

VOTES FOR WOMEN

VOL. V. (New Series), No. 216.

FRIDAY, APRIL 26, 1912.

Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free.)

LIBERALISM—PAST AND PRESENT.



"A prison is becoming, under the rule of the present Government, a temple of honour."—Mr. Gladstone, censuring the Conservative Government for its treatment of Irish political prisoners. In the House of Commons, March 1, 1889.

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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.

Once more the courageous action of the militant Suffragists in prison has won a victory for the cause and compelled the Government to yield to a moral and spiritual force that no physical power, no brutality of treatment, could overcome. In our last issue we described the gallant struggle carried on by the women in Aylesbury Prison, who, when refused the treatment of political offenders, started the hunger strike as a protest, and were subjected to the shameful torture of forcible feeding. Nearly a hundred women in Holloway Gaol did the same, and there, too, in a number of cases, this dangerous and

unpardonable process was authorised by the Home Office in the vain hope of breaking down the resolution of the women. When this was found to be impossible, Mr. McKenna, showing himself no more statesmanlike in defeat than he had proved himself to be during the conflict of wills, grudgingly conceded to all the Suffragists in prison the minimum of the privileges allowed under Rule 243A.

Full Political Recognition.

Our admiration for the brave women who, at the risk of their lives, have thus again forced to the front the whole question of prison treatment, is unbounded. In deciding to accept the Home Secretary's interpretation of the Rule—which is worded so ambiguously that it can be made to mean almost anything—they do not relinquish their claim to the full rights of political offenders; and the very least the authorities can do is to provide them with newspapers and writing materials, bare necessities to offenders of this class. In a second able article on the political treatment of prisoners, which we print this week, Professor Sigerson points out that Great Britain in this respect lags behind such Continental countries as France and Austria. The Suffragists now in prison are fighting not only for their own political recognition, but for the status of British political offenders in general, men and women alike. In this connection it is interesting to note that Mr. Lansbury intends shortly to bring in a Bill, providing that any prisoner convicted of a political offence shall be treated as a misdemeanant of the first division.

Whose "Tissue of Falsehood"?

All through the militant campaign of the last six years the unwavering purpose of the women has stood out in sharp contrast to the pusillanimous

evasions of the Home Secretary when charged with brutality towards Suffragist prisoners. In this respect Mr. McKenna has proved himself a fit successor to Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. Winston Churchill. Unable to see in the protest of voteless women against continued disfranchisement anything more than the "moral turpitude" which he attributed to their motives in the House of Commons only last week, Mr. McKenna has contrived further to misinterpret the charges brought by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst against his predecessor at the Home Office in 1909-10, and in his answer to Sir Charles Henry in the House last Monday, denounced her letter to the Press on April 13 as "a tissue of falsehood." This accusation comes with little weight from a Minister whose official repudiation, a few weeks ago, of the known facts concerning the prison treatment of Mrs. Pankhurst, showed small knowledge or appreciation of what really happened. Since his rendering of Miss Pankhurst's words may have misled the public as to her real meaning, we are glad to insert on another page her reiteration of the grim charges that have been brought by Suffragists, time after time, against the Home Office, charges which have never been fairly met or disproved.

Grim Charges.

Women Suffragists, as Miss Sylvia Pankhurst points out in her letter, were, in the autumn and winter of 1908, handcuffed, imprisoned in punishment cells unfit for human habitation, forcibly fed with every accompaniment of harshness and cruelty. More recently, setting aside for the moment the hunger strike and forcible feeding of this month, we have had the case of Mr. William Ball, to which we alluded last week in our note upon the ques-

tionable way in which the so-called investigation into his treatment had been conducted. Mr. William Ball, a working-man and trade-unionist, in his chivalrous championship of the cause of Woman Suffrage, broke two panes of glass at the Home Office on December 21 last. For this he was sentenced to two months' hard labour; and when he very properly protested against being treated as a criminal offender and started the hunger strike, he was fed by force for five and a half weeks, a process that very naturally undermined his health and greatly impaired his nervous system, though he had gone to prison a sound and healthy man in mind and body.

Demand for an Enquiry.

To us it appears that the time has come for a public enquiry into the whole matter of the prison treatment of Suffragists. The Women's Social and Political Union have no reason to fear such an enquiry. In demanding it they know full well what an indictment of Liberal administration would be furnished, what defects of prison regulations, what a record of Home Office incapacity and Home Office inexactitudes. Nor would the public be averse to this investigation. During the last week more than one forcible manifesto has appeared in the advertisement columns of our newspapers, calling upon British citizens to realise that the treatment of women political offenders as criminals involves the honour of the Empire and the liberty of the subject, as well as the suffering of women. One of these manifestoes is unsigned; another appears over the signature of "A British Anti-Suffragist"; a third is in the form of a letter by that unflattering champion of justice, Mr. Henry W. Nevson. They are all signs of a growing feeling of exasperation that no Government should ignore. One result of an enquiry would inevitably be to help forward the cause of prison reform generally, a cause that is dear to the heart of every Suffragist. But would the Government be able to face it as unflinchingly as the Women's Social and Political Union?

A Militant Primate.

"We are all militant now!" Such is in effect the cry of men at the present time, and especially of those who are fighting in what they regard as the cause of liberty against Home Rule for Ireland. The Unionist leaders, as we have repeatedly shown by extracts from their very militant utterances, are certainly keeping the Suffragettes in countenance. Indeed, by the violence of their counsel they leave the militant women far behind. The latest to preach the gospel of militant methods is no less a person than the Lord Primate of the Church of Ireland, summoned to consider Home Rule, the Lord Primate applauded the expressed resolve of Ulster men to resist Home Rule by every means, whether lawful or unlawful. He said he had lived among them and had seen their grim determination at this crisis in their history, and he solemnly declared their determination not to be driven out from under the Union Jack. They were, he said, long past the stage of bluff and brag, and had reached the stage of self-sacrifice unto death. No more militant utterance could well be imagined. It was received by the Churchmen present with vociferous applause. It is interesting to militant Suffragists in Ireland and elsewhere to know that militancy has the sanction and warm approval of the Lord Primate.

The Favourable Moment.

Under this heading the Westminster Gazette, in a recent leading article, rebuked as follows those reactionaries who do not see the urgency of Home Rule:— "But why, ask some people, not leave well alone? Ireland turbulent did not deserve Home Rule, and Ireland quiet does not need Home Rule. The Home Ruler on these lines must always be wrong. He agitates, and it is a reason for saying "no," he ceases from agitation, and again it is a reason for saying "no."

The leader goes on to scoff at the argument that Ireland is a spoilt child that already has all it wants:—

But still the child persists and comes again and again with his demand for something of his own. If the Englishman, than whom no kind of man in the whole world is more persistent in getting his own way, could only for a moment put himself in the position of the Irishman, he would begin to see a little more sense in this childishness than he is apt to suppose.

How much easier is it to be a Liberal newspaper when the discourse is of Home Rule for men, and not of Votes for Women!

A Week of Bewildering Variety.

The Parliamentary correspondent of the Daily News prefaced his remarks last Monday with the

words, "A week of bewildering variety opens to-day at Westminster," and proceeded to name, as business to be dealt with this week, Bills dealing with India, the Welsh Church, and Education, besides the Postmaster-General's annual statement. The Liberal mind may well be bewildered! The administration of a subject race containing millions of women, religious liberty of thought in Wales, the education of the nation's children, the salaries of women clerks in the Post Office—a week of this sort of thing is enough to make the head whirl of any statesman who tries to tackle it from the man's point of view alone. And yet, in all this "bewildering variety," not a corner is found for the one measure that would simplify them all, a Government measure to give women the power to help in dealing with legislation so deeply affecting their interests. Mr. Lloyd George, when questioned in the House as to details of the proposal to reform the franchise laws, and the probable date of those proposals, "can add nothing to the statement made by the Prime Minister on November 8 last." Bewildering variety indeed! A week of plain justice would be good enough for women.

Heroism That Knows No Sex.

Much correspondence has appeared in the Press, apparently with the intention of establishing some connection between the terrible tragedy of the Titanic and the cause of Woman Suffrage. Our leader deals with this subject at length, and we have only space here in which to express our profound sympathy with the homes that have been made desolate by the disaster, and our deep sense of admiration for those men and women who so unhesitatingly gave their lives for others. Heroism and self-sacrifice know no distinction of sex, as can be seen in the stories of survivors that we quote elsewhere. It is with very great thankfulness that we note among the list of those saved the names of Mrs. Bowerman Chibnall and her daughter, Miss Elsie Bowerman, two members of the St. Leonard's Women's Social and Political Union, and very enthusiastic workers in the cause. Our gladness at their happy escape has been all the greater since their names first appeared among the list of the missing.

Mr. W. T. Stead.

We wish to pay our tribute to the memory of Mr. W. T. Stead, who died in the wreck of the Titanic. Mr. Stead was always throughout his life the champion of the rights of women, and believed in their human, social, and political equality with men. In co-operation with Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy he took the initiative in a most effective Woman Suffrage revival at the beginning of the present century. When Annie Kenney, in 1906, founded a branch of the Women's Social and Political Union in London, Mr. Stead was most generous with help and advice, and was one of those who most encouraged her in her mission. He was quick to understand the great significance of her coming to London, and in one of his admirable character-sketches in the Review of Reviews he hailed her as a modern Joan of Arc.

Women's Sphere.

It is characteristic of our highly intelligent Liberal Government that while carefully providing an abundance, and, as some people argue, a superabundance, of Dreadnoughts, they have allowed other countries to gain an immeasurable superiority in the matter of aircraft for use in time of war. This may be the result simply of stupidity and fossilism, but what are we to say of the manner in which they try to excuse their neglect! Say the Government in the recently issued Memorandum on Naval and Military Aviation: "There are admittedly advantages in a policy of postponing the development of aeroplanes for military and naval purposes, and of leaving pioneer work to private enterprise and foreign nations." The italics are ours. This contemptible plan of picking other people's brains; and of contributing nothing to the risks and costs of what is (quite apart from its connection with warfare) a great new departure in human activity, fills women, at any rate, with chafe. In the days when Britain's fame was established men must surely have been free from the degeneracy implied in the use of words such as we have quoted. Even if men had, as some of them untruly assert, built up the nation in the past, women's help is now urgently needed to maintain it in its original grandeur. It is of interest in this connection to notice that the most vigorous and public spirited of the associations engaged in promoting aviation is the Women's Aerial League.

The Progress of Women.

An interesting appointment of a woman at Melbourne, where Miss Nancy Isaacs has been appointed legal associate to her father, Mr. Justice Isaacs, in the Commonwealth High Court, once more marks the progress of women in a country where women have votes. The straggling manner in which the march of progress goes its leisurely way is shown in the recent appointment at Zurich of the first woman factory inspector in Switzerland. In this country we have had women factory inspectors since the early nineties. Yet Switzerland romped ahead of us in another direction, only the other day, by giving a woman the post of Governor of a prison, a vital reform that still awaits fulfilment in Great Britain. The conciliatory powers of women have just been recognised

in Belgium, where they voted for the first time, last week, in the election of the Prud'hommes Councils, a municipal body that exists for the purpose of settling disputes between employers and employed.

This Week's Paper.

Want of space compels us to hold over much matter of interest this week. Crowded and successful meetings were held in the Steinway Hall and the London Pavilion which we are unable to report, though we hope to publish next week the admirable speech made by the Rev. F. M. Green. In this week's paper we give a full report of Dr. L. Garrett Anderson's speech on "Prisoners of War," delivered at the Steinway Hall; and we draw special attention to Professor Sigerson's second article on the treatment of political offenders, and to an appreciation of Mr. Zangwill's play, "The Next Religion," over the signature "H. W. N." Our readers will be especially glad to have the full account of the proceedings in the Divisional Court last Tuesday, when Mrs. Pethick Lawrence made her application with reference to the quashing of her conviction in December last. Other matter of interest will be found in the stories by released prisoners of the recent Hunger Strike.

THE CONSPIRACY TRIAL.

As we go to press information reaches us that Mr. Justice Coleridge, at the Central Criminal Court, has refused an application to postpone the trial of Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence until next Sessions. The application was made on the ground of Mrs. Pankhurst's health, which has seriously hampered her in the preparation of her defence, and its refusal is therefore greatly to be regretted. As matters stand, the trial will probably take place next week. Our readers may like to know that we have made arrangements for a special report of the proceedings, which will be given in full in VOTES FOR WOMEN.

TO D. R.

(In the Exercise Yard, March, 1912.)

Beyond the bars I see her move,
A mystery of blue and green,
As though across the prison yard
The Spirit of the Spring had been;
And when she lifts her hands to press
The happy sunshine of her hair,
From the grey ground the pigeons rise
And rustle upwards through the air,
As though her two hands held a key
To set imprisoned spirits free.
L. BAILLIE GUTHRIE.

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PRISONERS OF WAR.

By Dr. Louisa Garrett Anderson.

A Speech at Steinway Hall, April 18, 1912.

It seems to me that in these days we can think of little except our comrades in prison. I was released from Holloway a fortnight ago. As you have been told, the Home Office found that I might like to spend Easter with my family, and so I was set free several days before the termination of my sentence. There were a large number of other women in prison with me who might have liked to spend Easter with their families, but the concession was not extended to them. There was one woman whose case I would like to mention, because I think her need for remission of sentence was much more obvious than mine. She was a working milliner, to whom, as you may imagine, it was a very great sacrifice to give up her time at this very busy period of the year. The damage which she had done was assessed at 3s. The damage which I did in breaking Mr. Hobhouse's window was put at 90s. She had two months' hard labour and I had six weeks, which was cut down to one month.

Those of us who know anything about the lives of women (and most Suffragists do) are familiar with the reasons why women need the vote. They are pretty obvious in everyday life, but I think those of us who have been to Holloway will agree that the reasons for being a Suffragist are never more obvious than they are in prison. In prison one is brought close against the hard, sad facts of women's lives, and the need for altering the status of women is so obvious that I do not think the dullest could fail to see it; in fact, I came to the conclusion that any Anti-Suffragist, after spending a couple of days in Holloway, would become a Suffragist. I am inclined to think that if a constitutional Suffragist found her way there, by accident, even she might turn into a Suffragist. What we are out to do, whether we are in prison or out of prison, is to alter the status of women. It is not the vote in itself which we want or a certain number of votes. We care about the vote because it is the symbol of equality. What we want is to make men and women understand that a woman is a human being worth as much as any other human being. If women were not so cheap, if their status were raised, and if they were not crushed down by the artificial difficulties of their lives, there would be very many fewer prisoners taken backwards and forwards in Black Marias to Holloway and other women's prisons. The majority of women in Holloway are sentenced for petty theft or prostitution; offences for which poverty and status are largely responsible. I think the thing which struck me most about the ordinary prisoners was that they looked very much like the women outside. They are put into a hideous and slovenly dress, which strikes one as a curious method of reformation, as it must make self-respect hard; yet, when you forget the dress and look at their faces, I think the main impression is that they are just very ordinary women. Some of them are sweet looking, a good many of them are pretty, most of them ill; and a few of them look bad. Suffragettes go to prison as a move in the fight to lift the burden from women's lives; the other prisoners go because this burden has been too great for them. In this fight it is our good fortune to be prisoners of war, when by an accident of fortune we might easily have been victims instead. We realized that we were fellow-women and fellow-prisoners, and the bond between us was close. Perhaps that is one reason why the Government finds it difficult to decide whether Suffragists are common criminals or political offenders!

In last week's paper there was an interesting article by Professor Sigerson, a member of the Royal Commission on Prisons in 1884. In a clearly reasoned statement he shows that the difference between common criminals and political offenders has been recognised in English law for a long time, and he gives a number of examples to show that this has been the case, and he draws certain conclusions. When the International Conference on Prisons met in London in 1872, a resolution was proposed, I think by the Italian representative, and it was carried unanimously. Therefore, although England seems to lag behind now, in 1872 it was prepared to support a resolution which the other nationalities thought was right, and this resolution was that "persons guilty of offences, not implying any great moral perversity, should be kept in simple detention, apart from common criminals." Again and again, men who have committed offences for political motives have received special treatment and recognition as political offenders. At the present moment our women, in solitude, full of the feeling of helplessness which one has in prison, are standing up against mental and physical torture in order that they, for the honour of their cause, may win recognition as

political offenders. They are striking for an idea, not in order to escape their punishment, which they are prepared to accept. Surely, there can be no doubt in anyone's mind as to which category (common criminals or political offenders) Suffragists belong. A common criminal commits his or her offence for personal motives. He may be wrong in his calculations, just as a reformer may make a mistake in judgment; but he believes that the act which he is committing is going to give him something, to gain him some personal advantage. He hopes to escape punishment, and he does not mind how much the community suffers so long as he gains his own end. The exact reverse is the case when a reformer commits an offence. He puts away all thought of self-interest. Probably every Suffragist who has gone to prison has sacrificed a very great deal; in fact, I cannot imagine anyone going to prison and not sacrificing considerably. They sacrifice time, for a more appalling waste of time than sitting in a prison cell, in a bad atmosphere, deprived of liberty, occupation, and interest, I cannot imagine. Women sacrifice a great deal professionally and socially. However, they are glad and proud to do it. I ask you why? Because the reformers' vision is before them, and guides them by self sacrifice to help to put the world on a higher plane. They see that unless the womanhood of the country is given a fair chance of developing, unless artificial fetters on women are thrown off, the vitality of the nation is cramped, and there is an incalculable waste of energy in the world.

More than this I hardly dare to say about the women now in prison. One can admire people calmly if they are to one a blur and an abstraction; one can speak of their courage, their devotion, and their heroism; but if they are friends and comrades whom you have left in danger before their time of suffering began, it is quite impossible to say anything more than just God-speed to them.

MILITANT WOMAN IN THREE PLAYS.

In "Race Suicide," a one-act trifle by Mr. H. Hamilton Fyfe, she is a refreshing piece of common sense and kindness, set in a rather selfish, rather unpractical, but very human provincial circle. Married slightly by one or two faults of taste, this little satire upon modern reform movements is more than redeemed by its wit and humour, and by the creation of Mrs. Brown, the one person in the play who, under the guise of an innocence that is a little overdone, always applies a practical test to every theory advanced by her husband, the Squire, and the Vicar, and is always right. The piece, produced with two others by the Pioneer Players on Sunday night, aroused a good deal of laughter, and deservedly so.

The woman in "The Surprise of His Life," or at least the woman who sets the tone of the play, is a typical militant Suffragist—gentle, submissive, even timid, until the occasion arises for self-assertion, when she shows a spirit and a courage that leaves her family dumb, as families are left when they discover that the relative they have lived with all their lives has been a complete stranger to them all the while. The conventional outlook of Mr. Jenkins, the grocer, who thinks that everything will be put right if he bribes the graceless "Alf" to marry his daughter and "make an honest woman of her"; and of Alf himself, who accepts the bribe and boasts that the girl will come "crawling" to him, receives a rude shock when Emily announces that he can't make her what he isn't himself, and that she would sooner face life alone with her child. She is a typical Suffragette, even to the point of being said to be "mild" by a certain Mrs. Wilson, who is spoken of as a Suffragist leader. So is Sally, admirably played last Sunday by Miss Auriol Lee, who also throws over Alf when she finds he has done his best to ruin another girl. The new spirit among women is rampant in Miss Jess Dorynne's latest play.

A different sort of militant woman is sketched in Christopher St. John's play of "Macarena." This was by far the most serious of the three productions, and is founded upon an incident in the life of the famous Polish nun, Irena Macarena, who endured flogging and degradation, and faced death with her nuns, rather than abjure the Catholic faith and allow Poland to become Russianised. The play is a vivid presentation of the kind of courage in which women excel when a principle is at stake, and reaches a high level when neither the apostate Archbishop nor the priest can make Sister Irena abjure her faith, even to stop the torture of her nuns in prison. Perhaps many of the points would go home more directly to militant Suffragists than to other people; but the purpose of the play, its psychology, and its understanding of the heroic spirit, should appeal to all human persons. "Macarena" is an achievement, and it ought to be produced again.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £250,000 FUND.

March 27 to March 29.

Table listing contributions to the £250,000 fund, including names and amounts. Includes sub-sections like 'Per Misses Crocker and Roberts' and 'Self-Denial'.

Total £119,344 16 8

MISS SYLVIA PANKHURST ANSWERS MR. McKENNA.

"The letter to which my hon. friend refers is a tissue of falsehood."—Mr. McKenna.

In the House of Commons on Monday, April 22, Sir Charles Henry asked the Home Secretary if his attention has been drawn to the charge made by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst that in dozens of cases forcible feeding of Suffragist prisoners have been accompanied by wanton and unnecessary cruelty; that women have been thrown into dark, damp, and unwholesome cells; and that they have been handcuffed, frog-marched, beaten, and bruised; if there is any substance or foundation for these statements; and, if not, if he will take steps to protect the prison authorities and officials from charges of this character?

Mr. McKenna: The letter to which my hon. friend refers is a tissue of falsehood. Every charge of cruelty or unnecessary violence brought against the prison officers in terms sufficiently definite to permit of investigation has been investigated and found to be untrue. Where forcible feeding has been necessary, it has been carried out with as little use of force and as much gentleness as the conduct of the prisoners would permit. No women have been thrown into dark, damp, or unwholesome cells. No woman has been handcuffed, except where that was the only way to prevent her breaking her windows or furniture. No woman has been frog-marched, beaten, or bruised. It is a disgraceful thing that these accusations against subordinate officers of the Prison Service should be repeated after they have been investigated and disproved; but I trust that the public will not attach any weight to charges carelessly made in such general terms as to prevent the possibility of legal proceedings being taken against those responsible for the falsehoods.

Mr. Keir Hardie: May I ask the Right Hon. gentleman whether he replied to and just heard applies to London prisons only or to the prisons throughout the country, and whether he is aware that substantial evidence to prove such statements exists, and that one lady prisoner actually obtained damages owing to the great injustice of her treatment referred to in the question?

Mr. McKenna: When, sir? The hon. gentleman has failed to mention the time when the lady was imprisoned.

Mr. Keir Hardie: It was in 1909 or 1910. I have got the information in my pocket. The information is detailed and specific. I think the Right Hon. gentleman received a copy of it.

Mr. McKenna: The case was some time ago, and the lady did not receive any damages in respect of any one of the charges mentioned in this particular question. There is no evidence at the present time that there is the slightest ground for any of the charges made in the letter.

Mr. Keir Hardie: May I ask whether the reply refers to the London prisons or to the prisons of the country, and whether, in view of the gravity of the statements now made, a committee will be appointed, apart from the officials, to investigate these things?

Mr. McKenna: The statement refers to the prisons all over the country. I do not understand that there is any serious dispute of the statement I have made.

Sir Charles Henry: The letter to which I referred is dated April 13, and it referred to Aylesbury Prison.

Mr. McKenna: I understand that to be the case to which my hon. friend referred, and I am happy to say that there is no truth at all in the statements.

MISS PANKHURST'S ANSWER. We are glad to give publicity to the following letter, which Miss Sylvia Pankhurst has sent us:—

A letter on the treatment of Suffragist prisoners, which appeared from me in the papers on the 13th inst., was the subject of a question by Sir Charles S. Henry to the Home Secretary yesterday. In this letter I said:—

"It is now known that seventeen women Suffragists are being forcibly fed in Aylesbury Prison, and it seems that the horrible atrocities which were perpetrated upon the women political prisoners in 1909 are being re-enacted.

"The general public... must remember that forcible feeding (in any circumstances painful and dangerous) is not done in prison as it would be done in a hospital. Already, in dozens of cases, the forcible feeding of Suffragist prisoners has been accompanied by wanton and unnecessary cruelty. Women have been thrown into dark, damp, and unwholesome cells, have been handcuffed, frog-marched, beaten, and bruised."

The treatment to which the letter referred belongs for the most part to the period between the middle of September, 1909, and the end of January, 1910. The reason for this is that it was in July, 1909, that the Suffragist prisoners first protested against the refusal of political treatment by means of the hunger strike, and it was in the following September that the forcible feeding of Suffragettes was first employed by the authorities. In January, 1909, the militant Suffragists called a truce, and after the truce was over the ameliorations of Rule 243a were

introduced by Mr. Churchill. Though these ameliorations did not by any means include the full rights of political prisoners, the Suffragettes, at the first time being to accept them as a compromise, and there was no hunger strike until the ameliorations granted under Rule 243a were recently withdrawn. In view of the forcible feeding of the women, of which we had just learnt when I wrote my letter, I called attention to the fact that forcible feeding had in the past been accompanied by acts of brutality, because I feared that it might be accompanied by similar acts in the future. Mr. McKenna's justification of handcuffing (in his reply to Sir Chas. Henry) is a tissue of falsehoods. He also says that the charges contained in my letter were "carefully made in such general terms as to prevent the possibility of legal proceedings being taken."

Such was not my object, and I will now proceed to give the details necessary both to prove my case and to give Mr. McKenna the opportunity to prosecute me, if he so desires.

Perhaps the most notorious of the cases to which I referred are those of Miss Selina Martin and Miss Leslie Hall, who, in December 21, 1909, were only women in connection with Mr. Asquith's visit to Birkenhead. These two women were brought before Mr. Shepherd Little, and remanded to the prison on December 27, 1909, although they agreed to give undertakings to be of good behaviour until the time of their trial. Whilst still unconvicted prisoners they were treated like ordinary convicted criminals. Because of her protests on the day of her arrival in gaol, on December 21, Miss Martin was struck and pummelled by the head wardress and several other women. She was told on several occasions that she was to be fed, and she refused to eat unmercifully; she pulled me off the bed and threw me on the floor. She was then put in a cold punishment cell and handcuffed, her hands being fastened behind during the day, and in front at night. The irons were kept on until the evening of the 23rd, when several wardresses appeared, and ordered Miss Martin to the doctor's room to be forcibly fed. She refused to go, and her story of what happened next is as follows:—"I was then thrown down, turned over, and frog-marched up some steps, and my head bumped on the steps as I was being carried face downwards by the arms and legs. She was then forcibly fed by the stomach tube, "much unnecessary force" being used. Her story continues:—"The operation finished, I walked from the room handcuffed, to the top of the stairs, but refused to return to the punishment-cell. Two wardresses then got me by the shoulders, and dragged me down the steps, another kicking me from behind. As I reached the bottom step the wardresses released their hold, and I fell on my face. I was picked up and carried to the cell."

After being forcibly fed next day, she tells us that she "was carried by a number of wardresses down the steps, my head being allowed to bump on the steps."

On December 27 Miss Martin received her sentence, and was taken back to the punishment-cell; a strait-jacket was put on her, and was kept on until the following day.

Miss Leslie Hall was also treated with much violence, both before and after sentence. She was kept in handcuffs for three days, whilst in the punishment-cell, and forcibly fed after two and a half days of hunger strike, being sick after every operation. Whilst the doctor was feeding her he joked continually with the wardresses, saying, amongst other things, "It is like stuffing a turkey for Christmas," and "She is mentally sick." He suggested that tracheotomy would be a possible way out of the difficulty. This took place whilst Miss Hall was a remand prisoner. After being sentenced, she, also, was put in a strait-jacket.

After giving some further instances of handcuffing, Miss Pankhurst proceeds:—"The following women were confined in padded cells during their imprisonment: Miss Selina Martin (under the name of Miss Edwards), at Winslow Green Gaol, for two days, during her imprisonment, which lasted from September 22 to November 2, 1909. Mrs. Mary Leigh, who was imprisoned in Winslow Green Gaol on November 22, 1909, was twice put in a padded cell, once for one day, and once for four days.

Since July, 1909, when the hunger strike began, a large number of women have been confined in punishment-cells. I can only give what has been said by a few of them. Miss Florence Cook, who was sent to Holloway Gaol on July 12, 1909, describes her punishment-cell as "a damp, underground dungeon, horribly dirty, with scarcely any ventilation, and no light except that which came from the thick skylight in the ceiling, so that the place was nearly dark." She says the only bed in the room was a piece of wood let into the wall. "For sleeping at night a mattress was given me, but this and all the utensils in my room smelt horribly,"

Miss Florence Spong, imprisoned in Holloway at the same time, describes the punishment-cells as "damp, icy cold, and dark." She says: "In the dim light I discovered a plank bed in one corner of the cell, about four inches from the ground, with a wooden pillow at the head. Opposite was a two-stamped, clamped to the wall, for, and in another corner was a shelf, with a filthy rubber tumbler full of water. High above the bed was a small window, and through the tiny panes an opaque glass the faint light filtered. . . . Two pools of water near the head of the bed never dried up. There was a small square of glass high above the door, and through this a light of a tiny gas-jet flickered from the corridor outside. This was lit at five o'clock, and just enabled me to see the objects in my cell. At eight o'clock the wardresses brought me a mattress and some rugs."

Three of the women who were imprisoned in Winslow Green Gaol, Birmingham, on September 22, 1909, were also placed in padded cells. Miss Selina Martin (Miss Edwards) describes her cell as "semi-subterranean." Mrs. Leigh says of hers: "A very cold, dark room on the ground floor, with the light only shows on very bright days. There is no furniture in it." Miss Laura Ainsworth says that the only furniture in hers was a plank-bed and a wooden stump.

A violent struggle took place in Bristol on November 15 to December 14, 1909, was placed in what she describes as "a dark and foul-smelling punishment-cell, with damp walls, dirty floors, and cold air, and a window." She was kept there eleven days, till found unconscious one morning and removed to hospital.

In addition to the handcuffing, frog-marching, and "punishment cells" that I mentioned in my letter, several other special acts of cruelty were perpetrated. The hose pipe was played on Miss Emily Whiting, Daily Worker, who was imprisoned in Strangeways Gaol, Manchester, on October 31, 1909. She brought an action against the Authorities, and recovered damages from them on January 13, 1909. Miss Whiting declares that the assault was "unreasonable and unnecessary."

Lady Constance Lytton, when imprisoned in Wakefield, was treated with much violence, and was kept without her heart having been tested. The doctor sat upon her knees during the forcible feeding, and on one occasion struck her in the face with a book. She was also imprisoned in Newcastle on October 9, 1909, and was also forcibly fed without her heart having been tested. She complained to the Government Inspector that the doctor "was very thoroughly clean, and kept me begrudged every chance of maintaining her mental and physical health, was actually kept without rhyme or reason during ten whole days for twenty-three hours out of the twenty-four in solitary confinement, the loneliness and deadly monotony of her existence being varied only by occasional interviews with her solicitor and weary, nerve-racking attendants at the police-courts." All this "by order." On March 17 the authorities apparently cried, "Hold, enough!" the prisoner was suddenly admitted to our company, and on April 4 released on bail with little more than a fortnight before her in which to recover as best she may her health and nervous equipoise, as well as prepare her defence, which, as she from the first announced, she intends to conduct herself.

Suffragettes are variously described by Cabinet Ministers and in leading articles as "menards," "hysterical young girls," "miserable women," "dupes of the suffrage leaders," and so on. My division at Holloway consisted latterly of about fifty prisoners, whose mingled wrath and amusement at the latter qualification may be imagined when I give the result of an informal census. Three of them were under twenty-five; about ten, I should judge, would never see forty again; ten or twelve confessed to over forty-five; and five or six were over fifty-five. The large majority, in short, women well past middle age. Amongst them Mrs. Brackenbury, a general's widow, aged seventy-nine (the youngest of us all); Mrs. Sarah Solomon (widow of a well-known African statesman); two rescue workers from Scotland, a missionary—all elderly women; three hospital nurses, three University graduates, a few people of means and leisure; but the greater part women who earn their bread, and amongst whom some had lost their situations over the venture, but gazed with absolutely fearless eyes into the future. I have never kept my company as these bright, resolute, indomitable, most normal, and human women—in touch with reality and therefore simple and sincere—served husbands and children completely, and against each one on a large or small scale a born leader. Whatever else the militant movement may do, it does not breed sheep.

Mr. McKenna, in the House of Commons on Thursday, March 28, characterised as "reckless" certain statements as to Mrs. Pankhurst in prison, and then made an admirable reply to the Home Secretary by Dr. Ethel Smyth appeared in the Times of April 19. We have not space to quote the letter in full, but we select the following trenchant passages:—"Will it be believed that from the time of her arrival at Holloway on March 2 Mrs. Pankhurst was deprived of both exercise and human companionship. A long and admirable reply to the Home Secretary by Dr. Ethel Smyth appeared in the Times of April 19. We have not space to quote the letter in full, but we select the following trenchant passages:—"Will it be believed that from the time of her arrival at Holloway on March 2 Mrs. Pankhurst was deprived of both exercise and human companionship. A long and admirable reply to the Home Secretary by Dr. Ethel Smyth appeared in the Times of April 19. 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THE RIGHT OF REBELLION.

M.P.'s on Militancy.

In the course of the Home Rule debate there have been many references to the subject of militant methods. Militant Suffragists have not failed to notice that both Home Rulers and Unionists admit rebellion to be virtuous, provided there exist oppression and injustice which can be removed in no other way.

"The present Sovereign sits upon the Throne in right of a successful rebellion, by reason of a triumphant treason. No one who has taken the oath of allegiance to the King can reasonably say that rebellion is in every case an unrighteous thing, though in every case it is an unlawful thing. I know it is a very difficult and dangerous exercise of the mind, but every rebellion must be judged on its merits. You cannot lay down a wooden rule. Some rebellions are righteous, and some are unrighteous. The question that needs to be decided in every case is, What are the particular circumstances that justify a particular resistance to the law?"

Admirably stated! This is the very argument used by militant Suffragists, whose rebellion is one of the most righteous the world has ever seen.

Lord Hugh Cecil predicted that violence and disorder would result in Ulster if the attempt were made to compel by coercion obedience to a Nationalist Parliament, and he further predicted that such an attempt would not, and could not, be made. "Conceive," said he, "the coercing of a great body of people in the name of self-government!"

Mr. Moore, of whom it has been said that he in a special sense embodies the very spirit of Ulster resistance to Home Rule, spoke in most militant words. "We are not going on any terms to submit ourselves to the Government to be set up by these proposals. I say solemnly here that as long as they have

a drop of blood in their bodies Ulster men will do their best to make the Government of Ireland by Mr. Redmond and his friends impossible. We pledged ourselves to this the other day in Belfast. I don't want to be taken as threatening—I am only saying what I feel in every fibre of my body. If you are going to plant Home Rule, you cannot do it till you have wiped us out, and the blood will be on your hands and not on ours. If you propose to sell me into a political slavery under the new Constitution you are setting up, I say that I do not regard it as rebelling to resist that to the best of my ability, and, please God, I shall do it." This is what the men of Ulster are saying, although the injustice they allege is done to them under the Government's Home Rule proposals is infinitely less than the injustice done to all Irishwomen under the Bill.

Mr. Bonar Law, the Unionist Leader, spoke with much emphasis of Ulster's resolve to rebel against an Irish Parliament. Describing the recent demonstration at Belfast in words which would serve admirably well as a description of a W.S.P.U. meeting held on the eve of a protest, he said:—

"I was present at a gathering of these people. No words I can use will adequately express the impressiveness of what I saw. It really was not like a political demonstration. It was the expression of the soul of a people."

Then followed Mr. Bonar Law's statement of Ulstermen's intentions. "They say they will not submit except by force to such a Government. How are you going to prevent that? I know that in what I am saying I run the risk of being told that I am talking incendiaryism unworthy of the position which I hold. I take that risk. I have another duty—to impress upon the House and the country so far as my words can reach, the reality of the situation in Ireland. . . . These men are ready in what they believe to be the cause of justice to lay down their lives. How are you going to overcome that resistance?"

Such is the teaching which the Unionist leaders are offering to the nation. They are upholding the right of rebellion against what is deemed to be political injustice. Their words fall upon the ears of women as well as upon the ears of men, though truth to tell, women waited not for their sanction and advice before beginning a most righteous revolution in the cause of the enfranchisement of their sex.

VIEWS OF GREAT STATESMEN.

Lord Beaconsfield in 1840: Speaking in the House of Commons in support of a motion to secure better treatment for Charities' prisoners, Lord Beaconsfield, then Mr. Disraeli, said as follows:—

The question was whether there had not been a change of punishment for political offences. Was it denied that persons convicted of political offences had been treated as felons? . . . Since 1792 there had been no instance of persons convicted of political offences being treated in the same way as such persons had been treated by the present Government. . . . The imprisonment of such persons was only for the safety of the State, not for the infliction of punishment.

Mr. Gladstone in 1889: Speaking on the prison treatment of Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Gladstone said in the House of Commons on March 1, 1889:—

I know very well you cannot attempt to frame a legislative definition of political offences; but what you can do, and what always has been done, is this: You can say that in certain classes of the imprisoned a person ought not to be treated as if he had been guilty of base and degrading crime. . . . Though sensitiveness to indignities of this kind may be a matter on which men will differ according to their temperament and their ideas, yet such sensitiveness is rather to be encouraged than to be repressed, for it appertains to that lofty sentiment, that spirit which was described by Burke in animated language when he said: "The spirit which feels a stain like a wound." . . . A prison, to becomin, under the rule of the present Government, a temple of honour.

Lord Morley in 1889: Lord Morley, speaking on the imprisonment of Mr. Harrington, another Irish political offender, said at Sheffield in 1889:—

He declines to give an assurance not to repeat this act—and receives a sentence of six months' hard labour. Does not this show that Mr. Harrington has gone to prison not for his crime, but because he refused to discontinue this practice? . . . I say deliberately that the sentence was a disgrace to the magistrates who passed it, and to the Parliament and to the Government who gave such power to the magistrate. Yes, and a disgrace to you, the working men of Sheffield, who send these gentlemen to Parliament to support that system.

PRISONERS RELEASED UP TO APRIL 17.

- Miss E. Harbath, Miss Margaret Haly, Mrs. E. Beathan, Mrs. Jean Hall, Miss Sarah Bennett, Miss Mollie Hughes, Mrs. G. Millicent, Mrs. Annie Thompson, Mrs. Branson, Miss I. Inglis, Mrs. Brackenbury, Mrs. G. Ireland, Miss G. Brackenbury, Mrs. E. Jack, Mrs. M. Brackenbury, Mrs. E. Jacobs, Mrs. E. Brown, Miss Elizabeth, Miss A. Buckton, Mrs. Leah Joseph, Mrs. Ida Carter, Mrs. P. Kelly, Mrs. E. Corrie, Miss Anne Kelly, Mrs. Jean Darling, Mrs. Annie Lewis, Mrs. Frances Eile, Mrs. Leslie Mackenzie, Miss Frances Franklin, Mrs. Elsie Wilson, Miss M. French, Mrs. Mary Martin, Miss Mary Grey, Mrs. Amy Woodburn, Miss Laura Gargitt, Mrs. Leah Morris, Dr. Harold Anderson, Mrs. Nora York

* Released before expiration of sentence as the result of the Home Rule strike.

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"THE NEXT RELIGION."

It was a great play and a great performance that the New Players' Society witnessed at the Pavilion for two afternoons last week. Mr. Zangwill, one of the wittiest of living writers, is one of the most sincere. Like Mr. Bernard Shaw, he has proved that laughter and irony can go side by side with intense earnestness of purpose. The reformer is not necessarily a stuffy and solemn person. But in all Mr. Zangwill's best work and speeches there is a deep and prophetic note, seldom heard even in the greatest of his English-speaking contemporaries. It comes nearest to Tolstoy among the moderns; but one may trace it, I think, to the inherited influence of a race greater in prophecy than any European race has been.

The first two acts are in the main ironic, and the irony is divided almost equally between exposure of the absurdity of Christian dogma as usually understood in England, and the pathetic absurdity of an impractical and rather middle-headed visionary, who intends to establish the next religion—a genuine and God-fearing religion—on a basis of reasonable and scientific truth alone. During these two acts it was a joy to listen to the mere wit of the dialogue, and to watch the mingled humour and pathos of the situations. One can understand why a British Censor refused to license the play. Never on the stage has the pitiful inadequacy of common beliefs that has incruited the central truths of Christianity been so remorselessly revealed. There are passages which no ordinary English audience would tolerate; not that people really believe the teachings attacked, but that they are not accustomed to hear them attacked at all, or even mentioned out of church. But the attack is directed against the things that do not matter, and the entire sincerity of a mind seeking only for truth—for "truth though it blast me," as Carlyle said—saves it from piffage.

The last act is more difficult. Plenty of irony and pathos is left; but the wit ceases to laugh, and we witness the supreme conflict between the "Next Religion," so broad, so universal, so rational and secure of facts, and the present religion, so narrow, so insecure, and yet possessing the triumphant quality of human consolation and hope. Which of the two will ultimately hold the field is left undecided. Much will always depend on the temperament and personality—the will to believe—in the advocates of each. Those who demand a rational and scientific religion might see themselves justified in the play. But even more easily, I think, could those find justification who cling passionately to an irrational and inexplicable form of belief, without which the human spirit refuses to be satisfied. After all, the most noticeable thing in the struggle of the next religion to assert itself is its close resemblance to the religion it tries to supersede. "The more you change, the more you are the same," someone says of Stephen Trame, priest of the old order and the new. We might say that of the very phases of religion here represented. Of all noble religions it is true to say—the more they change, the more they are the same.

But apart from the play's higher purport, the interest lay in the characters. Perhaps the Bishop, "converter of cannibals," is a little too burlesque, not for life, but for art. But to me the only weak point in the characters is the lunatic blacksmith, who, dressed like an advertisement of the "Smith typewriter," dashes about village and city, maintaining his Evangel by cracking atheist skulls. One could not praise too much either the writing or the acting of Stephen Trame (Mr. Fisher White) and of Silas Burr (Mr. Horace Hodges). The child also said exactly the right things, and was admirably acted by Miss Dorothy Turner. But the great triumph, both in characterisation and performance, was the long and difficult part of Mary Trame, the loving, tormented, and clear-eyed mother and wife. I have never seen Miss Adeline Bourne play better than in this part of the practical idealist and humorous devotee. "True to the kindred points of heaven and home," said Wordsworth of the lark, that idealist among birds; and with the same practical and visionary persistence Mary Trame keeps her eyes equally fixed on God and on the larder.

H. W. N.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- "My Memoirs." By Madame Steinheil. (London: Eveleigh Nash. Price 10s. 6d. net.)
"Born Humble." By Nora Pitt Taylor. (London: W. J. Ham-Smith. Price 2s. net.)
"The Woman with the Pack." By Gertrude Vaughan. (London: W. J. Ham-Smith. Price 1s. 6d. net.)
"The Second Woman." By Norma Lorimer. (London: Stanley Paul and Co. Price 6s.)
"Twentieth Century Magazine, April." (Twentieth Century Co., Boston. Price 2s. cents.)
"Woman in the New Era." By Charlotte Despard. (London: International Suffrage Shop. Price 4d.)

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"A delightful blend of stern fact and impressive fantasy."
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Tuesday, April 30, at the
EMPRESS ROOMS, KENSINGTON (High Street Station),
from 3.30 to 6.15 p.m. Chair: Miss A. Maude Royden.
Speakers—MISS K. D. COURTNEY (Hon. Sec., N.U.W.S.S.)
and MISS FRANCES STERLING. Discussion Invited.

VOTES FOR WOMEN

4, CLEMENT'S INN, STRAND.

FRIDAY, APRIL 26, 1912.

THE WOMEN FIRST.

Some people think that the grievous tragedy of
the "Titanic" supplies a reason why women should
not have the vote. On the contrary, it supplies one
of the strongest reasons ever heard of why they
should have it. Thousands of women since the
"Titanic" went down have resolved with a new
fervour to win the vote in order that they may
make it, humanly speaking, impossible for such a
disaster ever to occur again.

The loss of the "Titanic," and the huge consequent
death-roll are the direct consequence of bad laws.
Because the law allows it, the "Titanic," in order to
make a record and to save a few hours, followed a
dangerous, and, as it proved, a fatal northerly
course, instead of a longer and more southerly course.
Because the law allows it, she was equipped with
a hideously inadequate number of lifeboats, and so
hundreds of lives that might have been saved were
lost. A terrible sacrifice this, made with full legal
sanction, to the essentially masculine passion for
record-breaking and money-making at any and every
cost!

The heroism and the dignity of the victims were
wonderful. As militant Suffragists, we glow with
pride and with admiration when we think of the men
(and the women, for there were women too) who
were ready to die in order that others might have the
chance to live. It is the final destruction of the
theory that physical force is the basis of human
society. Moral force it was that reigned supreme in
that little community on board the "Titanic." Even
at such a moment, when self-control and reason were
strained to their limit, and the sheer animal instinct
of self-preservation might have come uppermost, even
then moral force was not dethroned. But supposing
some of the men had rebelled against the law of
women and children first, and had pushed their way
to the boats, then physical force would have been
used by other men, who would have set upon them
and perhaps even killed them. That is to say,
physical force would have been used for the restraint
of those who were not sufficiently developed to feel
the compelling power of moral force and moral law.

The rules of saving women and children first is
obviously in the interests of race preservation, but
it is based, too, and Suffragists freely recognise this,
on the purest chivalry. The chivalry of man towards
woman is no less beautiful a thing than the chivalry
of woman towards man. The distinction we should
be inclined to draw between them is that whereas
the chivalry displayed by women is more constant,

more a thing of every day, that which men display
is inclined to be spasmodic and uncertain in its
operation.

However, the brave men who died on the "Titanic"
have made us think very kindly of their sex—have
made us more hopeful of getting the fair play in
daily life that we are asking for. If certain poli-
ticians have shown us what man can be at the lowest,
these heroes have shown us what men can be at the
highest. We think with the *Standard* that "It was
a splendid piece of heroism for the male passengers,
emigrants, millionaires, Southampton seamen, and
stokers alike to stand calmly on the sinking decks
waiting for certain death, while the women and
children were carried away to safety." And we
agree with the *Standard* also when it adds: "But
one feels with sorrow and indignation that the
sacrifice ought not to have been required of them."
The sacrifice ought not to have been required of the
men who died, and it ought not to have been required
either of the women who escaped. It is hard to say
whose fate was the more cruel. Some women, we
know, could not, and did not, endure to accept their
bitter privilege, but insisted on the right to die with
their men folk.

There is this further thing to be said on the ques-
tion of saving the women first. If men insist on
making laws which are a peril to those at sea, if
they insist on endangering the lives of all women who
cross the ocean by having too few lifeboats, the least
they can do is to give these women the first chance
of safety.

How strange it is that men will die for women, but
will not legislate for their protection, nor let them
legislate to that end themselves!

Now, women are far more practical than that.
Give them a vote, and they will strike their legisla-
tive blow for sanity, safety, and a sense of propor-
tion! They will rank life above dividends, above
speed-records, and above luxury. They will not
tolerate a law which says that only one person in
three shall have even a chance of being saved if a
ship goes down. For every man on board, as well as
for every woman, they will demand a place in a life-
boat. This is how they will reason the matter out.
What are lifeboats for? To enable those on board to
escape from drowning if a vessel sinks. Then what
is the use of having only one-third or one-fourth of
the number of lifeboats required? They will not be
deceived by the casuistry by which self-interested
persons find it so easy to mislead the more guileless
male. The woman will stick to her point through
thick and thin, and that point will be a seat in a
lifeboat, not only for herself, but for the men too.

The drowning of 1,635 persons has alarmed our
legislators and stirred them to some thought of
action. The pity of it is that women are not yet able,
through their votes, to see that something genuine
shall now be done. When the public mind has a little
recovered from the present pain, suggestions of com-
promise will be advanced, and the men are the com-
promising sex, as well those politicians know who
oppose the enfranchisement of women.

We are familiar with the specious pleas upon which
the present iniquitous law is based. Ships were being
made "unsinkable," we were told. Naval architects
are now explaining how and why that statement
differed from the truth. Brave Captain Smith, we
may be sure, had no illusions on the point; but what
can captains do if companies command and laws
permit? They can only obey and fight as best they
can the fearful risks they are compelled to run.

Women feel acutely upon one particular aspect
of the question. The honour of their country
is very deeply involved. This is the very first
amongst shipping nations, and yet our laws for the
protection of the sea-going public are so bad that we
stand disgraced in the eyes of the world. Britain,
which should have led the way, which should have
established a standard that all others might be proud
to reach, is now the object of bitter and indignant
condemnation by all the civilised countries of the
world.

It is indeed high time that women had the Vote!

CUSTODIA HONESTA FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS.

Custom in Foreign Nations.

By PROFESSOR GEORGE SIGERSON, M.D., &c., Member of the Royal Commission on Prisons, 1884.

"Magnanimity in politics not seldom is the truest
wisdom," said Edmund Burke, and this is the prin-
ciple which guides the conduct of foreign nations,
as it once guided that of Britain, in the treatment
of political prisoners. Forms of government, and
measures relating to the welfare and organisation of
society, have been, in all ages and countries, ques-
tions on which men have entertained divergent con-
victions, and asserted their sincerity by conflicting
action, often at grave personal sacrifice and the loss
of life. Hence civilised States distinguish between
actions concerning which good men may reasonably
differ, and actions which all good men condemn.
The latter, if permitted to prevail, would disinte-
grate and destroy the social life of mankind: the
former, if successful, would simply reorganise it, on
a different and perhaps a better basis.

When a Government exercises its punitive power,
therefore, it should distinguish between the two
classes of offenders. To confound them in a common
penalty is inexpedient because it brings odium on
the Executive, and if it degrades the political en-
thusiasm to the level of a common criminal, it does so
at the cost of raising the status of the common
criminal and so decreasing abhorrence of crime.
Next, whilst professing to establish equality of
punishment, it establishes inequality, for the fate
that seems commonplace to a felon, may be torture
to the political offender. Jeremy Bentham rightly
observes that association with criminals is a pleasure
for the perverse, but "an evil most severe for the
prisoner of enlightenment and sensibility. It is an
addition to the punishment of imprisonment, evi-
dently unequal, unexampled, and unprofitable." Dealing
with inequality of punishment as objectionable
in bonds laid on intellectual occupation. "A
privation so heavy for those whom it affects," he
adds, "and at the same time so trivial for the greater
number of individuals ought not to be admitted in
quality of a punishment."

There is another consideration which, I believe,
should have much weight. Political offenders stand
apart. They are the only offenders in relation to
whom the State stands, at one and the same time, as
Prosecutor, as Judge, and as Jailer. As regards all
other offenders it intervenes as a third impartial
party, indifferent to both. Here, however, it is
accused of inflicting some wrong, or of maintaining
some grievance, and yet it decides on the charge. No
man may be a judge in his own cause; but the State,
of necessity, must be. This consideration, however,
should induce that authority to rise clearly above
the very suspicion of partiality in judging, and of
vengeance in punishing.

International law forbids us to impose dishonour-
ing conditions on adversaries when made prisoners
of war; for a stronger reason a Government should
not inflict dishonouring penalties on political oppo-
nents, its prisoners, who happen not to be aliens, but
citizens of the same country.

Now, let us consider the practice of foreign nations
with regard to the treatment of political offenders.
It should surprise, enlighten, and humanise the
public opinion of a realm, too long forgetful or
ignorant of the ancient and honourable custom of the
realm.

Custodia Honesta in France.

Prison life in France, for ordinary criminals, has
advantages not found in Britain. They can earn
money, spend some on slight luxuries, if well behaved,
save some for capital on leaving, and contribute a
portion to the support of their families. Thus, in
1869, I found from the circular of the Minister of the
Interior, that the considerable sum of 86,500 francs (or
£3,400) was sent out by prisoners to the assistance of
their families. It is a still more remarkable fact that
in the same year a sum of 1,400 francs, or £53, was
contributed out of their earnings by prisoners as re-
stitution money to persons who had suffered through
them. The idle or ill-conducted inflict their own
punishment automatically by losing the means of
purchasing small quantities of tobacco, wine, &c., at
the canteen. Bread and water diet had been long
given up, and thick soup substituted. Many would
regard this as no deterrent, yet out of over 5,000
rationals, only five punishment rations were required
in the Paris prisons in 1873. It must be remembered
that these prisons are intended for short sentence
prisoners. The French have had the advantage of the
service of female inspectors of prisons and reformato-
ries.

Political Offenders.

Persons condemned for simple contravention of
police regulations and political prisoners are exempt
from prison labour of any kind. From a report made
on French prisons to the Devon Commission of 1870,
by my friend, the late Dr. Lyons, and from official
French documents, I find that political prisoners
were accorded a generous dietary, including a large

wineglassful of ordinary claret, not of the last vin-
tage. "Independent of the foregoing dietary," they
are granted a pound and a third of white bread
daily, and nearly a pint of wine. Besides all this,
they enjoy without cost food from the canteen, or
from without; but no more than a litre (nearly a
quart) should be brought in, on any one day.

Visits.

Political prisoners are entitled to visits in the
Governor's parlour four times a week. They and
their visitors are separated by one row of bars, and
the warden stands outside the door of the room, into
which he can see through a glass pane. The inter-
view is private. Press offenders are specially privi-
leged. They have been allowed to proceed to prison
on a time convenient to themselves. Whilst there,
these prisoners guilty of seditious or reasonable libels
are allowed to receive their fellow-prisoners, their
families, and their friends in their own apartments,
and these visitors might (and often did) spend the
greater part of the day there, taking their meals with
them.

Courteous Consideration.

Of course, the political prisoners were accorded
special quarters, as well as special treatment, and to
refuse them intellectual occupation was a thing abso-
lutely undreamt of. Their literary labours were
facilitated, and they were treated with the utmost
courtesy. Thus, Dr. Lyons was not allowed to visit
their quarters, as it would be an intrusion, unless
invited. The question was not that a stranger wished
to see them, but did they express a desire to see him?
"In this respect," he writes, "the privacy of their
quarters, like that of a home, is fully respected."
As a practical illustration of the manner in which
political prisoners were treated under the Second
Empire, the case of Messrs. Accolas and Naquet may
be cited. They were condemned for exciting to hatred
and contempt of the Government by seditious action.
The former was condemned to a year's imprisonment,
the latter to eighteen months. Yet M. Naquet was
allowed to absent himself from prison, on condition
of being present at roll call, and M. Accolas to take
out his punishment in a pleasant room in St. Louis
Hospital, where he received his friends.

"Ces Messieurs sont sortis."

Professor Léveillé, Professor of the Faculty of Law,
and member of the Commission of Revision of the
Penal Code, wrote in 1889:—
"Political prisoners are not obliged to work or to
wear the prison dress, and they are entirely separa-
rated from the ordinary prisoners. In the case of
short imprisonment, varying from six days to five
years, the text of the law is not explicit, but the
tradition and custom of the Administration has al-
ways been to treat political prisoners with much
leniency. They wear their own dress, receive visits
from their friends, and need never mix with the other
prisoners. Under Louis Philippe, political
prisoners such as Cavaignac, Raspail, Trelat, &c.,
were allowed to leave the prison during the day, and
go about the town on parole; so that it often hap-
pened that when their friends went to see them, the
reply of the prison concierge (or janitor) was, 'Ces
messieurs sont sortis.' (These gentlemen are not at
home)."

There are, no doubt, many who will stare in amaze-
ment at such a statement and at such treatment. Yet
that which astonishes them now—in a darkened
public opinion—is the constitutional custom of the realm.
Examples of it are outstanding, as when Thomas
Addis Emmet was allowed to escort his wife on
her visits to friends around Fort George, and when
Sir Charles Wolseley, convicted of conspiracy, was
allowed out of Akington Jail to attend trials, and
when Cobbett, Leigh Hunt, Lovett, O'Connell, and
others were accorded the rights of ancient custom and
allowed to entertain their friends and freely pursue
their intellectual pursuits in prison. Neither in
France nor in England was this treatment pre-
scribed by statute. It was carried out under the
common law, by traditional usage and constant cus-
tom, which entitled it to due respect from the en-
lightened legal faculty of Paris, which caused it to be
upheld as a decisive precedent by great authorities in
Britain, but which has been undermined by makers
of gaol regulations—unlearned in Constitutional
practice.

Graver Offences.

Whilst political prisoners incarcerated under sen-
tences of less than a year and a day have their apart-
ments as described, equal care is taken to secure
separate accommodation for those guilty of graver
offences ranking in the same category. From time
to time, whenever requisite, a special quarter is set
apart for them, by decree of the prefect in one or
other of the "Maisons Centrales." Such a quarter,
"for the detention of political offenders," is reserved
for them exclusively, and they are granted "many
and exceptional favours: they have full access to
the canteen, which affords many facilities to the
prisoners for gaining little luxuries and enjoy-
ments." The distinction is carried further. Whilst
the criminal who has escaped or broken his license
is liable to transportation to Guyana, "exception
was made of those whose strength of opinion only
had compromised." "Thus," adds the official docu-
ment, "the Government, in accord on this subject
with public opinion, traced from the commencement
a line of demarcation between the political offender
and the common criminal."

Who are Political Offenders?

The French have been less reticent on this subject
than the English, who left the manner of their treat-

ment to Common-law Custom and precedent.
Several eminent statesmen, including Guizot and
Thiers, have drawn up official documents on the
subject. Thiers, in a ministerial circular, dated
August 7, 1854, lays down the fundamental principles
of distinction in a sure and solid manner. "The
Government," he writes, "has judged it to be suit-
able and in conformity with public opinion not to
confound in any case political convicts, purely such,
with other convicts sentenced to houses of coercion
and correction, and I have also decided that they
should receive a better alimentary regimen, and that
they should not be forced to work. But one con-
dition is indispensable in order that men condemned
to seclusion or imprisoned for acts of a political
nature, be admitted to enjoy these favours: it is
necessary that they have acted under the influence of
their opinions. Thus individuals who, on the occa-
sion of political troubles gave themselves up either
to the pillage of money or other movable objects, or
to any other ordinary crime against social order,
could only be considered as simple malefactors,
whilst the pillage of arms (unless particular cir-
cumstances establish a contrary presumption) can-
not be considered as other than a political crime."
Men, who in times of disturbance act as common
thieves, shall be punished as such. "The purely
political convicts would themselves rightly repel such
an association. Those condemned for political Press-
crimes must naturally be classed in the category of
political prisoners."

Custodia Honesta in Austria, Germany, and Holland.

In Austria, an enlightened spirit has long pre-
sided over the treatment of common criminals.
Count Taaffe, of Irish ancestry, introduced the Irish
Intermediate System, which prepared prisoners for
liberty, by giving them increasing privileges.
Instead of stupefying them by solitary confinement,
he sanctioned snuff, smoking, and the reading of
newspapers (1867), under certain conditions, and
this proved a magic aid to discipline. It is hardly
necessary to add that, as appears by an official
document, "political prisoners are absolved from
wearing prison clothes, which last favour is also
granted to persons who suffer simple imprisonment."
They may pay for their food and choose their own
occupations. They saw their friends, and had books,
&c. In Germany, as was pointed out by Dr. Mar-
quardsen, the code adopted in 1869 recognised the
same generous system. Those assigned to *custodia
honesta* by the judge were kept apart in a fortress
or elsewhere, and not required to work. This
"honourable custody" means simple detention, such
as was accorded to the United Irish prisoners of Fort
George in 1798. Mr. Pils, at the International
Prisons Conference of 1872, approving of the prin-
ciple of assigning certain prisoners, including politi-
cal offenders, to *custodia honesta*, stated that in most
countries where new penal codes had been framed,
such kind of honourable custody had been adopted.

In Italy.

Of old, Howard found the prisons of Italy occupy-
ing the foremost rank. The public is apt to over-
look this fact, remembering only the ferocity of
Gladstone's denunciation of the treatment of political
prisoners in Naples. But the new penal codes stand
superior to such criticism. Political prisoners come
into the category of those subject to the penalty of
delegazione, described as simple detention in a
fortress. These prisoners are divided into two
classes. To the first are assigned persons condemned
for offences against the State; the second includes
all others condemned to this kind of imprisonment.
Prisoners of the first class have special privileges,
they wear their own clothes, merely bearing a num-
ber on the arm, they may work or not, at pleasure, &c.

In Russia.

The excesses of police rule appear to have unduly
darkened the Russian system of prison treatment as
regards political offenders. Lansdell, Boulanger,
and Kennan have borne testimony to a certain
liberality. It is stated that their dietary is so liberal
that they can partly support their wives and chil-
dren with the surplus. The law allows the latter to
settle near the prisons, and to see the prisoners, in
the parlour, twice or thrice a week. Political pri-
soners are taken to their place of punishment apart
from other prisoners, it is stated, and allowed to
wear their own dress, to possess books and furniture,
and to have their families residing near them or
with them. Mr. Lansdell states (1882) that he saw
a Nihilist, concerned in an attempt on the late Em-
peror's life, "confined, but only to the neighbour-
hood," he was "dressed," adds this author, "if I
remember rightly, in a tweed suit, looking highly
presentable," and though condemned to the mines,
not soiling his fingers with work.

Conclusion.

To these evidences should be added the unanimous
condemnation of the treatment as felons of the later
Irish political prisoners pronounced by prominent
statesmen of the United States, Canada, and Aus-
tralia. As a final warning, it should be borne in
mind that political offenders suffer more by im-
prisonment than common criminals, and short-sen-
tence offenders more than long. This grave fact is
usually overlooked or ignored, because the illness
and deaths occur subsequent to release, and the
prison does not get the blame. But Dr. Jorel, a
French authority, has rightly said: "We must not
dissimulate the fact, whatever be the mode of im-
prisonment adopted, there will result some trouble to
the prisoner, with less or more danger to his health."

MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE'S APPEAL.

Court Refuses to Quash Conviction.

By a curious coincidence, on the very day (Tuesday last) that the conspiracy charge against Mrs. Pethick Lawrence was laid before the Grand Jury at the Old Bailey by the Recorder in opening the Sessions, another case relating to Mrs. Lawrence was being heard and decided at the Law Courts.

Our readers will remember that in November last Mrs. Lawrence was tried and convicted at Bow Street by Mr. Marsham and sentenced to one month's imprisonment. The case was heard twice, the first time the principal witness against her was not sworn; the second time this essential was complied with. Mrs. Lawrence at once moved to quash the conviction on the ground of the irregularity of the proceedings, and the first step was taken in the Divisional Court on December 1 in applying for a certiorari to quash the conviction. (See **VOTES FOR WOMEN**, December 8.) A rule nisi was granted. That is to say, the Divisional Court decided that a prima facie case had been made out by Mrs. Lawrence's counsel (Mr. Henle), and that unless the magistrate could show cause to the contrary, the conviction would be quashed.

On Tuesday last the magistrate's case was placed before the Divisional Court, and the Judges decided against Mrs. Lawrence. The grounds for this judgment given by the Lord Chief Justice were that Mrs. Lawrence could not be said to be "in peril" on the first hearing owing to its irregularity. If this view is sound law, it seems to open up the way to very dangerous abuse and further infringement of the liberty of the subject, for in an irregular trial the defendant may be called upon to lay his defence before the court, and then find himself subsequently subject to a retrial with the prosecution in possession of his line of defence. The Lord Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Avory both seemed to some extent to realise this, and attempted to meet it by confining their judgment to the incidents of the particular case before the court. But is it really possible to decide a principle in a particular case and then to say that that principle cannot be applied in other cases whose details are different?

The case was heard before a Divisional Court of the King's Bench Division, consisting of the Lord Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Pickford, and Mr. Justice Avory. The case was cited as that of the King v. Marsham (ex parte Mrs. E. Pethick Lawrence). Mr. A. H. Bodkin appeared to contest the rule, and Mr. Henle supported it.

The Magistrate's Case.

Mr. Bodkin said that the point involved was whether the magistrate, during the same day on which he had held his petty sessions, if he found that there had been an informality in the hearing of a case, had a legal right and jurisdiction to correct that informality by re-hearing the case, and giving the defendant the fullest opportunity, as she would have had on the first hearing, to defend herself. The facts were that on November 22 there were some 200 ladies in custody, and on November 23 Bow Street, no doubt, was very busily occupied in dealing with them. One of the ladies was the present defendant, and she was charged with the two offences of obstructing the police and assaulting Wiles. Two constables gave evidence, the first one, Wiles, through some inadvertence, no doubt due to the particular pressure upon that day, not upon oath. The second constable was duly sworn, and spoke to the circumstances of the assault. The lady cross-examined both the officers, and made a statement in her defence, electing to call no witnesses. The magistrate said that he believed the officers, and convicted her. Shortly after, while some other case was being disposed of, a memorandum from Miss Pankhurst reached Mr. Muskett, the solicitor representing the police, stating that Constable Wiles had not been sworn. Mr. Muskett made inquiries, and the officer was sent for. The magistrate said he would take the case again after the luncheon adjournment, and about an hour and a half after the first hearing the case began again. The officers were duly sworn, and repeated their evidence from the commencement. They were cross-examined by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who made her defence, and called, as she had not done at the first hearing, three witnesses to the facts of the case. The magistrate, in his affidavit, said that, quite independently of the first hearing, he arrived at the same conclusion, and that the witnesses for the defence did not influence his mind adversely to the evidence of the constables, and he imposed the same sentence.

Mr. Henle pointed out that both convictions were in question under the rule. The grounds of the rule were—
1. That the conviction had in that the material witness made a statement without being sworn.
2. That the conviction is bad, and that the prosecutrix at the time of her conviction had previously been in peril in respect of the same offence.
3. That the magistrate had no jurisdiction to try the case.
Mr. Bodkin explained that at the end of the first hearing a mere note of the decision was taken in the Clerk's book and put upon the charge-sheet. In the course

of the day it would be signed by the magistrate. In this instance, no formal conviction based upon the first hearing was ever drawn up at all.

Mr. Marsham, in the course of his affidavit, which was read by Mr. Bodkin, stated that shortly after the disposal of the case, and during the same sitting, before any conviction had been drawn up in respect of the decision, he was informed that Wiles had not been sworn. Many women were charged before him for offences involving disorderly conduct, and he sat throughout the entire day for the purpose of dealing with as many of such charges as possible. Before any conviction was drawn up, therefore, he proceeded to re-hear the case. Mr. Marsham proceeded that he had been a magistrate, sitting at various courts in London, for thirty-two years. Not infrequently applications were made to him and to his colleagues on behalf of persons whom they had dealt with, with a view of inducing them to reopen the case, so that the convicted person might be professionally represented or that witnesses might be called in defence. On many occasions he had allowed such cases to be reopened, and had allowed, on such further facts or representations, the decisions he had arrived at originally. It was, he said, the practice of Metropolitan magistrates so to act so long as the request that they should do so were made on the same day. He submitted that his sessions lasted each day.

Mr. Bodkin suggested that where there had been an established practice it rather pointed to a legal right. The paragraph was inserted in the affidavit with the object of showing what the practice of the Courts was.

Mr. Justice Pickford: For the purpose of showing that nothing exceptional has been done.

The Lord Chief Justice: And that this lady had not been treated in a harsher way than anybody else—rather the contrary.

Mr. Bodkin cited cases in support of his submission.

Mr. Justice Avory said that if the lady was never in peril of being convicted, she could not successfully plead that she was being tried twice for the same offence.

Mr. Bodkin: That was the proposition I was going to submit.

Mr. Justice Avory: "In peril" means being in peril of being legally convicted. She was never in peril of being legally convicted.

Resuming his argument, Mr. Bodkin submitted that during the same session the magistrate was a court fully constituted in all its relations, and that an informality had been brought to his notice, to correct it. Secondly, it was his contention that this lady, having been dealt with without proper testimony being before the Court on which it could act, was not legally "in peril."

The Lord Chief Justice: You mean improper testimony. There was some proper testimony.

Mr. Bodkin formally asked that the rule should be discharged.

Mr. Henle's Reply.

Mr. Henle said that in approaching the propositions of Mr. Bodkin there were two points he had to discuss. One related to the jurisdiction and power of the magistrate, and the other was the question whether or not Mrs. Lawrence was, within the meaning of the rule laid down by that Court, at any time in peril. All the cases cited by Mr. Bodkin related to a question he would not dispute; that was to say, the power of the magistrate during a session to alter his judgment upon the case. He was not going to attempt to dispute that proposition, as it was far too familiar to all who practised at that Court. What he would say was that neither under the wording of the section, nor by any authority known to law, was it possible for a magistrate to retry a case. If the magistrate in this case had called Mrs. Lawrence before him, and had stated that this particular constable had not been sworn, and that in the circumstances he ought to be sworn again, it might be that he would have justified his action. He submitted that the magistrate wrongly took the course of retrying the case. It might be that the course the magistrate followed did no harm from the point of view of the merits of the case, but at the same time, if it were looked upon in a general light it might open the

door to the gravest abuses. If it were said that during the same session a magistrate could re-hear a case if a prosecutrix, after a case had been heard, said that they had further evidence, there could be no reason why the magistrate should not re-hear the case. Very serious injustices might be done in consequence, and in sanctioning such a procedure the Court would be admitting something which would be extremely dangerous, and which would be in opposition to the principle of the law which protected to that extent the liberty of the subject and of the accused.

Mr. Justice Avory suggested that if there had been no second hearing, and the defendant had been obliged to quash the conviction, on the ground that it was an illegal conviction.

Mr. Henle agreed.

Mr. Justice Avory: No conviction can legally take place except upon sworn testimony. If the conviction was liable to be quashed upon the ground that it was illegal, how is it any bar to subsequent conviction?

Mr. Henle said he conceived that the word "peril" did not in itself mean that there had been real danger of being convicted. He supposed that the presumption of law was that there was no real danger of conviction for an innocent person. (Laughter.)

Mr. Justice Avory: With some counsel perhaps he would be in real danger; with others he would not. (Loud laughter.)

Mr. Henle observed that it was quite true that if the lady had been convicted, and the conviction had remained where it was at the end of the first trial, it could have been quashed. The proceedings were not nullified, for the reason that the magistrate, if he had chosen, could have corrected the informality in a perfectly proper way. It was simply because the magistrate chose to take the course he did that the conviction, in his submission, was a wrong one. The test was "Could the magistrate on the proceedings before him in cases one have so corrected these proceedings as to have made that conviction good?" If the answer was in the affirmative, he submitted that Mrs. Lawrence had been in peril, and that, having been in peril, she could not be put in peril a second time, even if it were on the same day. Technically there was no warrant, either in the common law, or still less in the Summary Jurisdiction Act, for a magistrate to try a case he had once heard. The magistrate had ample powers without re-hearing the case to have put the case in such proper order as to have made a conviction which would have been wholly unassailable. But he adopted a course which was wholly beyond his powers, and under the circumstances the conviction ought to be quashed.

A QUESTION.

In the House of Commons on Tuesday, April 23, Mr. Kellaway (Bodford, Min.) asked the Attorney-General if the Government had offered to withdraw the prosecution for conspiracy of certain members of the Women's Social and Political Union if those members undertook to cease their militant campaign.

The Attorney-General (Sir Rufus Isaacs).—The answer is in the negative.

Mr. Kellaway.—Can the right hon. gentleman give us an assurance that the Government has no intention of taking such action.

The Attorney-General.—There is no intention of any such action. (Cheers.)

SESSION PRISONERS' APPEAL.

Two cases in which suffragist prisoners appealed against their sentences on points of law were heard before Justices Lawrence, Pickford, and Avory on Monday last. Miss Maud Joachim, sentenced to six months' imprisonment, appealed against the conviction. Mr. Blanco White said that his client was charged along with a Miss Fergus with breaking windows in Regent Street. There was no evidence of conspiracy, and his client denied all knowledge of Miss Fergus's intentions.

Mr. Justice Lawrence, in delivering judgment, said counsel's contention was that Miss Joachim was not liable, because she did not know that Miss Fergus had broken immediately before a larger window. If, in point of fact, they were acting in concert by the direction or suggestion of a person whose orders they took in the matter, they were equally guilty of the offence, although they had no knowledge of one another, and had no direct communication with each other. The appeal was accordingly dismissed.

Miss Mary Hewitt, sentenced to four months' imprisonment, also appealed. Mr. G. R. Blanco White, who appeared for appellant, said that his client was charged with having done damage to the extent of over £5. One witness, however, said he only saw her break one window; and the other was in a right the case was not one for the sessions, because the damage did not amount to £5. Continuing, he said he desired to call further evidence, as it had been ascertained that the amount of damage, allowing for the old glass, which could be re-used, was under £5.

The application was refused.

The application was refused.

The application was refused.

The application was refused.

The application was refused.

The application was refused.

The application was refused.

The application was refused.

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"Deeds, not words," is one of the mottoes of the W.S.P.U.; and at this moment the need for action is greater than ever it was—action in mass, but chiefly in that of extending the knowledge of why women are in this fight and what it is that they are fighting for. The way to do this is by gaining an ever-increasing circle of new readers. Week by week the names come in—but we want more still! Our hearty congratulations to Miss Mary Taylor, who with Miss Ball is doing yeoman service in the Caterham district by holding open-air meetings at which **VOTES FOR WOMEN** finds a ready sale. Miss Taylor has also taken her dog-cart to Aylesbury, where the colours flew bravely and more papers were sold.

Previously acknowledged..... 716	Miss P. Levy..... 1	Miss Mary Taylor..... 1
Miss Dorothy Barton..... 1	Miss H. Gordon Liddle..... 1	
Miss Ferguson..... 1	Miss K. Manning..... 1	
C. M. Holt, Esq., K.C..... 1	Miss Mabel Marshall..... 1	Previously acknowledged..... 382
Miss E. Howard..... 1	Mrs. A. S. May..... 1	New readers who obtain their
Mrs. W. H. Horsley..... 1	Miss Mary McCarty..... 1	paper locally distributed by.....
Miss Dorothy V. Hubbard..... 1	Miss M. G. Lenzox..... 1	Miss L. G. Lenzox..... 5
Miss E. Lester Jones..... 1	Miss E. Thompson..... 1	
Fran Erik Kronberg..... 1		

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS.

Single insertion, 24 words or less, 2s. 1d. per word for every additional word. (Four insertions for the price of three)...

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS. (Property found at W.B.P.U. meetings should be sent to Miss Kerr, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.)

WANTED FOR SELF-DENIAL FUND. We are anxious to sell the following articles in order to add the amount raised to the total of the Self-Denial Fund:-

- Lady's gold watch (18ct), half hunter, good condition 22 10 0
Lady's silver watch, nearly new 1 5 0
Gold necklace (14ct) 1 5 0
Large gold brooch, set red coral (artistic design) 1 1 0
Locket, gold and blue enamel, set pearl and diamond heart 1 1 0
Ring, set one ruby and two emeralds 1 0 0
Gold bangle 0 15 0
Gold curb bracelet 0 15 0
Gold scarf pin, set turquoise 2 2 0
Gold bracelet, set opals and garnets 1 1 0
Cloisonné plate 1 1 0
Pur. pointed fox, length, including tails, 24 1/2 ins. 1 1 0
52 pieces (Edward VII) 0 5 0
Two heavy Indian silver rings (copy of ancient Indian jewelry) 0 5 0
Offers for any of the above would be considered. Apply, Mrs. Sanders, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

LOST PROPERTY. Umbrella, with silver crook handle, taken in mistake for similar one (silver engraved) from the Connaught Rooms Reception on Sat. April 20. Please return to Miss Kerr, who will effect the exchange.

BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

BED-SITTING ROOM in Private House, with board, for lady engaged during day. Healthy position and open outlook. Use of bath-room and large garden. Irene Parley (see Spang), 12, Dalmeny Avenue, Camden Road.

BOARD in Kensington; private family; bed and sitting rooms, together, 43, singly, 42. Delightful house. Musical society. Suffragettes. Mrs. B. Hobsbarn's Library, 73, Church Street, Kensington.

BOARD - RESIDENCE offered to Students. Visitors to London, and others. Comfortable home, moderate terms. Miss Kilbey, 6, Guilford Street, Russell Square, W.C.

BOARD-RESIDENCE, partial, 12s. 6d. to 15s. 6d.; full, 15s. 6d. to 25s. -Denbigh House, 57, Denbigh Street, S.W.

BOARD-RESIDENCE, superior, 26, Kensington Gardens Square, Hyde Park; close Queen's Road Tube and Met.; beautiful position, overlooking gardens, free access; most comfortable, quiet, clean; good cooking; liberal table. From 21s. -Highest references.

BRIGHTON - TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good table. Congenial society. Terms, 25s. to 35s. - Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

DUBLIN, IRELAND - Suffragettes received in congenial private family. Terms, 25s. weekly. Good table. Electric light, telephone, 46 - Letters, c/o "P. D.", 3, Harold's Cross, Dublin.

FOLKSTONE - Roycewood, Castle Hill Avenue. Board-residence; best part; moderate terms. Special care for delicate people. Well recommended. -Proprietress.

FOLKSTONE - Trevorra, Bouvierie Road, West. Board-residence. Excellent position, close to sea, Leas, and theatre. Separate tables. From two guineas. -Proprietress, Miss Key (W.S.P.U.).

HOTTEL for Ladies, in quiet, pleasant square, N.W.; Charing Cross 10 minutes. Bath, electric light. Quiet room for study. Excellent cooking. From 17s. Breakfast and late dinner only, from 18s. -21, Oakley Square, N.W.

LONDON, W.C. (113, Gower Street) - Refined HOME (ladies). Bed, breakfast, dinner, and full board Sundays (cable), from 15s. 6d. Rooms, 18s. 6d. Full board, 17s. 6d. to 25s. Gentlemen from 18s. 6d.

MAIDA HILL, W. - Paying guests received; homely, refined family; special arrangements, music and other students; 21s. to 31s. weekly. -Mrs. Baker, 109, Egin Avenue.

MARGATE - Board-Residence; comfortable; homely; minutes sea; 10 minutes station. -Miss Adams, 41, Abtheistan Road, Cliftonville.

RESIDENTIAL Club for Ladies. - Rubicubes from 18s. 6d. per week with board; rooms 25s.; also by the day. -Mrs. Campbell-Wilkinson, 48, Weymouth Street, Portland Place, London, W.

SUFFRAGETTES, Spend your Holidays with Miss Turner, W.S.P.U., Sea View, Victoria Road, Brighton. Nat. Tel. 1702. Rest Cures. Home-made bread and other comforts. Moderate terms.

TWO LADIES (gardening, poultry-farming) receive Paying Guests. Charming house; croquet; lovely moorland country; good sketching; cycling; open-air swimming-bath. Terms, 20s. -Leslie Carrington, Coughton Cottage, Verwood, Dorset.

VEGETARIAN BOARD-RESIDENCE. - Temporary or permanent. Homely. Ladies and Gentlemen. Convenient situation. Room and breakfast from 5s. -Madame Veigelé, 63 and 65, Hereford Road, Bayswater, W. This establishment is to be disposed of.

TO LET AND SOLD.

BRACING EAST COAST - Exceptional opportunity. Yarmouth. Home to let, furnished, for whole or part of summer. Suitable for large family, or two families of friends; 1 1/2 minutes from sea. Large, airy rooms; 3 kitchens; 3 sitting-rooms, 9 bedrooms, bathroom, &c. -Apply Mrs. Thompson, Kippington Vicarage, Sevenoaks.

BROADSTAIRS - Furnished, Detached House to let; 7 bed, 2 reception rooms, kitchen, &c.; gas; verandah; balcony; sea view; well-planted garden, 3 acres; tennis lawn; highest part of town - 11, 86, Ladbrooke Grove, W.

BUSH HILL PARK - 4 min. Station. D. House, large garden, 30 feet frontage; well-stocked fruit; lease 77 years, £225; cost decreased owner £350. -Apply, for photo, 602, High Road, Leytonstone.

CHARMING detached Cottages and Houses built in historic park of 500 acres, ad-joining magnificent golf course; 25 minutes from City; good gardens; prices from £375; easy instal-ments; rents from £25. -Write call today for free illustrated descriptive booklet, House and Cot-tage Department, Gidea Park, Ltd., 35, Henrietta Street, Strand, W.C.

COTTAGE to Let, Furnished, for month of May; lovely Welsh scenery; 3 bedrooms, sitting room, kitchen; 30s., inclusive, weekly; linen - Strickland, Glenside, Penmaenulver, North Wales.

FURNISHED FLAT in High Street, Marylebone; three minutes from Baker Street Tube; two bedrooms, sitting-room, kitchen, bath; room. For particulars, order to view, apply, Edith Dunn, Wallasey, Cheshire.

HAYLING ISLAND - Furnished Cot-tage by sea; 2 sitting, 5 bedrooms; long let. May to August, 2 guineas a week. -Apply, George Jones, Hayling Island.

LARGE ROOM to Let, suitable for Meet-ings, At Homes, Dances, Lectures. Refresh-ments provided. -Apply Alan's Tea Rooms, 283, Oxford Street.

LONDON, W.C. - Six good Rooms; upper part of house; very centrally situated; every separate accommodation. -Apply S. Vorns 30, Rosebery, Clement's Inn, W.C.

PETT, SUSSEX - Comfortably furnished modern five-roomed Cottage; garden; beautiful country; sea. Hastings five miles. Sanitation (outside) and water good. -Miss Row, Sunset.

TO LET - Large Studio, furnished, for living accommodation; attendance, South Kensington. Suit painter or musician. Moderate terms. -Apply L. Vorns FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn.

TO LET, two Furnished Rooms in Chelsea Flat, with use of kitchen; gas rings; five minutes from South Kensington Tube; vegetable garden; 12s. weekly, or the room 6s. -Box 358, Vorns FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn.

TO BE SOLD - A bargain; South Ken-sington; contains three reception-rooms, ground floor, eight bedrooms, bath, good basement; electric light, gas, telephone, modern sanitation; near tubes and railway, suitable for nursing or guest home; might be let on lease. -Apply, L. C. B., Vorns FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn.

TWO (or three) good furnished rooms, with kitchen, &c., suitable for gentle-women; special for some country industry. -Terms and particulars, La'imer, Fernlea, Torquay.

WANTED.

LADY requires 2 unfurnished rooms in quiet house, Hampstead district; near Tube and bus; moderate terms. -Box 358, Vorns FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

PROFESSIONAL & EDUCATIONAL. ADA MOORE gives lessons in Singing A and Voice Production, Diction a speciality. West End, Brighton, on Tuesdays. -Address, 106, Beaufort Mansions, London.

SCIENTIFIC TRAINING (residential or non-residential) in cookery, laundry-work, housewifery, and upholstery, given by diplomaed teachers at St. Martin's College, 4, Chichester Street, Westminster.

DELICATE or Backward Girls, unable to attend school. Postal tuition in all usual subjects. Experienced teacher. -Miss T., 31, Con-ington Road, W. Finchley, N.

DELSARTE - Miss Mary Lindsay gives lessons in Physical Culture on Delarte prin-ciples. For health, grace, and expression. Invaluable to artists and speakers. -60, Berners Street, Hawarden, Chester.

GODS WORD TO WOMEN has never been so widely read and discussed as at present. The Bible encourages the development of woman and stands for her perfect equality with man, in spite of the teachings to the contrary. Do you wish to equip yourself for meeting the arguments of those who attempt, with sacrilegious hands, to throw the Bible in the way of woman's progress? Are you ignorant of WHER and HOW they mistranslate and misrepresent it? Send 7d. for 101 Questions Answered, a Woman's Catechism, prepared purposely to solve our perplexities. -Katharine Bushnell, Hawarden, Chester.

IF YOU WANT TO MAKE MONEY, take lessons (by correspondence at home and abroad) in Chocolates and Sweets (cooked and uncooked). For particulars and sample box apply by letter, Mrs. Pain, Sunnyside, Rosall School, Fleetwood, Lancs.

MISS DORA DAVIS, Professor of Singing and Voice Specialist. Expressive, easy use of the voice. Consultation free on written application. -Studio, 203, Adella Road, N.W.

MISS HUGOLIN HAWES gives lessons in Speaking, Acting, Recitation, &c. 8 students ships offered to be completed for in December next. MISS ELLEN TERRY has kindly consented to judge engagements permitting. -Apply, 6, Ashburnham Mansions, Chelsea, Brighton visited weekly.

MRS. MARY LAYTON, F.R.C.O. (Hon. Con-Organist to the W.S.P.U.). Voice Culture for Singers and Speakers. Private Lessons in Singing. -Singing Classes and Ladies' Choir. For notice change of address to "The Chilet," 2, Fulham Park Road, S.W.

NURSING HOME, Central part of Lon-don. Maternity patients only received. Terms moderate. In charge of Hospital-trained Sisters with Midwifery qualifications. -Box 369, Vorns FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn.

POULTRY FARM - Vacancy for student. Incubators now working. Variety of breeds stocked. -Terms, apply M. and F. Spang, The Folbridge Poultry Farm, East Grinstead.

TO SUBVAGIST SPEAKERS - Miss ROSA LEO, Honorary Instructor in Voice Pro-duction and Public Speaking to the W.S.P.U. Speakers' Class, requests those desirous of joining her private classes or taking private lessons to send notice change of address to "The Chilet," 2, Fulham Park Road, S.W.

THE HEALTH CENTRE, 122, Vic-toria 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 5 p.m. Saturdays and Sundays excepted. Diagnosis by a Qualified Medical Man and by Mrs. Mary Davies. Enquiries relating to treatment answered free of charge. Enclose stamped envelope if written reply required.

THE MAYFAIR Ladies' Financial Asso-ciation, 29, Wobley Street, W. - Real estate bought given free to ladies before entering into financial transactions. Strictly confidential. Hours 11 to 4.

WANTED in small Nursing Home, Ken-sington (work or business woman patient). Good nursing. Every consideration studied. -C/o Box 606, Vorns FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn.

BUSINESS, Etc.

ADVERTISEMENTS inserted in all PUBLICATIONS: HOME and COLONIAL, at lowest office list rates. -THROWER, ADVERTIS-ING AGENT, 20, IMPERIAL BUILDINGS, LUDGATE CHURCH, LONDON, E.C. Established at this office nearly 30 years. -Phone: 563 Central.

GENTLEWOMAN desires Financial Partner-lady (silent), investment from £100 to three hundred per annum. Capital required for extension of business. -V. c/o Vorns FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

SITUATIONS WANTED.

DAILY GOVERNESS desires po-sengagement. Dismissed for being a member of W.S.P.U. Previous engagement seven years. -A. M. F. 85, Sinclair Road, W. Kensington.

GENTLEWOMAN, 33, Jolly, will under-take professional or business woman London. Flat. Artist or suffragist situation. Can cook, dress-make, figure model. Economical manager. Or as companion. -Terms, apply Mrs. W. W. W., Royal Library, Clifton, Bristol.

GENTLEWOMAN, domesticated, musical, companionable, desires refined com-panion to travel. Travels in French and Ger-man. Fluent, also knowledge of dressmaking, mil-linery is musical. -F. T., c/o Hobkins, 214, Earl's Court Road.

LADY desires post as Companion-Help to professional or business woman thoroughly capable and experienced, and has previously held positions of trust. London preferred. -Box 332, Vorns FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn.

SUFFRAGETTE seeks evening employ-ment, secretarial or other light work; short-hand and typewriting; good references; terms moderate. -Write Miss Weaver, 21, Lady Margaret Road, N.W.

TWO LADIES, thoroughly experienced, driving, riding, managing a household, and en-tire care of horse, wish to become appointed as grooms. Experienced caravanners, catering and cooking. -Apply Mrs. W. W. W., Box 338, Vorns FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn.

YOUNG LADY, experienced traveller, willing to go any distance, desires post as travelling companion; cheerful, capable, tactful, good camper; rides, drives; highest references. -Box 330, Vorns FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn.

YOUNG WOMAN wishes to get into a good home in London as Domestic Help; good with children. -M. B., c/o Vorns FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn.

SITUATIONS VACANT.

LONDON Medical Woman wants a thoroughly reliable Help, who will attend in the consulting and undertake housekeeping. Cook and housemaid kept. -Box 334, Vorns FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn.

WELL-EDUCATED GIRL wanted to learn typewriting and shorthand in return for services. -Apply Mrs. W. W. W., The Moorgate Typewriting Co., 65, Finsbury Pavement.

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WHY Keep Useless Jewellery? The large London market enables Robinson Brothers, of 5, Hampstead Road, London, W., and 127, Finchbury, children's smocks, &c. - cotton dresses, hand-embroidered, complete, from £1 1s. -Cecily Cook, 118, Church Lane, Tooting.

DIAMONDS, Etc.

DRESSMAKER (Suffragette) with wide experience in cutting, fitting, and remodelling (look book only) visits ladies' residences. Highest testimonials. -Terms, 7s. 6d. per day. -Apply Box 888, Vorns FOR WOMEN Office, 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

HIGH-CLASS, inexpensive Dress-making; embroidery; dainty formal dresses, dainty children's smocks, &c. - cotton dresses, hand-embroidered, complete, from £1 1s. -Cecily Cook, 118, Church Lane, Tooting.

LADIES' TAILOR - Fit and style guaranteed. -C. Anderson, 82, High Street, Hampstead.

MAISON Rémond, Ladies' Tailors, 11, Pall Mall Street, Grosvenor Square, W. Recent remodels his latest Paris styles in costumes from £5 up. Remodelling of old costumes for moderate charges. Send a card for his Paris models and pat-terns.

MILLINERY - To Ladies, Hats and Trimmings renovated from 5s. A smart selection of Spring Millinery now on show. Moderate prices. -Miss Angus, at Roberts and Geen, 4, Conduit Street, W.

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

ELECTROLYSIS, Etc.

ANTISEPTIC ELECTROLYSIS scien-tifically 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, 25, Cambridge Place, Norfolk Square, W. Telephone: 337 Mayfair.

ELECTROLYSIS and Face Massage skil-fully performed; also expert Lessons. Certifi-cate given. Special terms to nurses. -Address, Miss Theakston, 65, Great Portland Street, W.

HAIR DESTROYER - James' Depila-tory 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. 6d., 2s. 9d., or 5s. -Mrs. V. James, 288, Caledonian Road, London, E.

HYGIENIC Hair Treatment. Scientific brushing and head massage; herbal shampoo. Entire care of ladies' hair undertaken. Moderate charges. -Marcelle, 14, Sloane Street, 5656 Victoria.

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

OLD OAK FARM LAUNDRY, 3, Bloem-fountain Avenue, Shepherd's Bush, W. Tel.: 494 Chiswick. Brilliant Testimonials from new customers: "I am very pleased with way my washing is done." -"Baron's Court Road, March 25, 1912. "Mrs. H. is very pleased with washing (after six weeks)." -"Portman Square, March 14, 1912. "The Baroness is very pleased with the way you are doing and getting up the linen." -Mrs. Purdy, M.W.S.P.U., Managers. Originals forwarded if required.

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GARDENING for Health. Ladies re-ceived, charming country residence, elevated situation. Open air life; individual consideration. -Lady Gardener, Parsonage Place, Udimore, Iyde.

HELEN COLT, F.R.H.S., Practical Gardener (Diploma R.B.S.). Specialist in town and suburban gardening. The regular care of gar-dens undertaken in London and district; also con-sultations in town and country. -25, Ferncroft Avenue, Hampstead, N.W. Telephone: P.O. Hamp-stead 145.

LADY with slight experience seeks en-gagement to assist or work under lady. Domesticated. Two years at Swanley Horticultural College. -Box 320, Vorns FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn.

POULTRY AND PROVISIONS.

POULTRY and GAME BARGAINS. - All goods sent carriage paid throughout the Kingdom. Satisfaction guaranteed. 2 Delicious Spring Chickens..... 6s. 6d. 2 White Guinea and 6 Fat Quails..... 5s. 6d. 1 Guinea Fowl and 2 Hazel Hens..... 5s. 6d. 2 Hazel Hens and 6 Fat Quails..... 5s. 6d. 2 Hazel Hens and 1 Roasting Fowl..... 5s. 6d. 1 Fat Wild Duck, 1 Hazel Hen, and 2 Fat Pheasants..... 5s. 6d. SHAW and SON, POULTRY SPECIALISTS, 80, MARCHMONT STREET, LONDON, W.C.

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SWITZERLAND - Doctor conducting a tour in Lucerne, Montreux, Grandval, and Interlake; particulars, personally or letter. -Dr. C. H. Aulay, Norfolk House, Craven Park, Harewood.

WOMEN'S International League and Travel Society. May Tours. Italian Cities, Lakes, Holland, Switzerland, Paris. Guest houses (seaside, inland). Moderate charges. -Particulars, stamp, 189, Victoria Street, London.

MISCELLANEOUS.

ANY AMOUNT of Children's, Ladies' and Gentlemen's Clothing bought. Utmost value immediately remitted. -Suffragette Dress Agency, 163, Battersea Rise, Wandsworth Common.

BECHSTEIN Upright Grand Piano; fine tone, great bargain; also Simplex Piana Player - Bargains, second-hand with -H. Parkhurst Road, Holloway.

BLOUSES. BLOUSES. BLOUSES. - The extensive value remitted. -Miss Kate Cutler, 24, Sunninghill Road, St. John's, Lewisham.

BONELESS CORSETS. -New invention, unbreakable. Lists free. -Write, Knitted Corset Co., Nottingham.

"CULTO" - Japanese Magic Finger Nail Polish. "Culto" (912 imports) is positively genuine. It sends a particular to anyone desiring than usual. If not "more than delighted," money returned. See 1912 stamped on end of Culto box. -Belvoise and Co., 11, New Southgate, N.

DRINK SALUTARIS. Health-giving Table Water. Distilled. Absolutely pure and free from all microbes. Accredited or Still. Unrivalled for gout and rheumatism. Ask your grocer or write Salutarius Company, 236, Fulham Road, London, S.W. (enclosing this advertisement).

FISH - The Quality Fish Supply Co. (Dept. F. Aberdeen, will send by rail or post, carriage paid, Prepared for Cooking, 6lb (or larger quantities at proportionate prices), of the Finest, Freshest, Most Nutritious Fish, on receipt of postal order for 2s.

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

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

OLD FALSE TEETH. - We give highest possible prices for above. Offers made if un-accepted, teeth returned. Dealers in old gold or silver in any form. Bankers' references. Straight-forward dealing. -Woodfall and Company, South-Port.

REMNANTS! Genuine White Art Irish Linen. Big pieces, for Teasels, Traycloths, Foyles, &c. Only 2s. 6d. per bundle, postage 4d. Irish Linen Bargain Catalogue free. Write to day. -Hultene, 167, Larne, Ireland.

SCOTCH WINEGY, soft finish, but hard wearing. An ideal fabric for all kinds of Ladies' and Children's Underwear. Blouses, &c. From 1s. per yard. -Dept. S., Athenic Mills, Hawick Scotland.

SILVERCREAM Silver Polish. Invaluable to Housekeepers. Perfectly harm- less. No dirt, no dirt, no evaporation. In tubes, 6d. post free 7d. -Silver Cream Co., 382, York Road, London, N., or of the Suffragist shops, chemists, &c.

TYPEWRITING and TRANSLATIONS. - Literary and Dramatic work a speciality. Best work. Special terms to members W.S.P.U. -Mrs. Marks, The Moorgate Typewriting Co., 65, Fins-bury Pavement, E.C. Tel.: 5638 London Wall.

WINDOW FABRICS of Interest and Beauty. -Lace Curtains, Muslins, Cane-curtains. Samples free. Consult our catalogue 24; or write to day. -Samuel Peach and Sons, The Looms, Nottingham.