of every description treated with special care. Flannels and silks washed in distilled water. No chemicals used. Best labour only employed. Prompt collections; prompt deliveries.-Bullens, Cressy House Laundry, Reynolds-road, Acton Green, W.

ELECTROLYSIS, Etc.

ANTISEPTIC ELECTROLYSIS scientifically and effectually 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, 38, Cambridge Place, Norfolk Square, W. Telephone: 371 Mayfair.

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PEARLS.-Wanted to purchase immediately, a string of real pearls; or pearl necklaces and ornaments.-K. THE SUFFRAGETTE, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

SILVER.-A Collector (member W.S.P.U.) wishes to purchase pieces of old silver.-Write "Confidential," THE SUFFRAGETTE, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway.

POULTRY AND PROVISIONS.

DAIRY AND POULTRY WORK.-Write for prospectus and particulars of short courses; vacancy for working pupil on dairy farm.-Kate Le Lacheur, Checkendon, Reading.

SPLENDID ROASTING CHICKENS and DUCKINGS, 4s. pair. Best Turkey pouls, 6s. each. Extra large fat Geese, 5s. each, and 4s. 6d. Trussed; post paid.-Mollie O'Donoghue, Foulreer, Rosscarbery, Cork.

SUFFRAGETTE TEAS and COCOA, owned and sold by women only; agents wanted where unrepresented. Samples and terms sent on application. SAMPLES FREE to Suffragettes. Apply-Suffragette Tea Co., 3, Mincing-lane, E.C.

TOILET REQUISITES.

RECOMMENDED BY W.S.P.U. MEMBERS. EVERYBODY'S DOING IT. What? Why using "Cutie" for their finger nails and "Cutie" for their teeth. Nail Polish 1s.; Tooth Polish 1s. 6d. Post free during November; warranted to last 6 months. Used by Royalty.-Thomas Bolvo & Co., No. 2, New Southgate, N.

MISCELLANEOUS.

ASYMPATHISER has Nightdresses for disposal. Nainsook, 2/11 each; longcloth, 3/9; white flannel, 4/8; all nicely trimmed; unworn; approval.-Mrs. Butler, 157, Strand, London.

ANTIQUES.-A Member of the W.S.P.U. wishes to furnish her house with old things, and would be glad to purchase old furniture, china, silver, and other household requisites from sympathisers of the movement.-Write "O.P.," THE SUFFRAGETTE, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway.

BUTHNER PIANO, like new, great bargain; and Player Piano; antique banjo, cheap; two good pier glasses; room wanted.-11, Parkhurst-road, Holloway.

CHARMING CHRISTMAS GIFT. Send for "The Christmas Handkerchief Bag," purple, green, and white; silk, 2s.; velvet 3s. 6d.-Box 108, THE SUFFRAGETTE, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

MRS. ARNETT will be glad to PURCHASE CASTOFF CLOTHING of any description. Parcels address-2, Dumption-road, Raugate.

BREMINGTON TYPEWRITER, perfect order; just overhauled; £4 10s., complete; particulars sent.-Miss Jennings, 14, Windmill-road, Kennington, S.E.

THE WOMEN'S TEA CO., 9, Mincing-lane, E.C. (Gibbons Sisters), are prepared to send to all BAZARS, Meetings, or Suffragette shops, Tea, Coffee, Cocoa, Chocolates, for sale or return.

TYPEWRITING, Shorthand, Duplicating, Translations, Lessons.-Miss Northcote, 30, Messina-avenue, West Hampstead.