

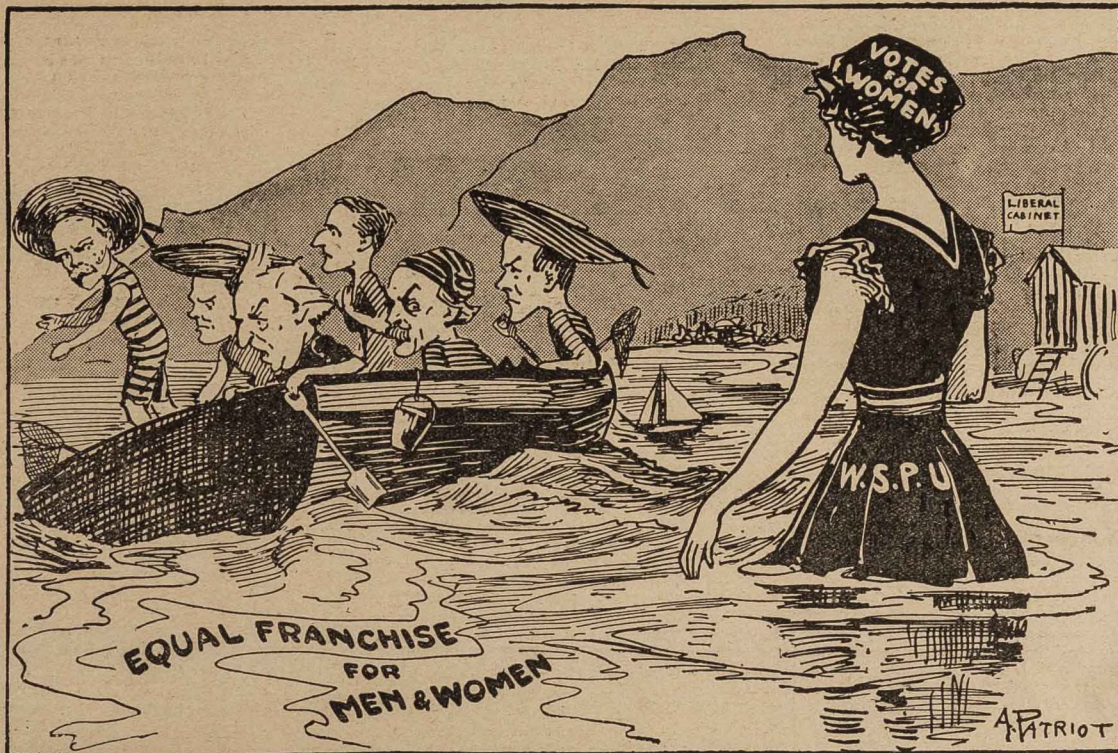
VOTES FOR WOMEN

VOL. V. (New Series), No. 227.

FRIDAY, JULY 12, 1912.

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THE PLUNGE



"Let us once be clear that this question must and will be settled in the only way that plain Justice admits, and we shall not hesitate to take the plunge now rather than later."—*The Daily News and Leader*.

W.S.P.U. SWIMMING MISTRESS: You'd better take the plunge now, my little fellows, or I'll come and push you in!

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

THE OUTLOOK.

All the Suffragists sent to prison in connection with the militant disturbances in March are now free. The remainder of these were released "on medical grounds" last Saturday, thus once more giving the lie to the Home Secretary, who alleged in the House of Commons, as his justification for resorting to forcible feeding, that it was "impossible to allow any prisoner to determine his own sentence by setting him at liberty if he chooses to refuse food for a few days." Altogether, since the recent Hunger Strike was started, fifty-seven prisoners have been released before the expiry of their sentences; and it is to the everlasting shame of the Government that the majority of these were not allowed to determine their own sentences as soon as

fasting had brought them to the danger point, but were kept in prison until forcible feeding and its attendant brutalities had still further jeopardised their lives and tortured their bodies. But even so, the women broke their prison bars and came out, one by one, injured, suffering, broken in health, but victorious. Once more the Home Secretary has been beaten by the women—but at what a cost to the women!

Medieval Methods.

We print on another page some of the accounts we have received of the sufferings undergone by these brave women. They are almost incredible. Reading of women who were bound to chairs, gagged, held down by prison officials, with their heads bent back, their nostrils and throats pinched, their ribs tickled, while liquid food was poured straight into them through a funnel and a tube—we are reminded of old prints of hideous medieval tortures in which "torture by water" played a prominent part. And all this has been practised in the twentieth century upon British women because a Liberal Home Secretary will neither recognise them as citizens outside prison nor as political offenders inside prison. This treatment by a cruel and reactionary Government has left a stain upon contemporary history that can never be wiped out. What a contrast to this foul blot is afforded by the heroism of the prisoners of war who have thus suffered for their principles!

Izaak Walton's Frog.

Both Mr. McKenna and the Under-Secretary of State for Home Affairs have been at pains to assure the House of Commons that forcible feeding is carried out by the medical officers with as little suffering as possible to the prisoners. How like the official tyrant of all the ages! In another part of the paper we print statements from prisoners that

refute even this attempt at self-justification on the part of the Home Secretary. But even if it were true, what a grim nightmare of humanity is that semblance of kindness on the part of doctors and wardresses when committing this abominable outrage upon a defenceless woman, who resists them for the sake of a principle she will never relinquish! Is there not a copy of "The Compleat Angler" in the Home Office library? If not, we advise the Home Secretary to procure one forthwith and to study the passage in which Izaak Walton, instructing a fisherman in the way to bait a hook with a live frog, adds the injunction—"And handle the frog as if you loved him."

Mr. Harben's Protest.

One of the best things that has happened for many a day is Mr. Harben's withdrawal of his candidature for the Barnstaple Division of Devon, as a protest against the forcible feeding of Suffragist prisoners and against the Government's proposal to give more votes to men, while leaving women unenfranchised. In the course of his letter to the chairman of the Barnstaple Liberal Association, Mr. Harben says:—

What is the good of it all? If the authorities want to vindicate the law, let them first avoid making it ridiculous. If they only want to treble the income of the W.S.P.U. they might find some more humane way of doing it. This policy of pusillanimous persecution is not my idea of Liberalism. The bullying of voteless women by a Government that is actually proposing to widen the franchise of men is quite without excuse. Unmanly, ungentlemanly, unsportsmanlike, and uncivilised, it can serve no purpose but to disgrace those who are responsible for it and those who acquiesce in it.

The Liberal Party in the House of Commons having endorsed this policy, I feel compelled to make the only protest open to me by withdrawing my active support altogether from the party at the present time.

Mr. Harben has shown himself a true Liberal. His action in surrendering the chance of a safe Liberal

sent and sacrificing all present hope of political advancement, for the sake of principle, is deeply appreciated by all Suffragists. We believe that it will do much towards convincing the Government that their policy of Anti-Suffragism and coercion is unpopular. Mr. Harben's fine example will also, we are sure, encourage other men sympathisers to give public and practical expression to their convictions. Another Liberal rebel has, indeed, done this in a letter which we print below, with Mr. Harben's.

The Revolt of the Labour Party.

The Labour revolt against the Government has assumed smaller proportions than was at first anticipated. Although in the constituencies of Hanley and Crewe the conflict rages, and although in an election speech Mr. Macdonald talked of giving the Liberals a General Election within twelve months, in the House of Commons peace prevails still between the Government and the Labour Party. The fact is that Mr. J. R. Macdonald, as he said in his speech at Derby the other day, prefers a Liberal to a Tory Government, and he has quite deliberately resolved to keep the present Government in office, whatever evil they may do or whatever good they may have undone. We should not quarrel with him for this, provided he would insist, as the condition of keeping the Liberals in office, upon the grant of votes to women. What we do object to is Mr. Macdonald's policy of giving support to the Government without getting any adequate return in legislation. "This Government, right or wrong!" appears to be his watchword. Mr. Redmond also supports the present Government through thick and thin, but unlike Mr. Macdonald, he does not give his support for nothing. He gives it in exchange for the Home Rule Bill. Some people say that Mr. Macdonald is living through this Parliament with his eyes set upon the next Parliament. That is no excuse for neglecting the opportunity he now has of buying, in the present Session, the enfranchisement of women, who are the very poorest of the workers he has been elected to serve.

A Miserable, Pettifogging Forty-two Men.

Mr. Macdonald's excuse for the inaction of the Labour Party under his leadership is that more Labour Members are needed. In our opinion, it is a bad general who bewails the smallness of his army. In politics, at any rate, an army grows in the course of battle. Fight, though you fight alone, and in the end a great host will fight with you! That is the true wisdom for the reformer. And yet have Mr. Macdonald saying, as he said at Derby, "We cannot hope to do much with a miserable, pettifogging forty-two men in the House of Commons!" Nonsense! Forty-two votes can either mend or end the Liberal Government. The terror of the Nationalists at the very idea of a Labour revolt against the Government proves that. The admission by the Liberal Press that the Labour Party can bring the Government's existence to an end shows that Mr. Macdonald, with his forty-two votes, is master of the situation, and can, by uttering a word, force the Government to give votes to working women.

Mr. Lloyd George's Next Campaign.

The volatile Mr. Lloyd George, though his Insurance Act is in a muddle and his pledges on Woman Suffrage are, to say the least of it, unfulfilled, is now busily launching a new scheme—a scheme of land reform. It is upon the aid of such a will of the wisp that women are asked to depend for their enfranchisement, rather than upon their own militant exertions! Yet Mr. Lloyd George would have been well advised in his own interests to get a Votes for Women measure carried instead of forcing his ill-digested Insurance Act upon the country. Last year he was strong enough single-handed to have compelled his Anti-Suffragist colleagues to agree to the passage of a Votes for Women Bill. By insisting upon such a course, he would have enhanced his popularity and strengthened his position in the Cabinet and in the country. Mr. Lloyd George is the politician who took the wrong turning. Some day he will see, if he does not see it already, that when he decided to wreck instead of carry to victory the cause of Votes for Women, he made the mistake of his life. The women will win without him, but he has done himself the worst of injuries, and neither his land campaign nor any other which his fertile brain may devise will cure that injury.

Grinding the Anti-Suffrage Axe.

Tuesday's debate on the Manhood Suffrage Bill has made it more plain than ever that the Government are strongly hostile to Votes for Women, and have no intention of permitting the passage of a Woman Suffrage Amendment to their Bill. The second reading, like the first reading, was moved by an Anti-Suffragist Minister, while all the professing Suffragists in the Cabinet, Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Lloyd George included, maintained a complete silence. Mr. Harcourt took the opportunity of grinding the Anti-Suffrage axe. He declared his conviction that the House of Commons would decline to sanction the enfranchisement of 10½ million women, and would equally refuse to enfranchise

women on a property basis, which was being swept away in the case of the men's franchise. This is a useful revelation of the tactics which the Government intend to employ for the defeat of each and every amendment for Woman Suffrage which may be moved. Well might Lord Robert Cecil declare that the Government have broken their pledge to give a free and fair chance to Woman Suffrage under the Bill.

Government "Fairness."

Mr. W. H. Dickinson, while applauding the Government's "fairness," gave his and their case completely away by admitting that if there had been a clause in the Bill giving women the Vote, Members on the Government side would have had to vote for it, and Members on the Opposition side against it. Precisely. Members on the Government side would have had to vote for Woman Suffrage, and it would have been carried. Whereas, according to the Government's scheme, successive amendments, from the one embodying the right principle of equality down to the highly unsatisfactory proposals for an unequal franchise for women, will be defeated for want of Government pressure and discipline. Two Liberal Members, Sir A. Markham (brother of the Anti-Suffragist) and Mr. Hogge, made impressive protests against the Government's refusal to embody Woman Suffrage in their Bill, and announced their intention of voting against it at the third reading stage if an amendment were not carried in Committee. Cannot Liberal Members who hold these opinions convince the Government that it will be expedient, if only from the Party point of view, at once to include a Woman Suffrage clause in the Bill?

Remonstrate with the Government!

In spite of all the proofs of fixed and indomitable purpose given by militant Suffragists during the past six years, there are still some people who seem to imagine that to influence the militants is easier than to influence the Government. Accordingly, the W.S.P.U. is receiving daily appeals to call a truce and peacefully to wait and see what will happen to an unofficial Woman Suffrage Amendment to the Manhood Suffrage Bill. The W.S.P.U., it seems necessary for the hundredth time to explain, can see without waiting the fate of such an Amendment. It will be the very same fate that befel the Conciliation Bill. To call a truce would certainly be no guarantee of or contribution to the success of the Amendment. On the contrary, it is at times of truce that the Government have always shown themselves most insolent and hostile as regards the demand for Votes for Women. The result of previous truces is anything but an encouragement to the W.S.P.U. to institute another. Moreover, and this must be clearly understood, it is now beyond the power of the W.S.P.U. to prevent militancy. Only the Government can do that, and even they cannot do it except by giving votes to women. It is therefore waste of time for those who dislike militancy to

LIBERAL REBELS.

MR. H. D. HARBEN.

To the Chairman of the Barnstaple Liberal Association.

Dear Mr. Hiern,—I am writing to announce to you my determination to withdraw from the candidature for the Barnstaple Division of Devonshire. My reasons are as follows:—

Some time ago proceedings were instituted against four officials of the Women's Social and Political Union. Three were arrested, tried, convicted, and sentenced to nine months' imprisonment. They were shortly transferred to the first division; then forcibly fed; and now, five weeks later, they are free, after their health has been sufficiently shattered to satisfy the conscience of the Home Secretary. The fourth has not yet been found.

What is the good of it all! If the authorities want to vindicate the law, let them first avoid making it ridiculous. If they only want to treble the income of the W.S.P.U. they might find some more humane way of doing it. This policy of pusillanimous persecution is not my idea of Liberalism. The bullying of voteless women by a Government that is actually proposing to widen the franchise of men is quite without excuse. Unmanly, ungentlemanly, unparliamentary, and uncivilised, it can serve no purpose but to disgrace those who are responsible for it, and those who acquiesce in it.

The Liberal Party in the House of Commons having endorsed this policy, I feel compelled to make the only protest open to me, by withdrawing my active support altogether from the Party at the present time.

I hope that you and your Committee will believe that I take this step only under a grave sense of public duty and with the bitterest disappointment and regret, regret that is increased by the memory

remonstrate with the W.S.P.U. Let them remonstrate with the Government!

Liberal Slender.

In last week's issue we commented on a statement that had appeared in the Press affirming that the Suffragist who addressed the Prime Minister at Lord and Lady Glenconner's reception had bitten somebody in the hand; and in our comment we mentioned that, as the lady lost her brooch in the course of being hurled downstairs by three men, the possibility was that the "bite" was a well-deserved scratch from the pin of the brooch. Almost simultaneously a spirited letter, headed "Suffragism and Chivalry," which we print on another page, appeared in the Daily News and Leader, in which Mrs. Charles Hancock confirms our conjecture and exposes Liberal slander in the following words:—

I hold a letter from Sir Alexander Lawrence, whose hand was supposed to be bitten, and to whom I wrote concerning the incident, and he writes: "My finger is mending all right; and I think it probably wasn't a bite!" The lady who asked the question concerning votes for women had her sleeve torn out of her evening-dress, and was hurled down the stairs at the risk of her life. Perhaps Sir Alexander's finger was hurt in the mêlée.

Mrs. Hancock goes on to say that, while not a militant Suffragist herself, she would suggest that in contrast to the annoyance caused to Ministers by the asking of inopportune questions, might be set the terrible physical sufferings undergone by the women. If all Liberals, men and women, were to take this just and clear-sighted view of the matter, there would be less clamour and misrepresentation for Suffragettes to combat.

Mrs. Pankhurst's Birthday.

Next Sunday afternoon, July 14, Hyde Park is once more to be the scene of a W.S.P.U. demonstration. It is a great date—the birthday of a famous Revolution and of a famous woman. Every student of history connects July 14 with the Fall of the Bastille; every member of the Union connects July 14 with the birth of its Founder, Mrs. Pankhurst. It is a fitting day on which to meet in thousands and demand that the Government shall enfranchise women on equal terms with men, instead of insulting them with a proposal to give more votes to the men who have not asked for them. The Local W.S.P.U.'s are responsible for this Demonstration. Other Suffrage Societies are taking part in it, and there will be twenty-one platforms altogether (see page 670). At 3 o'clock massed bands will play the March of the Women, conducted by the composer, Dr. Ethel Smyth. The occasion will form a notable incident in the records of the militant Suffrage movement, and the Local Unions are to be congratulated on their enterprise in thus commemorating the birthday of their Leader.

An interesting point is that the 5d. Insurance stamps are issued in the colours of the Women's Social and Political Union. I can assure the Chancellor that he is quite mistaken if he thinks to appease the Suffragists in this way.—The World.

of the exceptional kindness which I have everywhere met with among the Liberals of North Devon.—Yours sincerely,

H. D. HARBEN.

Newland Park, Chalfont St. Giles, Bucks.
July 1, 1912.

MR. GEORGE C. COPE.

To the Secretary of the Liberal Association, Radlett, Herts.

Dear Mr. Morris,—I am sorry to be obliged to cease all connection with the Liberal Party on the ground of its attitude upon the question of Parliamentary Votes for Women generally, and upon that of forcible feeding of the Suffragist prisoners in particular. Upon the first point I have much too slowly made up my mind. My only reason for belonging to any political party must be that I want to see certain things accomplished and certain things prevented, and I still see in the Liberal Party the best political force for those ends. But there was always in my mind the stipulation that any party I belonged to must not grossly sin against the principles of democratic equality and justice. I have too long seen that in tolerating the attitude of the present Government upon the Franchise question, the Liberal Party does most grossly sin against those principles. I am much to blame for not having acted upon this view long ago. But the second point, viz., the diabolical and infamous barbarity of forcible feeding is, of course, even more obviously and indignantly to be condemned. I can hardly trust myself to write upon it. For this, too, I must hold the Liberal Party directly responsible. I have therefore no choice but to leave the Association and the Party without further delay.—Yours very truly,
GEORGE C. COPE.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £250,000 FUND

Table listing contributions to the £250,000 fund from June 18 to June 29. Includes names like Miss Francesa Graham, Mrs. J. Harben, and various other donors with their respective amounts.

Debenham & Freebody.

LAST WEEK OF SALE. FINAL REDUCTIONS. Commencing on MONDAY, JULY 15. The undermentioned are Typical Bargains.



New Fur Model, in finest quality seal mousquash, worked in stripes, with non-shaped hood. Original Price ... 65 gs. Sale Price ... 29 gs.



Restaurant Coat (as sketch), in best quality corded silk and satin, reversible, outside of corded silk, and revers, cuffs, and at foot trim back satin side. Lined throughout with silk. Original Price ... 71 gs. Sale Price ... 71 gs.



New Basque Blouse, as sketch, of horse linen lace and insertion, lined net throughout and finished with band of narrow veils ribbon. Original Price ... 25 s. Sale Price ... 23 s.

WIGMORE STREET and WELBECK STREET, LONDON, W.

HOME OFFICE "STATEMENTS" REFUTED

"I am not concerned with the Home Secretary's denials; I am concerned only with the facts of the case."—Mr. Keir Hardie in the House of Commons, June 20, 1912.

On May 29, the day the Suffragists were sentenced, Mr. McKenna said, in answer to questions concerning the treatment they would have in prison.

Statement No. 1.
In no case have any of these prisoners ever been asked to put on prison dress. In no single case has that been so, and it is quite unnecessary to ask whether they are required to.

On that same day Mr. Pethick Lawrence was taken to Wormwood Scrubs Prison, a convict prison in which every prisoner is made to wear prison clothes, and to which no prisoner is ever sent who is entitled to superior prison treatment. Mr. Pethick Lawrence was told to put on prison dress. He refused with such firmness that, seeing he would not submit to such an indignity without offering a strenuous resistance, the Governor allowed him to retain his own clothes until the Home Office could be communicated with. It will be remembered that the Women's Social and Political Union brought such pressure to bear upon the Home Secretary that Mr. Lawrence was removed the next day to Brixton Prison, and no more was heard about prison clothes. But the fact remains that he was sent first to a prison where prison dress is compulsory, and by whose orders was he sent there if not by those of the Home Secretary, who declared on the very same day that it was unnecessary for any Suffragist prisoners ever required to put on prison clothes?

Statement No. 2.
The compulsory feeding of prisoners is in each prison carried out by the medical officers, who are always fully qualified medical men. In one or two cases they have had that assistance of medical men not in the prison service, who are also fully qualified—Mr. McKenna, on July 2, 1912.

This statement is refuted by—
(1) Miss Charlotte March (Aylesbury Prison) who writes as follows:—
On the afternoon of Tuesday, April 9, at about 2.30, my cell door was suddenly thrown open, and about eight wardresses rushed in. I was the first victim. They got me on the floor after a struggle, and sat on my legs, held my arms, screwed back my head and neck. One of them put her fingers in my mouth and tried to make me open my teeth, but did not succeed; and then pushed a feeding-cup against my teeth. One of them held my nose, and

MR. CRISP ENGLISH.

The following question was asked in the House of Commons on July 8 by Mr. Philip Snowden: To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been drawn to the statement made by Mr. C. Mansell Moullin, F.R.C.S., of 69, Wimpole Street, to the effect that, in consultation with Dr. Macaulay, he has found Miss Emily Wilding Davison, who was released from Holloway on June 28, to be suffering acutely from injuries sustained on the occasion of her attempted suicide while in prison, and that her condition has been considerably aggravated by the forcible feeding to which she had been subjected in the interval; and in view of this statement, whether he will give the House the exact report of the examination made by Mr. Crisp English which led to the forcible feeding being continued; and whether he will inform the House in what branch of medicine his attention has been drawn to a specialist, and on what grounds he was selected to make the examination.

Mr. McKenna replied: I cannot admit that this prisoner made any attempt at suicide while in prison, but she has suffered both from self-inflicted injuries and from the results of voluntary starvation. Mr. Crisp English's report of June 29 on her is as follows: "I have examined this day Emily W. Davison in consultation with Dr. Sullivan and Dr. Forward, and find that she is suffering from numerous small bruises and abrasions. I can find no evidence of gross injury, and see no reason why forcible feeding should not be continued." Mr. Crisp English is an eminent surgeon; he is senior assistant-surgeon at St. George's Hospital, and on the surgical staff of the Governor's Hospital for Women. I consider his view of the case is of great value, that it is expressed by two doctors, and that it is, moreover, supported by the testimony of other medical men.

Our Statement Confirmed.

This answer confirms our statement, made in last week's VOTES FOR WOMEN, that the responsibility rests with Mr. Crisp English for the continuance of forcible feeding in the case of Miss Davison, even after the hideous process had brought her to the point of throwing herself from the top gallery to the wire netting, and thence down two flights of stairs on to a stone floor. Even if Mr. Crisp English's diagnosis of her injuries was a correct one, the fact that Miss Davison had gone through this terrible experience should have been enough to restrain any humane man, apart from his professional capacity,

another squeezed my neck to try and make me breathe. I wriggled about as much as I could, and then started blowing, with the result that practically nothing went down. Most of it got spilt, and I was soaked to the skin. Then, without saying a word, they all rushed out of my cell. I heard them going to the others, and I thought I should be left alone. However, two hours later, they all came rushing in again, and this time I was tied in a chair and fed by the nasal tube by the doctor.

On Wednesday, June 26, I was very much surprised to hear the most awful cries coming from our women, and to which I realised that forcible feeding was going on again. I was at the end of the passage, and so heard them coming the whole way. The cries of the women were so violent that I felt, although I could not see, that the doctor was not there. At about 7.30 or 8 o'clock, my cell door was flung open, and in rushed about eight wardresses again. I stood up on my bed, and hung on to the rail, and said to them: "What have you been doing to our women?" One of the wardresses said: "Feeding them like chickens," and laughed. They then caught hold of me and tied me in the chair round the waist with a sheet, and then I realised that they were going to try and feed me without the doctor being present. I said to the principal wardress, "Where is the doctor? You have no right to do this without him."

(2) Miss Olive Walton (Aylesbury), who writes as follows:—
On the second day the doctor came round in the afternoon, and in the evening the wardresses came round alone, and six of them tied me into a chair and fed me. When they saw that I would not keep still they began to punish me as hard as they could all over my stomach and chest, causing me intense agony. I was very sick, very weak, and frantically bruised.

Statement No. 3.
It must be borne in mind that feeding by tube is not in itself dangerous or injurious, but the danger is caused by the violent resistance of the prisoner, which in any violent action involves risk to a person with a weak heart or poor physique.—Mr. Ellis Griffith, on June 26.

This statement is refuted by—
(1) Miss Ethel Lewis (Maidstone) who writes as follows:—
Although I made no resistance, the nasal tube curled up in my mouth, and the second day this occurred three times, and

THE ROLL OF HONOUR.

"It is impossible to allow any prisoner to determine the length of his own sentence by setting him at liberty if he chooses to refuse food for a few days."—Mr. McKenna in the House of Commons, April 17, 1912.

This statement has been refuted by the following list of prisoners, all of whom have been released before the expiry of their sentences, in consequence of the hunger strike:—

Atkes, Miss V.	Dural, Mrs.	Hadleston, Mrs. E.	Pethick Lawrence, Mrs.
Aldham, Mrs.	Ede, Dr. Frances	Hudson, Miss	Pebody, Miss Isabel
Beady, Miss B.	Evans, Miss E.	Humphreys, Nurse	Rewlati, Miss
Bowker, Miss D.	Farrar, Miss	Irvine, Miss	Ryan, Miss Bertha
Boyd, Miss	Fusell, Miss	Jacobson, Miss M.	Stuart, Mrs. N.
Branson, Mrs.	Gatly, Mrs.	James, Miss Hope	Taylor, Mrs. N.
Bray, Miss W.	Gibb, Miss Eileen	Lewis, Miss E.	Terrero, Mrs. R.
Burkitt, Miss H.	Given, Miss C.	Macfarlane, Miss	Thompson, Miss
Callach, Miss O.	Green, Miss C.	Marion, Miss Emily	Wherry, Mrs. Olive
Carvin, Miss S.	Green, Miss Janet	Michell, Miss L.	Wendworth, Miss
Cook, Mrs.	Grey, Miss Laura	Nash, Miss N.	Wild, Mrs. Helen
Corner, Mrs.	Gurney, Miss Brian	Paekhurst, Mrs.	Williamson, Mrs. Howard
Davison, Miss E.	Halt, Miss F. E.	Pethick Lawrence, Mrs.	Williams, Miss Ada
Dowdley, Miss E.	Haly, Miss M.		

The above list does not include all those who have been forcibly fed, some of whom were not released until the expiry of their sentences.

from being a party to the renewal of the treatment that had made her seek to destroy herself. But we frankly decline to accept his diagnosis, not only because it is contradicted by the very different report issued by Mr. Mansell Moullin in consultation with Dr. Macaulay, but also because the two doctors who signed Mr. English in the examination of Miss Davison were prison officers, and therefore interested in whitewashing the Home Office.

Point to be Remembered.

The point to be remembered is that forcible feeding is in itself a danger to life and health, even when the patient is willing to submit to it. It becomes an outrage and a torture when inflicted on a prisoner already weakened by days of fasting, who resists the process to the utmost of her power, and resists, moreover, not from an invalid's capriciousness, but from a sense of duty and high principle for which she is prepared to die if necessary. There is no precedent in the history of medicine for artificial feeding under such circumstances as these; nor is

there, we believe, any precedent for resorting to tube-feeding as long as any other means of sustaining life are available. In the case of the Suffragist prisoners, other means are available. The principle for which they fight could be conceded, and the recent Hunger Strike, with its attendant horrors of forcible feeding, would have been avoided, or at all events stopped, had the Home Secretary transferred the women to the First Division. Failing this statesmanlike action, humanity to release them when starvation had brought them to the danger limit—in itself a punishment greater than any the law had inflicted. Instead of this, Mr. McKenna, proceeding in a view of the law, caused the women to be forcibly fed at one or another stage of starvation, releasing them only when they had been tortured long enough to make further physical injury inadvisable in view of their ultimate return to their friends. By this process, the strong suffered equally with the delicate, for their greater powers of endurance enabled the authorities to

torment a little longer than the others. And when Mr. McKenna is asked for some explanation of this unwarranted treatment of political prisoners in the twentieth century, he shifts the responsibility on to the shoulders of those members of the medical profession who consent to be his tools. Mr. Crisp English is one of those tools; the prison doctors are others. Their position is not an enviable one, for they have forfeited the respect of women, and assist a shameful Government to leave an indelible stain on the records of English State imprisonments.

RELEASED.
The following list has been released since we went to press last week:—
ATLESBURY. Holloway. Fassel, Miss E. Doney, Miss V. Gibb, Miss E. Grey, Miss L. Gurney, Miss B. Marshall, Miss M. Marsh, Miss C. BARNBOSHAM. Stuart, Miss G. Green, Miss N. Wright, Miss A. Lacey, Miss N. Wherry, Miss O.

Statement No. 4.
If the medical adviser of the prison advises me that the state and health of any of the prisoners is such that forcible feeding could not be administered with safety, forcible feeding would not be administered.—Mr. McKenna on June 20, 1912.

The prisoners who are fed are carefully examined by the medical officers of the prison, who are competent men with a full sense of their responsibility.—Mr. Ellis Griffith, on June 26.

In reply to this, we have to point out that in the case of a resisting prisoner a careful medical examination is a practical impossibility; and as the majority of

the prisoners have resisted, the medical examination, when made, has been of a cursory character as to be valueless. Last week, we stated this in the case of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who resisted so violently that the doctor was unable to fix the stethoscope, and therefore fed her without knowing the state of her heart. In the case of other prisoners with defective or delicate nostrils and throats, the medical examination has taken no account of what must have made tube-feeding acutely painful. Mrs. Sadd Brown (Holloway), for instance, who has a broken nose, states emphatically that the medical officer "made no examination of it, so he could not know if the passage was large enough to receive the tube. All he said was that it had a rubber tubing, and he must proceed."

MISS ADA CECILE WRIGHT. (Aylesbury).

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STILL IN PRISON.
Holloway. Dural, Miss E. (One Month). Neal, Miss Marie. (Four Months). Walters, Miss A. (Four Months). BREWSTER. Haly, Miss (One Month).

FOUR MONTHS.
Miss Marie Neal was charged before Mr. Biron at North London on July 4 with breaking three plate-glass windows, value £20, at the Parkhurst Road Post Office. The damage being over £5, Miss Neal was remanded for trial at the North London Sessions, and on Wednesday, as we went to press, she was sentenced to four months' imprisonment.

Miss Walters, who was arrested on June 28 and charged with breaking the windows of the Regent Street Post Office, value £70, was also brought up at the Newington Sessions on Wednesday and sentenced to four months' imprisonment.

MISS BERTHA BREWSTER.
At Southend, on July 3, Miss Bertha Brewster surrendered to her bail on a charge of doing wilful damage to a plate-glass window at Rayleigh Post Office. It was alleged that she threw three pieces of lead through the window and then rode off on her bicycle, but was captured by a police constable. She was fined £5, plus costs of £1 7s. 6d., or a month's imprisonment. The money was paid by a lady in court.

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TYPICAL PRISONERS' EXPERIENCES

DR. ALICE J. STUART KEER (Holloway).

I told both doctor and Governor that I suffered far more from want of air than from want of food, and I consider the confinement to cells a most unjustifiable aggravation of the punishment—for punishment it was. The doctor told those who were forcibly fed that they were not strong enough to go out, but one of them was called down from the top landing to see the Governor, and kept standing talking to him in the hall for ten or fifteen minutes, when she had to hold on to the table to keep herself up. I saw her myself when I was out for water.

Many were fed much sooner than there was any suffering from want of food, and it was evidently done to punish and to terrorise the others. I saw the apparatus coming out of the cell next mine, and there was no sign of any vessel to serve it, or even to wash the tube, and no basin to receive the doctor's hands. All to whom I spoke directly after the strike was over complained of the large amount that was poured in, of the rapidity with which it was given, and of the coldness of the fluid given. Many had weak and lanky voices when we saw them again, and nearly all had some pain or injury to complain of.

I cannot see how the profession can get off the horns of the dilemma. If forcible feeding is a punishment, the medical profession should not insist on it, or if it is a medical treatment, it is "mal praxis."

I may add that I am completely well again now, but only since a week ago, more than seven weeks after leaving prison, and I am an exceptionally strong woman.

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"It is a matter of long and deep serious. Respect for law depends on its being administered with equal justice to all offenders. Unless Ministerial assurances in the House of Commons can be relied on, Ministers' responsibility in Parliament becomes a farce. The present Home Secretary appears to be indifferent alike to truth in his official statements and to justice in the administration of his office."

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GREAT STOCK SALE

High Class Laces, Silks, Velvets, Millinery, Ribbons, Fans, &c.

WILLIAM OWEN have purchased, by Public Tender, the ENTIRE STOCK of Messrs. SELL & Co., 199, Sloane St. S.W., amounting to £7,932 1/4, at a Discount of 81 1/2 per Cent. (or 16/3 in the £) off Sell & Co.'s prices.

The whole will be sold on MONDAY, JULY 15th, and following days, at about one-fifth of Sell's prices.

Doors open 9.30 a.m.

WILLIAM OWEN Ltd., WESTBOURNE GROVE, W.

VOTES FOR WOMEN IN PORTUGAL.

In Portugal a limited number of women have been admitted to the Parliamentary franchise under the new Electoral Law. It will be remembered that about a year ago, by a legal decision, women in Portugal were declared eligible for the franchise on the same grounds as men, though only one woman, Dr. Carolina Angelo (who has since died), whose application formed the test case that produced this ruling of the judge, was placed on the register. The Senate has now partially confirmed the legal decision, according to reports in the Press, by granting the vote to women over twenty-five, who have passed a certain educational test. For men, by the new law, there is a property qualification, but so slight a one that manhood suffrage is practically established, while the number of women enfranchised will be comparatively small. Surely the honour of a young Democracy, like that of the new Portuguese Republic, demands that this unequal enfranchisement of men and women should at once be swept away in favour of the vote on equal terms! It appears that during the debate in the Senate on the new Electoral Law, the Opposition invoked the example of England in refusing the vote to women. To what a pass have a Liberal Government brought us that Great Britain should be quoted on the side of reaction!

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Miss Olive Fergus has undertaken the duties of Prisoners' Secretary. All enquiries with regard to prisoners should be addressed to her at the W.S.P.U. General Offices, 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

Mr. Lansbury at Bow.

We draw special attention to the meeting in the Public Hall, Bow Road, to-night, at 8 o'clock, when Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., will speak.

Hyde Park, Sunday, July 14.

Every member who can possibly do so will, we are sure, be in Hyde Park next Sunday afternoon at 3 p.m. Full particulars will be found on page 670.

London Meetings.

Her Highness the Rancee of Sarawak has kindly consented to speak at the London Pavilion, Piccadilly Circus, on Monday next, July 15, at 3.15 p.m. Miss Georgina Brackenbury will also speak, and Mrs. Mansel will take the chair. The meeting at the Steinway Hall on Thursday, July 18, at 8 p.m., will be addressed by Mrs. Joan Cather, Mrs. Ayrton-Gould, and Miss Evelyn Sharp. These meetings are held weekly, and admission is free. Similar meetings are held in all centres where the W.S.P.U. is represented.

THE UNDER-WORLD.

By some tragic law of fate, it would seem that the greater the height of prosperity and civilisation to which a nation rises, the lower are its corresponding depths. Like a canker at the root of our national life lies what Mr. Holmes calls the "Under-world." A veritable modern Dante, the author draws for us a picture it would be hard to beat in its intensity, realism, and pathos—horrors of the over-crowded "homes," lodging-houses, shelters, casual wards, all the plague spots of our great city, where the great submerged live, and flourish seemingly, in their degradation. But here and there the whole scene is lighted up by some deed of quiet and patient heroism, some heroic struggle to rise above the surroundings in which unfortunate beings are doomed to live; and underneath all this wonderful study of social misery one dominating note is always sounding—the condition of the women. No state would appear to be so terrible as theirs, for when they fall they sink to the lowest depths, though when they rise they touch the greatest heights. Mr. Holmes has a wonderful sympathy for, and insight into, and understanding of, the difficulties and burdens of womanhood, and he writes with glowing warmth of the courage which is theirs, and the hope that endures through all their miseries.

Oh! how you have suffered, sisters mine! . . . But you are the salt of the underworld. . . . And when for the underworld the day of redemption arrives, it will be you, my sisters, the simple, the suffering, enduring women, that will have hastened it!

When the day of redemption arrives? But at present, to look at one small piece of the picture, there are, says the author, at least 50,000 women in London whose earnings do not exceed three-halfpence per hour, and there follows a vivid picture of the way they live and work—human machines.

A woman at work at a small table, and she, too, is a widow. She is making cardboard boxes, and pretty things they are. The widow speaks to us, but her hands never rest. We notice the celerity of her movements, the dreadful automatic certainty of her touch is almost maddening, we wait and watch, but all in vain, for some false movement that shall tell us she is human and not a machine.

The author tells us clearly there is no other road to the well-being of the race than by the well-being of the mothers:—

For the oppression of women, whether by women or men, means a perpetuation of the underworld, with all its sorrows and horrors, and the underpayment of women has a curse that smites us all the way round.

Finally, Mr. Holmes makes some practical suggestions as to what might be the first step towards remedying this terrible state in which so many of our fellow-beings live, and here the religious bodies, notably the Salvation Army, come in for severe indictment; not, says the author, because he wishes to make an attack upon the characters and intentions of the men and women who compose it, for—

I know they are both earnest and sincere. . . . But I must speak, for I believe the methods adopted are altogether unsound, and in reality tend to aggravate the evils they set out to cure.

A sounder policy is required. For one thing, Mr. Holmes suggests detention, segregation, and classification of the feeble-minded, especially the feeble-minded women, who return again and again to the maternity wards of the workhouse to deposit their burdens upon the ratepayer. This is a compelling, telling, and moving book, written with the power and force of a realistic article, but at the same time never relapsing into sensationalism, the pen being used with that very restraint which makes a realistic one more fully the reality and truth of that which is portrayed.

Almost in company with the above book, Mr. Holmes has written a short treatise in the "Problems of the Day" series, in which he deals with crime from a psychological point of view. We find here the same sincerity and insight accompanied with practical common sense. Very interesting is it, too, to note that, according to the writer's experience—and who has had a wider!—that the low proportion of crime amongst women, and their great honesty, are very remarkable. All this in spite of under-payment, lives of drudgery, and much physical and mental weakness caused by incessant child-bearing. In fact, it can only be encouraging and stimulating to learn from the pen of one who has proved himself by his life-long, devoted work amongst the poor and wretched a sincere and devoted student of human nature, that women as a whole are in the forefront as regards moral elevation. To the student of sociology these two books should prove invaluable, and we look forward to the day when some effort will be made to put their humane and practical suggestions into practice.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"The Westminster Review," July. (London: E. Marlborough and Co. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

"The English Review," July. (F. Chalmers Dixon, London. Price 1s. net.)

"The Awakening of England," by F. E. Green. (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons. Price 2s. net.)

"The Irish Review," July. (Dublin: The Irish Review Publishing Co. Price 6d. net.)

"Woman's Interest on the Progress of Knowledge," by Henry Thomas Buckle. (London: The Women's Rights Library. Price 6d. net.)

"London's Under-World," By Thomas Holmes. 7s. 6d. net.

THE NEW WORLD.

Mrs. Despard, in her pamphlet, "Woman in the New Era," says that "great truths are being loosened to-day, and the forces through which this is coming to pass are . . . the woman-force, the labour-force, the child-force." She maintains that these three forces are working in conjunction, and will result in a changed world. With prophetic vision she sees and draws a picture of this transformed world. She shows us not only Woman in the New Era, but Man, and Life in all its aspects, Social, Commercial, Political. To those who think her vision impossibly idealistic, who ask, "Can it be so? Is it possible? Will humanity change so?" she answers: "As a fact, humanity is constantly changing. The world of yesterday is not the world of to-day, and to-morrow will reveal a new world."

According to Lady Doughty, we are, as a nation, inclined to be gloomy, and she has therefore tried to bring a little of her Australian brightness into her book, "The Cheerful Way" (A. and C. Black, price 2s. 6d. net). Much that she says, if not very original, will bear re-reading, and we cordially agree with her tribute to the woman on the Canadian prairies and her part in Empire-building.

"Woman in the New Era." By Charlotte Despard. With an appreciation by Christopher St. John. (The Suffrage Shop. To be obtained from the Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road. 6d.)

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The SUMMER SALE at Peter Robinson's REGENT ST. HOUSE

WOMEN ALL OVER THE WORLD.

What is "provocation"? A man charged last Saturday at the Old Bailey with the wilful murder of his wife, raised the defence that she was a drunkard, and when under the influence of drink was very quarrelsome and "nagged" him. On the last occasion he lost his temper and kicked her so severely that she died within two hours. The jury, without leaving the box, found the prisoner guilty of manslaughter "under great provocation," and recommended him to mercy. He was sentenced to six months' imprisonment in the second division. Exactly a year ago, we exposed in these columns the case of Mrs. Napolitano, a woman who was sentenced to death in Canada for murdering her husband, who, after ill-treating her brutally on more than one occasion, threatened to kill her unless she would go out to earn money for him by immoral means. Was not this a greater "provocation" than mere nagging? Yet no recommendation to mercy was made in her case, and after a storm of public indignation had been raised—the W.S.P.U. obtained 9,000 signatures to a petition in less than a week—her sentence was only commuted to one of penal servitude for life. And similar instances can be multiplied by the score.

It is this kind of thing that makes it imperative that the women's claim for enfranchisement should be one for absolute equality with men. Anything less than equality of voting rights will emphasise a fresh the double standard that has been set up by convention in all matters relating to men and women. In the course of the last ten days a woman Suffragist—Miss Violet Doudney—was sent to Holloway Gaol, under a sentence of two months with hard labour for breaking, with a great political object, a pane of glass of the value of two shillings—a third of the sentence passed upon the man (without hard labour) who kicked his wife to death because she nagged him. Yet there are some Anti-Suffragists who say that woman is the spoilt child of the law!

Does a husband support his wife? In an article that appeared in VOTES FOR WOMEN last year, and made a great sensation at the time, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence answered this question both ably and exhaustively. Another answer to it was given in the House of Commons last week, when, in reply to an enquiry, Mr. McKenna stated that in Glasgow alone it had been calculated that 260 wives and 718 children were thrown on the rates annually at a cost of about £8,256, owing to the desertion of husbands through emigration. If, in spite of their peculiar talent for thinking Imperially, a male electorate can see no better way of peopling Great Britain than by countenancing this wasteful method of robbing Peter to pay Paul, it is about time that women were given the power to try their hand at the housekeeping of the Empire.

Talking of Empire, it is interesting to read how enlightened Hindus view the militant agitation in England and its bearing upon the development of women. In the *Calcutta Monthly Review* for June, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, commenting upon a speaker who had said at the Madras Social Conference that "he did not think it would do to educate Indian women to become window-smashers and hooligans," says:—

We are not aware that anywhere in India or in any other country in the world, any education is or is proposed to be given to women which is calculated to make them window-smashers and hooligans. If in any country "educated" women have become window-smashers and hooligans, have not "educated" men, too, become hooligans and bomb-throwers there? Would it be logical, therefore, to say that the education given to men in schools and colleges in the West, produces hooligans and bomb-throwers?

And in the same periodical, the Indian poet Ravindranath Tagore, draws an interesting conclusion from the fact that in Ibsen's plays the women are generally impatient of social ties, while the men are all for retaining them. "This paradox," he says— "made me realise that in modern European society the position of women has truly become very inconsistent; the men will neither build homes for the women, nor grant them full right to enter the field of work. At first sight the large number of women in the ranks of the Russian nihilists may surprise us; but reflection will show that the time is nearly ripe for the women in Europe to appear as Furies of destruction."

Some weeks ago the New York correspondent of the *Northern Whig* announced that the manager of a large wireless telegraph company was glad to consider applications from women willing to train as operators. It is now stated that the first woman wireless operator, Miss Maggie Kelso, has been placed in charge of the wireless installation of the steamship *Mariposa* by the Alaska Steamship Company. A contemporary—not a so-called "ladies" paper, by the way—gives in detail the costume worn by Miss Kelso when on duty. We do not know if our readers' respect for Miss Kelso's ability and enterprise will be increased by a knowledge of the colour of her cap and the shape of her skirt; but if so we refer them gladly to the columns of papers written by men for men, where these pretty details will be found.

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VOTES FOR WOMEN

4, CLEMENT'S INN, STRAND.

FRIDAY, JULY 12, 1912

THE RELEASED PRISONERS.

Our prisoners of liberty are released. Now that all who were arrested for the protest made in March are out in the world again, it is appropriate to consider the effect which their action has had on the political situation. They have suffered terrible things in prison. The accounts of those sufferings call up a mental picture that we who love them cannot bear to look at. And at the same time we are thrilled with pride in them when we think of their refusal at any cost to surrender their principles. These prisoners give back to the world its faith in human nature. The heroic virtues seemed to have disappeared, but our prisoners have shown themselves heroes. When the selfless devotion to an ideal that upheld the martyrs seemed no longer possible, these prisoners have proved that they have the spirit of the martyrs in them. They have been literally tortured in prison. The people who deny this have forgotten what torture is. Torture is the infliction of physical pain with the object of securing confession, recantation, or submission. The torturer attacks the body in order to vanquish the spirit. It is by this method of torture that the Government have tried to make imprisoned Suffragists surrender their rights as political offenders. The Liberal Press have admitted that the Home Secretary, especially after the transference to the first division of Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, ought to have placed the rest of the prisoners also in the first division. He preferred to apply forcible feeding. In short, the prisoners were tortured because Mr. McKenna and the Government declined to do their duty.

Nothing in the whole course of the militant movement has done so much to stir public opinion as this assault upon the prisoners and their brave endurance of it. Even the House of Commons has been profoundly moved by this evidence of the dauntless spirit which informs the militant movement. The conviction is growing that women such as these can never be conquered, and that in their hands the cause of Votes for Women is certain of victory. The claim of these prisoners upon our admiration and gratitude does not begin or end with their

bravery in prison. The action for which they were imprisoned was a protest, vitally necessary on political grounds, against the Government's attempt to create an unbroken male despotism over women.

While some people were content with mere verbal protest against this iniquity, and while others grasped at the Government's dishonest "pledge" as an excuse for "patience," our prisoners took the bold and eloquent action by which alone freedom can be won. As a result of the militant protest in March, all the world knows that the Government's franchise measure is the most reactionary and unjust measure ever laid before the British Parliament.

In the course of this protest, a considerable attack was, for the first time, made upon private property, and therein lay the special difficulty of making the protest, because any new departure of that kind is always angrily criticised. People demand to know how it is possible that the Government can be influenced, and the cause of Votes for Women advanced, by an attack upon the interests of private citizens. Mr. Asquith can best answer that question, and will bring in evidence his own words and actions. When the coal miners were on strike, hardships and financial losses incalculable were suffered by all classes of the community. Mr. Asquith spent anxious, arduous days and nights in striving to bring the strike to an end. Reporting the failure of his negotiations to the House of Commons, he burst into tears, so great was his distress. Being compelled, for the credit of himself and the Government, to rescue the mass of private citizens from the difficulty into which the strike had plunged them, Mr. Asquith introduced and carried a Government measure giving a Minimum Wage to miners.

Since then another strike has occurred, at the Port of London. This time Mr. Asquith refuses to carry an Act of Parliament to remove the strikers' grievance. Why? Mr. Asquith has explained his change of front by saying that Governments ought not to interfere in matters of this kind unless it be made perfectly clear that the general interest of the community is involved in their taking some action. In other words, because the Miners' Strike brought injury to the citizens in general, the Government legislated; and because the present Dockers' Strike brings injury mainly to the Dockers themselves, the Government will not legislate.

Mr. Asquith obviously goes far towards justifying Suffragist attacks on private property when he thus admits that private citizens, when their interests suffer owing to a particular cause, will demand the removal of that cause in a manner which no Government can withstand.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer also has illuminated the question of militancy by saying recently that loyal men may be driven by urgent necessity to defy the law. And so may loyal women, we say! In such case were our brave comrades just released from prison when they made their protest. If ever in the history of this country defiance of law has been justified, it is justified when women see themselves menaced by an Act of Parliament which would magnify and strengthen their political subjection.

It is said that the chances of carrying a Woman Suffrage Amendment to the Manhood Suffrage Bill have been, and will be, adversely affected by militancy. This is patently untrue. Militancy has brought Woman Suffrage into the front rank of political questions, and militancy keeps it there. Every concession or pretended concession made by the Government has been made with a view to averting militancy. When they decided to adopt the drastic plan of erecting Manhood Suffrage as a barrier against the enfranchisement of women, the Government well knew that if they announced this plan in all its nakedness, militancy would be the women's answer. Therefore it was that they made their so-called offer to women. They calculated that fear of jeopardising the passage of an Amendment would keep the militants quiet until too late to make an effective fight against Manhood Suffrage. But as the March protest, as also the protest of November, proved, the militants were not so easily deceived.

The wisdom of these protests is made plain by the fate of the Conciliation Bill. Encouraged by what they mistakenly supposed to be the unpopularity of militant methods, the Government and Mr. Redmond thought it safe to show their hand at the beginning instead of at the end of the Session. Accordingly, the Government, through their Chief Whip, worked against the Conciliation Bill, and the Nationalist Party voted against it. As a result, the division on that Bill was a dress rehearsal of the division which will take place on the Woman Suffrage Amendment to the Manhood Suffrage Bill, unless in the meantime the Government have been compelled to introduce and carry it as a Government measure.

There is one thing, and one thing only, that will or can ensure the gain of Votes for Women this Session, and that is the Government's fear of what will happen if women do not get the Vote.

Our released prisoners have already given warning to the Government that militant Suffragists will fight to the death against Manhood Suffrage and in vindication of women's right to vote.

REPRESENTATIVE WOMEN

By Laurence Housman

During the last few years our legislators have been faced once more by an old problem arising from the fact that Representative Government is the natural political expression of British citizenship. All through our history the denial of representation to any section of the community where it was in active demand has led first to agitation and then, when persisted in, to a breaking of the law. Opponents of reform argued then, as they argue to-day, either that the agitators were already represented by those who had votes, or that they only formed part of a vast body the majority of whom were quite content to remain voteless. The minority always refused to accept the first argument as true, or the second as valid. The fact that a great many other people, of interests similar to their own, did not ask for the vote, had nothing whatever to do with them and their claim; it did, in result, often limit the relief, but it did not in the least lessen the right of those who asked for it.

But the point I wish particularly to bring out is this—that when unrepresentative government persisted in its claim to be representative, those who denied that claim proved their contention in the only possible way left to them, by revolting against it. It was an unanswerable object lesson. Because their word for it was not taken, their deed for it had to show.

No brazen image can pretend that it is worshipped by men who have begun breaking it with hammers; and no Government under similar attentions from those whose voice it has refused to hear can credibly claim to be their representative. They have taken the proof of the matter into their own hands, and are hammering it in.

That act of revolt, however much we may deprecate it, gives the lie to a false claim, has come about because the lie was uttered and persisted in, and follows logically upon that instinct for representation which lay at the root of the demand. Under Representative Government the will to be represented is catching: in section after section of the community it comes to life; and when it does in some form or another representation must out—misrepresentation must be suppressed—and if we cannot see ourselves represented constitutionally, then we must see to it that we are represented unconstitutionally. In the face of a denial of representation revolt is a great representative act.

Some women are represented to-day truly enough by those who counsel them to be something which they cannot be—"constitutional." One might as well counsel a compeer to be a lord, or a Russian peasant to be an anticrat. Women, while denied a place in our Constitution that is as submissive as they like, but they cannot be "constitutional"; they can only do that which the men who won political liberty in the past refused to do—give submission and consent and obedience to unrepresentative government: and so long as they do so unrepresentative government will go on claiming that it represents them. Though the claim is untrue, they are to some extent responsible for its persistence, in that they do not send up representatives against the Government, but content themselves with a sort of impersonal representation which may be so easily ignored. It is personal representation which counts. Somehow or another, since personal representation is the machinery through which men are making laws over the heads of women, personal representation is the form in which women's opposition to that one-sided system must declare itself. And it has always been on the lines of personal representation that the militant side of the woman's movement has advanced and made public its claims. It has always made itself representative by undertaking some overt act showing denial of consent.

One of the most profoundly moving demonstrations, absolutely law-abiding in character, was the Waiting Deputation carried out a few years ago by the Women's Freedom League, at a time when your own Union was under bond (pending a legal decision) to refrain from going in deputation to the House of Commons. At that time the "constitutionally" minded led a great chance of personal representation go by: they could with ease have supplied the material for lack of which a wonderful act of endurance, full of patience and charity, ended in a fresh outbreak of militancy; but the constitutional mind was still wedded to a system of impersonal representation; and a vast amount of energy was expended throughout the country in a course of action that never brought women representatives face to face with the Government which was denying them representation. The whole thing resembled a big election campaign in which at the end no election of representatives took place.

The militants, on the other hand, have always conducted their demonstrations and campaigns with this end in view; personal representatives have gone at intervals to give the lie as directly and as publicly as possible to a Government which was claiming to represent them against their will. From hundreds of localities throughout the country, volunteers whose sacrifice was accepted with love and gratitude by thousands of others, came together to take part in a great symbolical act, to represent the otherwise unrepresented, to stand face to face with unrepresentative government, and to say, so that all the world might hear, "You lie!"

It was a great act of truth, all the more necessary because on this matter in the House of Commons falsehood reigned. That is why every deputation advancing with its unredressed wrongs, to be denied access by the Government, to be beaten back by the police, to be charged, to be imprisoned, was of historic importance to the women's movement. It was an act of representation.

Somewhere or another those representatives must find their House of Session, where, on the Government's ground and at the Government's expense, they could hold their sittings of protest against injustice and delay. And they found their House at Holloway; and there for the last five years they have held their sessions, registering each moment of their stay protest against unrepresentative Government; making it impossible for it to be said of them and of those whom they represented that they were being governed by consent.

Man, especially when he is unimaginative, does depend very greatly upon signs; and the outward symbol of revolt is often of extreme moral importance in a nation's history, even when those who maintain it can do no more than stand up and face defeat. Take, as an instance, the revolutionary persistence of Garibaldi, when for the time being his cause seemed utterly hopeless. He and his "militants" were a small minority; many "constitutional" Italians regarded them then as a nuisance and a danger, refused them countenance, succour, or hospitality; for the sake of a quiet life would have been glad to see Garibaldi taking a long rest cure in prison. But Garibaldi went on, and continued, though he could not overthrow it, to make unrepresentative government uncomfortable. Everything that could be said against the militant women to-day could have been said against Garibaldi then, and as a matter of fact was said, among his own countrymen; but it was not said by those true Englishmen who watched from abroad the struggle for Italian freedom; and history has not repeated it. Garibaldi and his small handful of law-breakers, hemmed in by superior numbers, driven into retreat, reduced to starvation, were still an outward and visible sign making it impossible to say, while they were alive, that the foreigner governed Italy with her consent.

We see plainly enough now that Garibaldi and his few were the real representatives of their country, more truly representative in that they stood not merely for her present, but for her future, a quality of representativeness which our modern politicians, living from hand to mouth, and from one election to another, are ever ready to ignore.

The real test of any movement for liberty is this: instinct for representation in such a way that there can be no mistake. If you are fighting against an unjust form of government you must be up against that government, as close as you can get to it, and in as representative a way as you can devise. You cannot be adequately represented by supporters of that government; they may to some extent favour and help your cause if you find them a favourable opportunity; but as far as representation is concerned you must represent yourselves. To do that you must demonstrate. And on your own ground you

cannot demonstrate as you should; it must be on government ground.

That surely is the meaning why women have first sought access to the House of Commons bearing their petition of rights, and why, failing to get a hearing there, they have pressed on to another House of Commons where they could not be denied. For just as the one symbolises a people's consent, so does the other symbolise the refusal of consent. Refused admission to the one, they forced their way into the other.

In neither place were they welcome. Unrepresentative government disliked women being represented at all or anywhere, and so even from its prisons it tried to keep them out! First by leniency and short sentences it sought to reduce the effect of the women's protest upon the popular mind; then it tried harshness, treating them as ordinary criminals, while securing for them longer sentences than ordinary criminals would have had to serve. And still the representative character of the women's action went on working its way into the public mind. Then, so anxious was the Government to deny them representation that it told the police not to arrest; and instead of being arrested the women were maltreated and beaten; brought before a magistrate, the charges against them were withdrawn, and an enquiry into the action of the police was refused. Yet still those representative women forced the Government to give public proof that their government was not by consent. And so, having had their bodies broken by the police, for charges that were afterwards withdrawn, they broke their way into prison, magnificently representative of that spirit which continues to say—as face to face to unrepresentative government as it can come—"You lie." And to-day, entirely because of militancy, the country knows that the truth is with the women, and that, for those thousands whom they represent, government is not government by consent.

Our legal pedants are discussing to-day whether a political offence can be given definition so as to be recognised in the eyes of the law. Can that which when done for one motive is an ordinary crime become a political offence when done for another motive?

Our legislators have had no difficulty whatever in finding such a definition where only foreigners are concerned. "Political agitators," "nationalists rightly struggling to be free,"—these even with blood upon their hands can seek refuge in this country and be safe. Our Government can afford to bear the charge levelled against other Governments that they are unrepresentative and unconstitutional; but it dare not admit that charge against itself.

To admit that its women prisoners are political offenders is to admit that they are representative. And if once it admits that, then its own representative character goes in so far as those women and many thousands of others are concerned. Rather than do that, it will resort to the torture of forcible feeding; rather than do that—strange mercy—it will release its prisoners by scores. The recognition of the political prisoner goes to the root of the whole matter. For representative women such as these are a proof of unrepresentative government.



The W.S.P.U. Pageant at Newcastle. (See page 672).

The Illustr. Lad Chronicle.

MRS. PANKHURST'S BIRTHDAY.

Hyde Park Demonstration, Sunday, July 14.

"Seeing, then, that it is the common cause, let us unite and never cease from persevering in a cause so just and holy until we fully possess those constitutional liberties and privileges which are the birthright of every Englishman and woman!"

There words are from a speech by Mrs. Hallworth, of Stockport, on the formation of the Stockport Female Reformers' Union, September 19, 1810. The speech is an example to the women of to-day. Reading it, or turning over the pages of the Times or any other newspaper of the period, and seeing that every one or two days meetings of the Female Reformers are reported, or glancing through the various numbers of "Cobbett's Register," and noticing that every few weeks one of the letters from William Cobbett, which form



One of the Banners Surmounted by the Cap of Liberty.

the editorial of the paper, is addressed to the Female Reformers, one realises that it is nearly a hundred years since women first began working for the Parliamentary vote. At the very meeting at which Mrs. Hallworth spoke, it was decided that the Female Reformers' Union should help in relieving the men and women reform prisoners then incarcerated in Chester Castle. The great Hyde Park demonstration which is to take place next Sunday will

recall the reform meetings of the early nineteenth century and especially the one at Peterloo, which was held on August 19, 1810. On the site of the meeting, which became a massacre, now stands the Manchester Free Trade Hall, where Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney first questioned Sir Edward Grey on October 13, 1905, and were next day imprisoned for their action.

As at Peterloo and other meetings of the period, red caps of liberty will form a prominent feature at Sunday's demonstration. In the old days the cap of liberty was shown on our coinage, being placed on the tip of Britannia's spear. When the Reformers used this cap of liberty as their emblem, the reactionary Government of the day pronounced it seditious and had it removed from the coinage. Many of the caps of liberty used by the Reformers in the old days were made and presented by the women, deputations of female Reformers usually making the presentation during great demonstrations.

From the centre of next Sunday's meeting will rise a gigantic flagstaff, on the top of which will be placed a big red cap of liberty, and beneath it will float a purple, white, and green tri-colour, which will be seen for miles around. A hundred and fifty bandmen will be massed around this central point, and around them will be arranged the twenty platforms, which are to be occupied by the W.S.P.U. and the various societies taking part in the meeting. Each platform will be decorated with laurel, and grouped around it will be twelve long red poles with scarlet caps of liberty on the top, supporting flags and banners of the Society to whom the platform has been allotted. The banner bearers will be members of the societies, dressed in white. The meeting will begin at three o'clock with the playing of "Rule Britannia," and after this will follow the Welsh National Anthem, "Land of My Fathers," "Scots Wha Hae," then "John Brown's Body," the "Women's Marseillaise," and the "March of the Women," played by the band and sung by thousands of members of the W.S.P.U. and the audience in general, and conducted by the distinguished composer, Dr. Ethel Smyth, in her purple and white Doctor's robes of Durham University.

At 3.15 the speaking will begin, and the fine list of speakers will include that wonderful Russian actress, Lydia Yavorska (Princess Bariatski); Mr. Reginald Wright Kaufman, whose paper we are dealing with in the White Slave Traffic; "The Daughters of Iphigenia," has aroused so much widespread interest both in his native America and in this country; Madame Aino Malmberg, one of the first women to be elected to the Finnish Parliament; Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P.; Mr. George Lansbury, M.P.; Mr. H. W. Nevison, the well-known war corres-

pondent; Mrs. Colden Sanderson (Richard Cobden's daughter); Mr. Laurence Housman, the well-known artist, critic, and playwright; and several popular actresses. At 4.30 the resolution will be put, the signal being given by four women buglers; then the band will strike up again. In view of the present political situation, this great meeting is of immense importance. A Reform Bill for men only is before Parliament and the country, and we must clearly demonstrate that the country wants not Manhood Suffrage alone but Womanhood Suffrage also.

The meeting is being organised by the London Local Women's Social and Political Unions, and the following societies are co-operating: The Women's Freedom League, the Women's Tax Resistance League, the New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage, the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement, the Independent Labour Party, the Irish League for Women's Suffrage, the Cymric Suffrage Union, the Actresses' Franchise League, the Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Committee, the Church League for Women's Suffrage, the Women's Co-operative Guild, and others.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Sunday, July 14, is the anniversary of the great events—the Fall of the Bastille, the Irish League for Women's Suffrage, the Cymric Suffrage Union, the Actresses' Franchise League, the Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Committee, the Church League for Women's Suffrage, the Women's Co-operative Guild, and others.

WANTED! There is still time for volunteers who wish to take an active share in the Demonstration to do so as banner-bearers. Unless they receive their names from Clement Barratt, they should come, dressed in white and wearing the colours, to the West Gate, Marble Arch, at 1.30 on Sunday.

W.S.P.U. PLATFORMS.

- Platform 1.—Enquiries: Miss Vibert; Miss Goodlife.
- Platform 2.—Chair: Miss G. Brackenbury. Speakers: Mrs. Cameron Swan; Mrs. Massey; Miss Hicks, M.A.
- Platform 3.—Chair: Miss N. Lightman. Speakers: Mrs. Eates; Mrs. Daure Fox; Miss Bowditch.
- Platform 5.—Chair: Miss Taylor. Speakers: Mrs. Lamartine Yates; Miss Coombes.
- Platform 9.—Chair: Mrs. Drummond. Speakers: The Hon. Mrs. Haverhill; Mrs. Penn Gaskell; Miss Luez Millholland (New York).
- Platform 11.—Chair: Miss Evelyn Sharp. Speakers: Dr. Helen Hancock; George Lansbury, Esq., M.P.
- Platform 12.—Chair: Mrs. Brailsford. Speakers: Mrs. Baines; Mrs. Tidwell; Mrs. Douglas Duval.
- Platform 15.—Chair: Mrs. Leigh Spencers. Speakers: Mrs. Mansel; Miss Gilliat; Miss Elsa Myers.
- Platform 19.—Chair: Miss S. Pankhurst. Speakers: Dr. Fairfield; Reginald Wright Kaufman, Esq.

OTHER SOCIETIES' PLATFORMS.

- Platform 4 (Independent Labour Party and Fabian Women's Group).—Chair: James Mylles, Esq. Speakers: J. Keir Hardie, Esq., M.P.; George Lansbury, Esq., M.P.; Con. Mrs. Salter; Harry DUBY, Esq.; Miss Marion Phillips, D.Sc.; Miss Atkinson.
- Platform 6 (Writers' League for Women Suffrage).
- Platform 7 (Men's Political Union).—Chair: H. W. Nevison, Esq. Speakers: V. D. Duval, Esq.; E. Duval, Esq.; H. A. Franklin, Esq.; and the Rev. C. Hinscliffe.
- Platform 8 (International arrangement by Australian and New Zealand Women Voters Association).—Speakers: Lady Stout; Mrs. Merivale Mayer; Miss Margaret Holde; Madame Aino Malmberg (Finland).
- Platform 10 (Women's Tax Resistance League).—Chair: Mrs. Louis Fagan, Speakers: Mrs. Colden Sanderson; Mrs. Sada Brown; Miss Abadiam; Laurence Housman, Esq.
- Platform 13 (New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage).—Chair: Miss M. Sliere McGowan. Speakers: Mrs. Cope; Joseph Clayton, Esq.; Dr. Weston; W. L. George, Esq.
- Platform 14 (Women's Freedom League).—Chair: Miss E. A. Underwood. Speakers: Mrs. Desmond; Miss Nina Boyle; Mrs. Merivale Mayer.
- Platform 16 (Actresses' Franchise League).—Chair: Miss Decima Moore. Speakers: Miss Eva Moore; Miss Adelina Bourne; Miss Sydney Keith; Miss Amy Winter; Princess Bariatski; Lydia Yavorska.
- Platform 17 (Men's League for Women's Suffrage).—Chair: J. Y. Kennedy, Esq. Speakers: Dr. Drysdale; Malcolm Mitchell, Esq.; Laurence Housman, Esq.
- Platform 18 (Cymric Suffrage Society).—Chair: Mrs. Mansell Moulton. Speakers: Mrs. Smithwick; Miss Agnes Kelly; Miss Hoey Herbert Burrows, Esq.; J. Cagllan, Esq.
- Platform 21 (Church League for Women Suffrage).—The Rev. C. Hinscliffe and others.

THE "REFORM" BILL: SECOND READING.

Politicians have learnt, although it has taken them years to do so, that Woman Suffrage is the foremost question of the day. This fact stood out clearly in the Franchise Bill debate last Monday. Nearly all the speakers, after touching on one point or another, came to the crux of the matter, the women. What was to be done? Were they all to be omitted, or all included, or was there to be a compromise? One speaker frankly accused the Prime Minister of cowardice in dealing with this question and refusing to give a lead. Lord Robert Cecil pointed out the insult of giving votes to all men and none to women, and urged that this great question should not be trifled with. Sir A. Markham spoke of manhood suffrage as an insult and a humiliation for women, while on the Government side Mr. Harcourt sought to explain the extraordinary attitude of the Cabinet, and Mr. C. Roberts, after describing Mr. Asquith's "fairness," bitterly regretted that this was "not seen clearly in the country," and while abusing militant tactics, continually spoke of himself as a "Suffragette."

We give below some extracts dealing especially with Woman Suffrage.

MR. HARCOURT.

It was quite clear that no Government Bill could, on its introduction, have included any proposal in the direction of female suffrage, or for many years.

I cannot believe that this House as at present constituted is prepared to add 10,000,000 women at this moment to our voting roll, with all the consequences which that logically entails.

I do not think that those who are opposed to the larger proposition will at this moment be prepared to adopt the lesser one, which must lead certainly and immediately to the greater extension—the lesser proposal of the admission of some propertied women to the register just at the moment when we are abolishing the property qualification for men.

MR. PRETTYMAN.

It is known by the Government that the House is to be given a special opportunity of moving an Amendment to extend the franchise to 10,500,000 women. Supposing that that does what is the consequence? And when is that to be done? It can be done next November or next March, and, if that happens, we are today merely providing a peg on which a great revolutionary measure is to be founded.

The Government give no lead to the House in that matter. It is left to the House of Commons. Is not that abrogating the duty of a Government on a great national question?

MR. DICKINSON.

We know that no small number of members of the other side will vote for the insertion of an Amendment for woman suffrage, provided the question is left open to the House. It is going to be left open to the House. I think the Government have treated both the question and the House very fairly. If the Government had included the enfranchisement of women in the Bill, members of the other side of the House would have voted against it. I myself, as an advocate of woman suffrage, thank the Government for what they have done, and I sincerely hope that all those who are anxious to carry through woman suffrage this session will avail themselves of this opportunity, and that which they will never have a better one, and that there will be no dissensions among them.

LORD ROBERT CECIL.

If you say that every man, because he is a man, is entitled to vote, and that all questions of choosing the best people to govern the government of the country is henceforth to be at an end, are you really able to say that we can exclude every woman from any share in the government? It seems to me an almost impossible position for anyone to take up.

You give the vote to the casual labourer; you refuse it to the woman doctor, highly skilled, trained for years, who makes a large income by her practice. You refuse it to the woman teacher and to thousands, even millions, of other women, who are unquestionably capable intellectually far beyond the average casual labourer. Surely no anomaly could be greater than that. I cannot understand how anyone, who looks at this question apart from prejudice and tradition, can seriously believe that the voters enfranchised by this Bill will everyone of them be more capable of exercising the vote than any single woman in the country.

I myself should certainly be opposed to the admission of 10,000,000—either women or men—at one blow to the register. I think it is too large a change. But to say, therefore, you must reject the admission of any single woman seems to me really a controversial method which is scarcely worthy of a Minister of the Crown. I cannot feel that the attitude of the Government in this matter is very clear or easy to understand. Their pledges are perfectly plain and clear. I am not sure that I think that that pledge has been very fully carried out by this Bill. The very first line has—I would have thought unnecessarily—the word "male"—emphasising at the very outset that this is not to be a Bill to give women

the vote. There is the strange omission of leaving the local government suffrage untouched, with no reason that I can understand except that if you were to touch it you would enfranchise the women. I wish to believe as well as I can of the Government, but it is rather discouraging that we have first the President of the Board of Education moving the First Reading of the Bill; it is a strong opponent of women suffrage. Then we have the Colonial Secretary, who is, I suppose, the strongest opponent of woman suffrage in the whole House, moving the Second Reading of the Bill.

Here is a very serious question, which is exciting the deepest and strongest feeling in a section of the population. You must treat them fairly. You must not play with them. You must treat this as a serious question. I believe strongly that if we are united the cause of right and justice in this matter will prevail, and women, in some form or other, will receive the vote by this Bill.

SIR A. MARKHAM.

It seems to me that in this Bill we are going to enfranchise three millions of people who have never asked to be enfranchised. I wish to leave out a very much larger proportion of highly educated women. That is not common justice. After the agitation that the women have been carrying on for many years, this Bill is a positive insult, and a humiliation to them.

The Government ought to give a lead to the House, and if their attitude is one upon this question, the House ought to have the exact position placed before them. To leave a grave matter of this kind to the House without any lead from the Government is an insult to the House. There has never been a question of great reform, and this is a great measure of reform, upon which the Government have taken a course so lead to the House. As this Bill stands at the present time, I shall have no option so far as I can see, if the Government give no lead on the question of the enfranchisement of women, but to vote against the Bill.

MR. S. WILSON.

Does the hon. member or anybody else defend the attitude taken up by the Prime Minister on this subject? Who is going to give the hon. member a lead? I believe upon this question the Prime Minister is a coward. [Hon. Members: "Oh!"] His attitude is one of cowardice; he has already told the House of Commons and the country that to pass woman suffrage would in his opinion be a national disaster, and yet in this House he has said that the majority of the House so desired he would give his support to what he has characterised as a national disaster, because he has said that he would support the Third Reading if it included woman suffrage.

MR. C. ROBERTS.

I think we who are Suffragettes ought in common fairness to pay our tribute to the position which the Prime Minister has taken up on the very difficult and intricate problem of woman's suffrage in reference to this Bill. In doing so the Government has left the question of woman suffrage a great Parliamentary chance which it could not otherwise have obtained. I regret that has not been seen outside in the country. We who are Suffragettes must gratefully accept the chance which has been offered to us.

MR. DUKE.

Our ideal is that every adult, whether man or woman, should have a vote in a Parliamentary election. I do not understand why the Government apply the Bill only to males, unless it is on account of their disagreement. So far as the party with whom I generally act are concerned, we shall, when the Committee stage comes on, move to include women on the same terms as men, and we shall vote for any Amendment having that object in view.

SIR F. BANBURY.

All through the ages up to the present time women have never had a vote or voice in the Government of the country, and never in any country until in the last twenty years have women had a vote.

MR. FELL.

By adding the women you would be putting on an immense body of opinion, but as to what it would be you would be putting in the dark. There is no possible way of showing whether they would vote Conservative or Liberal, Nationalist or Labour. They would be a vast unknown force. It would be a great loss to the country if the people in the towns we represent, and whether they should not have their say is a very open question, and I am prepared to consider it in a most liberal way, and I hope we shall have the opportunity when this Bill goes into Committee to discuss it.

MR. HOGGE.

I believe in adult suffrage for men and women. I think that all ought to be included within the four corners of this Bill, and personally I shall vote against the Third Reading of the Bill if the vote is extended to men without being extended to women.

SIR R. FINLAY.

Was ever such an attitude assumed by the Prime Minister of this country before?

Was there ever in this country a Government contented so to humiliate itself with regard to a great question, and to say: "We are so puzzled about this, so divided in opinion, that we leave our Prime Minister to say, 'It is a terrible thing, an awful calamity, but if the majority of the present House of Commons say that that calamity shall be brought about, I am content to make myself the instrument to carry it out, and will use all the forces of the Government to carry the Bill through to the Third Reading, with that addition.' It is an absolutely unexampled situation. The ex-Lord Chancellor (Lord Loreburn) said that the carrying of woman suffrage in this Parliament would be a constitutional outrage. It is an infinitely greater outrage that the Prime Minister has said he is prepared to perpetrate it."

A PRESS COMMENT.

The Bill has a profoundly fraudulent core under its bustle of triviality. It is Mr. Asquith's disingenuous reply to his suffragist persecutors. Lord Robert Cecil pointed out that it gives the franchise to the wrong boys who do not want it in order to deny it to women who do. There is an air of trickery and sham about the whole transaction which is disagreeable enough.—The Standard.

OUTDOOR DEMONSTRATIONS.

Another demonstration organised by a local union was held on Clapham Common on Sunday, July 20, at 3 p.m. The demonstration was held in the public in the Women's Suffrage Cause in general, and in militant tactics in particular, for from Battersea, Wandsworth, Clapham, Balham and Tooting large crowds of people came

THE BY-ELECTIONS.

Vigorous W.S.P.U. by-election campaigns are in progress at Crewe and Hanford, 8 p.m. Nantwich, Market Square, Mrs. Brailsford, 8 p.m. Macclesfield, Market Square, Mrs. Brailsford, 8 p.m. Willaston, Market Square, Mrs. Brailsford, 8 p.m. Market Square, Mrs. Brailsford, 8 p.m. Cheshire, 8 p.m. Market Square, Mrs. Brailsford, 8 p.m. W.S.P.U. Election Manifesto puts the issue clearly before the electors. It says:—

We have reached a crisis: the Government have insulted women by introducing a Bill to give Votes—not to women who have fought and suffered for Votes, but to men who have hardly troubled to ask for them. All youths of 21 are now to vote, even Peers are not treated as political criminals and lunatics. Now that Manhood Suffrage is being proposed by the Government, which means that all men are to be enfranchised, while all women are treated as political outcasts, who can be sent to prison for their political beliefs, has broken out again? The Government are to blame for what is happening. Electors! Vote against the Government and keep the Liberal out!

HANLEY.

Polling Day, Saturday, July 13. CANDIDATES: Mr. R. L. Oakes (L). Mr. S. Finsey (Lab.). Mr. G. H. Ritterer (C). W.S.P.U. Organiser: Miss Plattman and Miss Roberts. W.S.P.U. Committee Rooms: 99, St. Andrew Street. Results in December, 1910: W. S. R. Rogers (L), 5,343; G. H. Ritterer (C), 4,668; Lab. Maj. 3,688.

Our correspondent writes:—"Both the large centres in this constituency with their numerous good places, offer exceptional opportunities for open-air meetings. These advantages, coupled with the fine weather, are being taken advantage of to the full by the W.S.P.U. Dinner-hour meetings are being held, and a crowd of the day in the busiest thoroughfares. Our reception has been excellent, our independent platform and election policy is being realised with marked spontaneity. To those who have been working at by-elections from early days, the widespread knowledge of our movement in parts that have not been touched by much propaganda is a striking feature."

CREWE.

CANDIDATES: Mr. Ernest Craig (C). Mr. H. Murphy (L). Mr. Jas. Roberts (Lab.). W.S.P.U. Organiser: Miss Plattman. W.S.P.U. Committee Rooms: Town Hall. Results in December, 1910: W. S. R. Rogers (L), 7,620; E. E. Craig (L), 5,585; Lab. Maj. 1,764.

Our correspondent writes:—"The by-election is in full swing. As it is a three-cornered contest, speculation is running high as to the successful candidate; but it is quite clear in the minds of the W.S.P.U. workers that whoever else gets in it shall not be the nominee of the present Government Liberal Government. We will one and all work to the very end to secure his defeat, which should be easy after the tremendous haul down of close on 3,000 votes in this district. The following meetings have been arranged: Fri., July 12—Crewe, Market Square, Mrs. Brailsford, 8 p.m. Sandbank, Market Square, Mrs. Brailsford, 8 p.m.

between 5.30 p.m. and 6 p.m. Those workers belonging to the local unions who were responsible for the demonstration, and who for many days past had been working day in and day out for its success, felt their spirits sink as the first heavy shower came down, soon after the meetings began; but the huge audiences assembled round all the four platforms must have caught some of the dauntless spirit of the suffragettes, for the heaviest rain failed to dislodge a great number who were determined to hear Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Mrs. Drummond, Miss G. Brackenbury, and the other speakers, who, in spite of the fact that they must have been very wet, stuck to their posts. Many were the words of praise and encouragement from the crowd, who laughed heartily when Mrs. Drummond said, "Cabinet Ministers don't stop us and I'm sure the rain shan't." The tone and manner of the listeners had never been more sympathetic.

Presently the rain ceased and the speakers made the most of their opportunity; questions were asked and answered with wonderful alacrity. The meeting went on until close upon nine o'clock, and even then the crowd wanted to hear more.

The demonstration ended in the resolutions being passed at all the platforms with very few dissentients. The workers were well rewarded for the poster parades, chalking, outdoor meetings and hand-bill distributers, all of which helped to wake up the neighbourhood.

VOTES FOR WOMEN sold splendidly.

STREATHAM, SATURDAY, JULY 20.

The Streatham W.S.P.U. are holding a demonstration at Streatham Common on Saturday, July 20, at 3 p.m. (note on Sunday, July 21, as announced in last week's issue). There will be two processions with bands, one forming up at Canterbury Road, Brighton, at 3.45 p.m., another starting at 4.15 p.m., in Tooting Broadway at 4 p.m.

There is one little group at the by-elections which is making itself humorously ridiculous: it is the Women's Liberal Federation. The Women's Liberal Federation has sent down its organising secretary and an assistant to help the Liberal candidate at Hanley. After all these years of contemptuous treatment at the hands of a Liberal Cabinet, and successful wriggling out of one promise after another that the women have received from Cabinet Ministers, there is still to be found those who will go down to lick the hands of the masters who have kicked them. The average elector has a certain sense of personal dignity and self-respect; and these humble ladies can be left to the reception which is their due. There will always be those with servile blood in their veins, who like to remain in subjection, because they have not the energy to act for themselves, who remain slaves because they are slaves. But it is a comforting thought that such women are rarer every day. Even the Women's Liberal Federation will rise one day. As a friend of mine used to say: "It's a long worm that has no turning."

G. R. S. T. in the Daily Herald.

Over five hundred Dover residents signed the following petition to Mr. Asquith:—"We, the undersigned, in view of the fact that First Division Treatment has been granted to the leaders in the recent suffragist agitation, ask that the same treatment shall be accorded to all suffragist women now in prison in place of the more severe measures at present in force."

The following resolution was unanimously passed by the Scarborough Men's Committee for the Enfranchisement of Women: "We, the Scarborough Men's Committee for the Enfranchisement of Women, strongly protest against the disgusting and degrading practice of forcible feeding on Suffragist prisoners, and call upon the Home Secretary to put an end to it either by transferring them to the first division or releasing them."

The following resolutions were passed by the Committee of the Leicester Independent Labour Party on Monday, July 1:—"That, in the opinion of this meeting, no extension of the present franchise will be satisfactory unless it includes women under exactly the same terms and qualifications as men, and thus recognises women as human beings and citizens. The meeting calls upon the Government, in accordance with its professed Liberal principles, to forthwith unconditionally transfer to the first division with full and complete suffragist privileges previously granted to any political prisoner, all those prisoners of whatever sex or class, who are at present confined in His Majesty's prisons for offences committed unselfishly with moral or political motives."

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" HOLIDAY CAMPAIGN.

In the following seaside places the VOTES FOR WOMEN Holiday Campaign, announced in last week's paper, will be conducted by W.S.P.U. organisers:—

Blackpool: Miss Plattman, Llandudno and Colwyn Bay: Miss Williams. Norfolk Coast: The Misses Brackenbury and Miss West. Torquay: Miss G. Allen.

Other organisers and helpers will be announced in due course. Meanwhile, it is of great importance that all those willing to take part in this interesting scheme for spreading news of the militant Suffrage movement broadcast by taking the paper VOTES FOR WOMEN into every corner of the British Isles, should communicate at once with Mrs. Ayrton-Gould, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C. A postcard should be sent to her, filled in with the following items of information:—

- (1) Where are you going for your holiday?
- (2) How long are you going to stay (inclusive dates)?
- (3) How much time can you give?
- (4) If none, why not?
- (5) Your name, and (a) permanent address, (b) holiday address.

proceed to put people in touch with one another, and make out a plan of campaign in every district. We should like to suggest particularly, this week, that intending holiday-makers who have not yet made their plans should map out a VOTES FOR WOMEN tour. One member writes that she means to make a tour of the West of Ireland in a decorated donkey cart, visiting all the markets and fairs in the towns and selling the paper as she goes. This is an excellent idea, and could be developed in many ways. A walking party might, for instance, take a donkey with them to carry the papers; they could see the world, visit places of interest, enjoy a healthful amount of exercise, and sell the paper in all the villages and towns they pass through. A cycling or a driving tour could be conducted on the same principle. Suffragettes as hawkers, hawk the greatest political weekly of the moment from door to door, and from town to town, should form an original feature of the summer holidays of 1912.

Then there are, of course, many members of the W.S.P.U. who will prefer a lazier holiday by the seaside. One member writes to tell us of the success she had last summer in selling VOTES FOR WOMEN on the sands. "People get so bored looking at the sea or listening to the band that they would buy anything" is the way the summer holidays are spent. They must have something to do, and they will buy anything, however, if it comes to their hands. They will buy VOTES FOR WOMEN—and of course they will, the moment it is brought to their notice!

Others will take a river holiday, perhaps. Nothing could be more advantageous from our point of view. A decorated skiff or punt, flying the W.S.P.U. colours and bearing a good supply of papers, should be on view at every holiday resort. The Richmond W.S.P.U. has already consented to man such a barque if some generous owner will lend it for the summer months. If people are ready to buy VOTES

FOR WOMEN on the sands, they should be equally glad of something to read when spending long days on the river.

We would like to remind our readers of the special prices to advertise the paper which are now ready, prices 1s. 3d. for the first one, and 1s. for others if ordered at the same time. A few are also on sale, stencilled by hand, at 1s. 6d. Other flags, large and small, coloured bunting, etc., suitable for decorating bathing tents, carts, market stalls, bicycles, &c. can be had at various prices on application.

A special picture poster is also being designed by Miss Hilda Dallas, whose work is already well known to our readers, and whose former VOTES FOR WOMEN poster formed such a charming advertisement of the paper. This will shortly be on sale, price 3d. each, or 2d. each more than six are ordered. These will be so attractive that there will be no difficulty in getting cottagers, newsagents, and others to display them in their windows.

The Holiday Campaign must be made a brilliant success if only for the sake of the W.S.P.U. Leaders. They will be spending the rest of the summer of 1912 in recovering from the horrible experiences they have recently gone through in prison. For the moment they are put out of action by the treatment they have sustained at the hands of a Government that sinks to the torture of its political opponents. No greater blow could be dealt to the Government, no greater reward offered to the Leaders on their return from exile in October, than the news of an immense increase in the circulation of the weekly organ of the W.S.P.U.

The members of the Union always do what they set out to do. Let them set out to double the circulation of VOTES FOR WOMEN here and now—and it will be done!

NEWCASTLE PAGEANT.

Nuns, prisoners, nurses, wounded soldiers, Greek maidens—at first sight the forming up seems like the prince's task in the old fairy tale...

MR. SAMUEL'S MEETING.

Owing to the inclement weather, the miners' demonstration at Stanhope, Durham, on July 3, was transferred from the Park to the Town Hall...

CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

W.S.P.U. General Offices: 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

Organisers and local Secretaries are asked to note that Reports intended for publication in Votes for Women should be sent to the Editor...

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Members willing to help Finbury Park Demonstration, Sunday, July 21, are asked to send names to Secretary...

Members please notify your friends of a garden meeting to be held at address below on Tuesday, July 23...

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MEETINGS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

Table listing various meetings across different locations including Aberdeen, Brighton, London, and various rural areas, with dates and times.

LONDON MEETINGS FOR THE FORTHCOMING WEEK.

Table listing London meetings for the week of July 15-19, 1912, including locations like Balham, Clapton, and various districts.

THE QUALITY WAY.

That's our way of cleaning Clothes—the quality way; turning out good work—just a little better than other people—perhaps even a little better than necessary—but good work always.

Home Counties.

Members willing to assist at Town Hall meeting please to call by 7 p.m. All those who can distribute handbills or help to sell tickets are kindly requested to do so.



A Portion of the Crowd at the W.S.P.U. Demonstration in Alexandra Park, Ipswich, on Saturday, July 6.

MISS HELSBY.

In connection with the breaking of the Post Office window, Miss Elsie R. Helsby was sentenced at Ludlow last week to one month's hard labour.

POSTERS EVERYWHERE!

A good deal of response has been made to the appeal to paint the town purple, white and green by getting newsagents and railway bookstalls to display the weekly poster of Votes for Women.

AN AUTHOR'S EXAMPLE.

I have lately felt that it is the bounden duty of all women who wish to bring about the advancement and uplifting of all women, and the downfall of sweating, and the overthrow of the White Slave Traffic in women, to join in the fight for political freedom.

OATMEAL SKIN FOOD (GOSS).

A PERFECT EMOLLIENT. Preserves and Beautifies the Complexion.

1/6 Tubes, 2/6 and 7/6 Jars. Prepared by S. F. GOSS, Ltd., at their Laboratories, 460, Oxford Street, W., and 17, Brompton Road, S.W.

Every purchaser of a jar of the above will be presented with a barrel of Goss' original RUSSIAN VIOLET BATH POWDER used by Royalty and the élite of Europe.

Advertisement for Soap in Flakes, The Purest Form of Soap Produced. For use with all fine fabrics such as Laces, Blouses, Silks, etc. Includes contact information for John Knight, Ltd.

DERRY & TOMS

KENSINGTON, LONDON, W.

Summer SALE

Throughout July.

Peruse the Bargains on this page and Order by Post To-day, or Phone 3380 Kensington. We pay carriage except where otherwise stated. Orders attended to upon receipt. Cosy Luncheon and Tea Rooms on the premises.

Remnants Half Price Thursdays.



A FEW TYPICAL EXAMPLES OF VALUE.



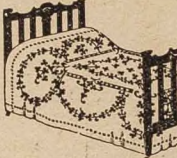
LADIES' HANDKERS. Y75-A Dainty Box of 6 prettily emb. (as above), trimmed with ribbon. Usually 3/11. Sale 1/11. The box, if sent alone, post 3d. extra. 3 Boxes sent post free.



DRESSING JACKET. In real Yokohama Crêpe, with silk border. Very pretty design, and well made throughout. Will be cleared early in the Sale 3/11



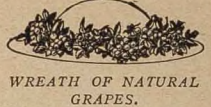
OSTRICH COLLARS. With Satin Bow. In Black Grey, White, Black and White, and Natural and White. Usual Price 12/11. Sale Price 6/11.



IRISH EMBROIDERED BEDSPREADS. Huge Purchase of 1845 Irish Embroidered Bedspread Samples. Must be seen to be appreciated. To be sold in 2 lots. Single Beds. Double Beds. Us'ly 15/11 21/9 Us'ly 29/11 37/6 Sale 10/6 15/- Sale 21/- 25/-



PARISIAN OVERSLIP. Lace 84, Parisian Beaded Overslips, as illustrated and similar designs, White and Silver, White and Gold, White with Colour, Black and Steel, and All Black. Usual Price 29/6. Sale Price 12/11.



WREATH OF NATURAL GRAPES. In Black, Green, and Red. Usual Price 7/11. Sale Price 3/11.



LEVER PRESS. A Hand-Lever Press, producing your address in strong embossed relief. Fitted with steel die and counter-part complete for any address up to 24 letters, 7/6. A stronger and larger press suitable for stamping cards as well as paper, 10/6. Postage Extra.

(Continued from previous page.)

NURSE EVA CHRISTY (Author of "Modern Side-Saddle Riding," &c.) has vacancy next September for one more student to train for the profession of teaching RIDING ON EDUCATIONAL AND SCIENTIFIC PRINCIPLES. Premium required, and good references—Apply by letter only, 1, Donnington Park Mansions, London.

NEGLECTED EDUCATION speedily remedied by Private Postal Tuition. Writing, Letter-writing, General Knowledge, Correct Speech. Moderate, inclusive terms—Miss T., 31, Compton Road, Winchmore Hill, Hampstead.

POULTRY FARM.—Vacancy for Students; variety of breeds stocked; utility and exhibition.—M. and F. Spang, The Felbridge Poultry Farm, East Grinstead.

PRIVATE NURSING HOME, Central London; medical, surgical, and maternity; fully-trained nurses. References and particulars on application. Personally recommended by Mrs. Faulkner. There is also a vacancy for a permanent patient. Terms by arrangement.—Box 540, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn.

THE HEALTH CENTRE, 122, Victoria Street, S.W.—Perfect health by natural means through vital electricity. Hours: 10.30 a.m. to 1 p.m.; 2.30 p.m. to 6 p.m. Saturdays excepted. Physical Diagnosis by Qualified Medical Men, and Diagnosis by Mrs. Mary Davies. Enquiries relating to treatment answered free of charge. Enclaves stamped envelope if written reply required. Lectures, Physical Culture, and Concentration Classes are held at "The Health Centre."

TO SUFFRAGIST SPEAKERS.—Miss ROSA LEO, 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 Zangwill writes—"Thanks to your teachings, I spoke nearly an hour at the Albert Hall without weariness, . . . while my voice carried to every part of the hall."

VACANCY occurs in High-class Photographic Studio for Lady Pupil; exceptional opportunity to learn the business thoroughly; premium required, returnable in salary; interview any Wednesday morning.—Hardee, 14 and 15, Conduit Street, W.

BUSINESS, Etc.

ADVERTISEMENTS inserted in all PUBLICATIONS, HOME and COLONIAL, at lowest office list rates.—S. THROWER, ADVERTISING AGENT, 20, IMPERIAL BUILDINGS, LUDGATE CIRCUS, LONDON, E.C. Established at this office nearly 30 years. Phone: 562 Central.

IF You wish to Remove, Store, or Dispose of anything, send postcard or ring up Gerrard 6188 for The London Storage Co., Westwood House, 210, High Holborn, W.C., for price and advice, free of charge. Dry rooms, extensive warehouses.

SITUATIONS WANTED.

GENTLEWOMAN desires post as Parlourmaid; in a town preferred.—G. S., VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

HOLIDAYS.—Post as Companion or Governess; lady by birth, well educated, best references; small salary and laundry help with Saffrage work.—Box 948, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

LADY, qualified, wants engagements; good plain cook; would train maid or would take orders; home-made cakes; lists; prices forwarded.—Bullock, Jesus Lane, Cambridge.

MEMBER recommends Gentlewoman; make good House-mother for school; (teach cooking). Housekeeper-chaperone, or Housekeeper; companion; capable, energetic, reliable; splendid with young people; trained cook.—Box 326, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

POST desired as Companion—Help or Housekeeper; member W.S.P.U.—Box 944, 4, Clement's Inn.

SUFFRAGETTE B.A. and Inter. B.Sc. desires holiday work, August, social, political, or scholastic; half money earned given to the Cause.—175, Barcombe Avenue, Streatham Hill.

WANTED by Married Woman, Situation as Caretaker, or any place of trust; husband in work; good references.—Apply E. G. B., VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn.

SITUATIONS VACANT.

REQUIRED.—The assistance of Ladies in good social position for the organisation of an Association for the advancement of women engaged in business. All preliminary work has been completed.—Write Berry, Tompkins and Co., Solicitors, Sardinia House, Lincoln's Inn Fields.

WANTED.—First-class Speaker; terms according to qualifications.—Apply (preferably in person), New Constitutional Society, 4, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

JEWELLERY.

WHY Keep Useless Jewellery? The large London market enables Robinson Brothers, of 9, Hampstead Road, London, W., and 127, Fenchurch Street, E.C., to give the best prices for Gold, Silver, Platinum, Diamonds, Pearls, Emeralds, Silver Plate, Antiques, Old Teeth, &c. in any form, condition, or quantity; licensed valuers and appraisers. Telephone: 2036 North. All parcels offer or cash by return of post.

DRESSMAKING, Etc.

DRESSMAKER (Suffragette) with wide experience in cutting, fitting, and remodelling (best work only), visits ladies' residences. Highest testimonials. Terms, 7s. 6d. per day.—Apply Box 898, VOTES FOR WOMEN Office, 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

DRESSMAKING.—Madame Veyret, Court Dressmaker; Paris experience; moderate charges; dresses made from pattern bodice.—164A, Brompton Road, S.W.

FOR SMART and Artistic Millinery, Original Ideas, at Moderate Cost, try Marie Rochford, The Studio, 34, Baker Street, W. Renovations a speciality. Sale prices during July, everything half-price.

TAILOR-MADE COSTUMES.—Latest West End and Paris styles, from 3 guineas. Highly recommended by members of W.S.P.U. Patterns sent on application.—H. Nilsson, Ladies' Tailor, 14, Great Titchfield Street, Oxford Street, W. (near Waring's).

TRAVEL.

SKETCHING, Walking, Pleasure Tours. Holland, Rhine, Switzerland, Normandy; three weeks; Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Russia; 25 guineas; particulars, stamp.—Women's International League, 199 Victoria Street, London.

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, 35, Cambridge Place, Norfolk Square, W. Telephone: 337 Mayfair.

ELECTROLYSIS and Face Massage skillfully performed; also expert Lessons. Certificates given. Special terms to nurses.—Address, Miss Theakston, 65, Great Portland Street, W.

HAIR DESTROYER.—James' Depilatory instantly removes superfluous hairs from the face, neck, or arms, without injury to the skin. Of most chemists, or free from observation, post free on receipt of postal order for 1s. 3d., 2s. 6d., or 5s.—Mrs. V. James, 258, Caledonian Road, London, N.

SUPERFLUOUS HAIRS.—Guaranteed removed instantly, or money returned. Simple, harmless method (cost about 6d.). Full instructions, 2s. 6d. BEAUTY SECRET.—Home-made lotion (cost trifling), perfectly harmless, whitens skin, removes sunburn. Recipe, 2s. 6d. Tender Feet: No more burning or blistered feet if simple advice followed (no expense whatever). Instructions, 1s. Corns: Simple home cure (costing 3d.), harmless, certain. Recipe, 1s. To keep hair in curl (cost practically nothing). Recipe, 1s.—Seale and Co., Dept. G., 119, Fenchurch Street, London.

GARDENING.

GARDENING for Health. Ladies received; charming country residences; elevated situation; open-air life; competent instruction; individual consideration.—Peake, Udimore, Eye.

POULTRY AND PROVISIONS.

EGGS, guaranteed new laid, all tested and selected, in one or two dozen lots, post paid, boxes free, 2s. per dozen.—Apply M. Hitchcock, Water Mill, Bures, Suffolk.

POULTRY and GAME BARGAINS.—All goods sent carriage paid throughout the Kingdom. Satisfaction guaranteed.

2 English Spring Chickens 5s.
2 Choice Guinea Fowls 5s.
2 White Grouse and English Chicken 5s. 6d.
2 Young Pheasants 5s. 6d.
1 English Duckling and 2 Partridges 5s. 6d.
3 Fat Quails and Devon Duckling 5s. 6d.
SHAW and SON, POULTRY SPECIALISTS, 80, MARSHMONT STREET, LONDON, W.C.

TOILET REQUISITES.

CULTO CULTO CULTO

For 5d. stamps we post you sufficient of our Magic Finger Nail Polish to last two months. Please give us a trial. You will never regret it, because it is both hygienic and necessary for one who has the least pretensions to good taste and cultured hands. We are certain if you try a 5d. sample you will buy our Is. crayon regularly.—BELVOIR AND CO., 1, NEW SOUTHGATE, N.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A SYMPATHISER has for disposal few Nainsook Nightdresses, 3s. each; Chemises, 1s. 10d.; Knickers, 1s. 6d.; Camisoles, 1s. 6d.; prettily trimmed, unworn; approval.—Mrs. Burley, 157, Strand, London.

ADVERTISE the Cause by getting your Cigarettes from the L.I. High-class Private Supply Co., 120, Sheringham Avenue, Romford Road, Manor Park, Essex.

BLUTHNER Overstrung Piano; fine tone; exceptional bargain; or reasonable offer; room wanted.—11, Parkhurst Road, Holloway.

COMBINGS.—Ladies' Combing, 4d. per oz. No tails.—Thompson, 430, Wandsworth Road, S.W.

CORSETS made to measurement, 18in. in length, in two days; fitted if required; warranted unbreakable. Prices from 12s. 6d.—Box 522, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

DRINK SALUTARIS. Health-giving Table Water. Distilled. Absolutely pure and free from all microbes; Aerated or Still. Univalued for gout and rheumatism. Ask your grocer or write Salutaris Company, 236, Fulham Road, London, S.W. (mentioning this advert).

FREE! Over 200 Patterns of Charming Irish Linen summer Costume Fabric, "Flexella," washable, wears for years. Scores of fascinating designs, beautiful shades. Sale catalogue free.—Write, Hutton's, 167, Larnie, Ireland.

HAIR FALLING OFF.—Lady who lost nearly all her hair, and has now strong, heavy growth, sends particulars to anyone enclosing stamped, addressed envelope.—Miss V. W. Field, Glendower, Shanklin.

HAIR-COMBINGS bought, 4d. to 6d. per oz.—Holt and Co., Leatherhead, Surrey.

HAVE YOUR OWN BOOKPLATE.—We can design and engrave a bookplate to incorporate your own ideas, crest, motto, &c. Artistic and original work, from 17s. 6d. Marvellous value. Specimens sent free.—Henry R. Ward, 49, Gt. Portland Street, London, W.

KNITTED CORSETS.—New invention, unbreakable. Lists free.—Write, Knitted Corsets Co., Nottingham.

LAD ON THINE ALTAR.—New Sacred Song, by Walter Brooks, Op. 73; post free, eighteen pence, from Louis Lobanoff, 83, Willesden High Road, N.W.

OLD FALSE TEETH.—We give highest possible prices for above. Offer made if unaccepted, teeth returned. Dealers in old gold or silver in any form. Bankers' references. Straightforward dealing.—Woodfall and Company, Southampton.

PERSIAN KITTENS.—Chinchilla Queens, 10s. 6d., to good home; house-trained, affectionate; also fine Tom, 25s.—Miss Eyre, St. Briavels, S.O.

SONG for Suffrage Meetings.—"Forward, Ever Forward," by Margaret O'Shea; music, Emily Jones.—From Suffrage Shop, 15, Adam Street, Strand. Price, 2s.; cards, 1d.

SWEET LAVENDER, freshly gathered, 100 heads for 6d., 250 for 1s., post free.—Miss English, Orion, Peterborough.