

VOTES FOR WOMEN

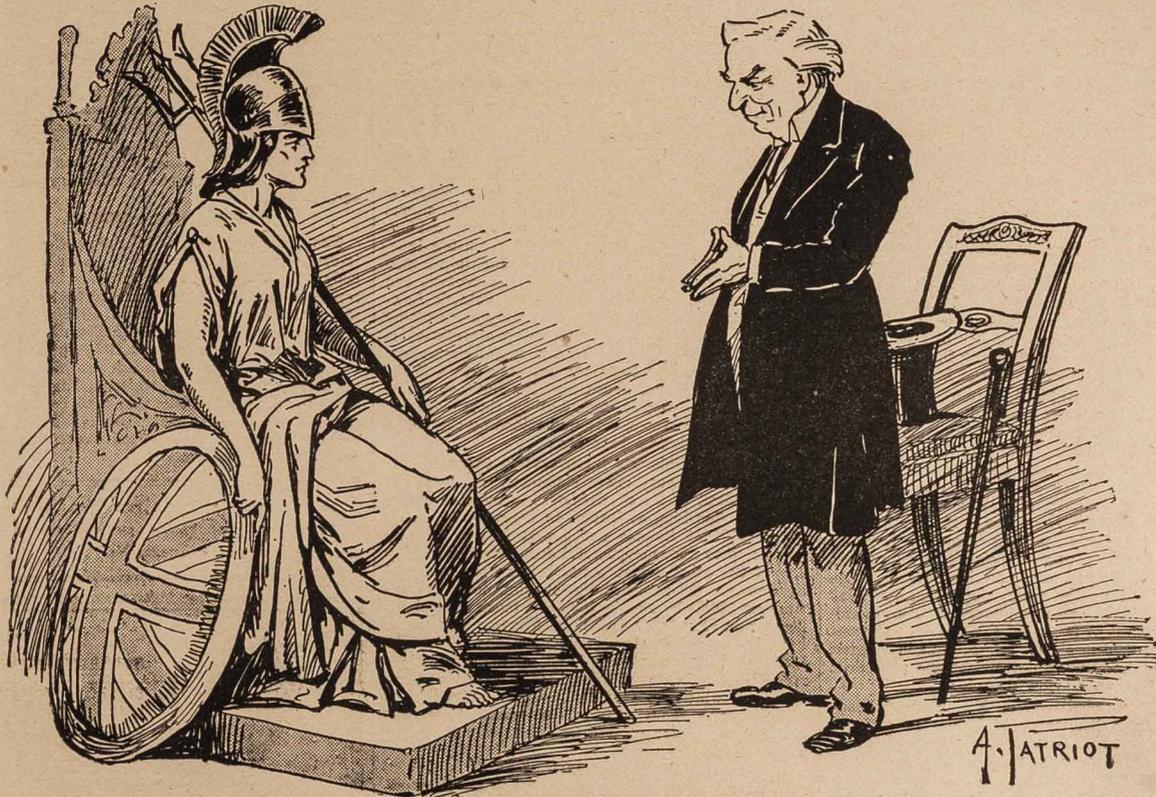
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HOW THE GOVERNMENT DEALS WITH MILITANCY



MISTAKING THE SYMPTOM FOR THE DISEASE

DOCTOR ASQUITH (to Britannia, who is suffering from internal disorder): "I do not like the look of your tongue; I propose to cut it out."

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DEDICATION

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

On Monday afternoon the Government had Mrs. Pankhurst arrested. She was taken to Scotland Yard and subsequently to Leatherhead. On Tuesday morning she was brought up at the Epsom Police Court, the charge against her being that she had "counselled and procured" the damage done at Mr. Lloyd George's house at Walton Hill. After formal evidence Mrs. Pankhurst was admitted to bail until Wednesday morning, when the case was fully gone into. In the result, Mrs. Pankhurst was committed for trial at the Summer Sessions, bail being refused, as she declined to give any undertaking as to her conduct in the meanwhile.

The Story of Woman Suffrage

In order to place these events in their true per-

spective it is necessary to turn back over some of the pages of history, and to trace the development of the woman suffrage agitation from its original peaceful condition to the turbulent occurrences of the present day. We need go no further back than the year 1867 when John Stuart Mill moved an amendment to the Franchise Bill, then under discussion, to include women in its provisions. A petition in favour of this amendment was hastily got up, and in a fortnight the names of 1,500 well-known women were obtained. The amendment was, however, defeated, and the "Household Franchise" Bill, for men only, was carried into law.

Seventeen Years of Peaceful Agitation

After this the women set to work in real earnest, and during the next seventeen years a great and successful agitation spread over the whole country. Immense meetings of women were held in all the principal towns, and resolutions claiming enfranchisement were carried with unanimity and enthusiasm. Over 9,000 petitions, bearing in all the names of over 3,000,000 men and women were presented to Parliament, a number far in excess of those that had ever before been collected in favour of any other reform. Pledges were also obtained from a majority of the members of the House of Commons to support woman suffrage in Parliament by their votes when the question arose, and victory seemed only a question of time.

The Betrayal of 1884

In 1884 the Liberal Government introduced the County Franchise Bill, and an amendment was moved to extend the suffrage to women. This amendment

was defeated by the direct intervention of the Prime Minister (Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone), who called upon those of his supporters who had given pledges to women to break their pledges and vote against it, threatening that if they did not do so the Government would resign. In consequence many Liberal members "rattled," and Votes for Women was lost. Mr. Gladstone also, in the same year, prevented the passage of a private member's Bill for woman suffrage (in spite of the fact that he had promised not to interfere with the discretion of private members on it) by the simple expedient of adjourning the House over the day put down for its second reading.

Twenty Further Years of Patient Work

It is quite clear now that women ought at that time to have shown by some definite action their resentment against the shameless treatment which had been meted out to them. Instead of doing so, they contented themselves with a mild protest and with a continuance of the methods of propaganda which had up to that time been all that was required. In consequence many earnest women lost hope, and though a monster petition, containing the names of over a quarter of a million women was presented to members of Parliament in 1897, the House of Commons treated the whole question with ridicule and contempt—speeches of the most disgusting and insulting character being received with uproarious mirth.

A New Temper Among Women

Then came the great awakening in 1905, caused by the fact that a few hitherto unknown girls dared to challenge the whole force of the Liberal Party by asking questions at question time, and by allowing them-

ARREST OF MRS. PANKHURST

Committed for Trial—Refuses to Give Undertaking—Bail Not Allowed

Mrs. Pankhurst was arrested last Monday afternoon on a warrant charging her as follows:—

"Emmeline Pankhurst.—For having on the 12th day of February, 1913, feloniously, unlawfully, and maliciously counselled and procured certain persons, whose names are unknown, to feloniously, unlawfully, and maliciously place in a certain building, to wit, a building situate at Walton Heath, in the County of Surrey, certain gunpowder and explosive substances with intent thereby to damage the said building, contrary to the Malicious Injuries to Property Act, 1861."

The arrest was made at Mrs. Pankhurst's flat, in Knightsbridge, by Superintendent Quinn, and Chief-Inspector'Brien, who took her first to Scotland Yard, and then to Leatherhead, where she was detained for the night. On Tuesday morning she was brought up at Epsom Police Court before Sir William Vincent (Chairman), the Rev. E. W. Northey, Mr. A. Barr, Mr. H. W. Saunders, and Mr. R. Braithwaite.

The proceedings were almost entirely formal. Evidence of arrest was given, and Mr. Lewis, who appeared for the Director of Public Prosecutions, asked for a remand until Wednesday morning, which was granted by the Bench. Bail was applied for, and was granted, on the defendant giving an undertaking not "to incite or take part in any incitement or public meeting until the adjourned hearing."

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 26

On Wednesday morning Mrs. Pankhurst surrendered to her bail at the Epsom Police Court. The interest felt in the case was shown not only by the large number of Suffragists wearing the militant colours who were in the court during the proceedings, but also by the crowds of people who lined the road for nearly 200 yards before the precincts. Mrs. Pankhurst arrived in a closed motor-car shortly before twelve o'clock, accompanied by her aunts, Mrs. Rosina Pott and Mr. Murray.

The Case Opened

The charge, which we give above, was read, and Mr. Bodkin then opened the case, saying Mrs. Pankhurst was charged as an accessory before the fact to the commission of a felony by some persons unknown. It was not necessary where a person was charged as an accessory before the fact that he should have been present at the time the offence was committed.

In this case it was the submission of the prosecution that, from one point of view, in consequence of the very best evidence (statements by the defendant), Mrs. Pankhurst was in that position of accessory in relation to the felony committed on the early morning of the 19th.

Describing the explosion at Walton Heath, Mr. Bodkin said there would be evidence to show that on the evening of February 18 the house was left by the workmen engaged upon it in a safe condition. Shortly before the time that they would reassemble at the house an explosion took place, which did damage to the extent of £400 or £500. It was an explosion of gunpowder, amongst which was mixed a number of rough nails and pieces of metal. That explosion took place near a cupboard, where complete arrangements were subsequently found for carrying out a second explosion. That canister of gunpowder in that cupboard was connected by specially prepared cloth, which, in its turn, was connected with shavings placed round a candle, which had been partially burnt away. In that canister was found a quantity of black powder and a large number of nails and iron missiles.

"Overruling the Government"

"A more abominable and cruel outrage probably has never been conceived," Mr. Bodkin continued. "The fortunate accident, however, of the blowing out of that candle has left merely the wreckage of the house, and, therefore, the section under which this charge arises would appear to be an appropriate one. Now this was an outrage carried out in pursuance of a widely-announced scheme announced by the defendant herself, and carried out unquestionably by those whom she described as her soldiers, in the warfare which she

has started against property and against persons with the avowed object of overruling the Government of this country, with a view to furthering the political ends of the party of which the defendant is the head and leader.

"You will hear from the various speeches which she has made in the months of January and February of this year that she herself has been personally engaged in plotting and conspiring to carry out acts of violence in furtherance of that seditious and illegal scheme."

Before reading quotations from the defendant's speeches, Mr. Bodkin said he wished to make this comment: "Either what she had been saying was absolutely true and her admissions and statements, if they bore the natural and ordinary interpretation which he submitted should be put upon them, amounted to admissions of being an accessory before the fact to this outrage at Walton Heath, or to others that had occurred, or, if they were not true, then her statements were the merest bluff made at these meetings for the purpose of continuing in her position as leader of the women who actually carried out the outrages."

Extracts from Mrs. Pankhurst's Speeches
Counsel then proceeded to quote extracts from Mrs. Pankhurst's speeches. At Palmer's Green, on January 22, before the withdrawal of the Franchise Bill, she said:

"When the last amendment is defeated we shall decide what is going to be done. There will be no militancy until the last hope is absolutely destroyed. . . . I say that if the amendments are defeated we must be more militant than we have ever been before."

In another speech, at the London Pavilion, on January 27, on which date the Bill was being discussed in the Commons, she said:

"Unless we get a Government measure or unless the so-called Suffragists, Mr. Lloyd-George and Sir Edward Grey, resign, then we take up the sword again, never to lay it down until the enfranchisement of the women of this country is won. I speak seriously because I know what it means. I am in a position of grave responsibility towards the Woman Suffrage movement, and I know it as an individual because I mean to take my part in the front line."

On that occasion, remarked Mr. Bodkin, it was the Chancellor of the Exchequer against whom Mrs. Pankhurst showed particular malevolence. That was the first instance, and there would be other instances of it later. She continued:

"We declare this afternoon that we shall resume guerilla warfare and continue it until this question is settled."

Then, said counsel, followed a very significant reference. Mrs. Pankhurst said: "I want to say to women who are ready to co-operate in the forthcoming plan of campaign that they will see in the meeting two ladies wearing white roses. I hope who wish to take part with me in a particular engagement [counsel emphasised these last six words] are asked to give their names to those ladies. Its success depends in not making the details public. This is an essential condition of guerilla warfare. Sorties and raids are things which form part of guerilla warfare. They have to be done as surprises to the enemy, and so I wish those who are prepared to take part in the onslaught to give their names to those ladies. It is a very serious business. I hope what we are preparing for may be unnecessary, but, like wise commanders of forces, we are getting ready."

After the Bill was Withdrawn

Mr. Bodkin remarked that a few minutes after that news was given that the Bill had been withdrawn in circumstances which would be within the recollection of the justices. The same evening defendant became more specific in her scheme of militancy. She said:

"I want to say I am going to be militant also. We women are not sentimentalists; we have stern business to do; we have each to do our duty. You are going to do yours, and I am going to do mine. I want to know whether you can help me to make my special bit of militancy successful. I want women to volunteer to come with me. I want you to give in your names to those who are wearing the white roses. If my piece of militancy is to succeed it must be done with discretion. We must take the

enemy unawares. We must produce the maximum effect with the minimum of effort. One thing we will regard as sacred, and that is human life. As women we say that human life is sacred to us beyond everything else, but we are going to do as much damage to their property as we can."

At a meeting on January 30, said Mr. Bodkin, she spoke of her own position in regard to the movement. She said:

"Placed as I am in the responsible position of the guide of this movement, I say that for all that women have done and all that women are doing, and all that women will do, I take full responsibility. We have said before that there is but one restriction in this warfare, and that is respect for the sacredness of human life, and with that sole exception we hold ourselves free to use any and every method, which we think fit, to secure Woman Suffrage. We have got to create a situation in which the ordinary business man will cry out, 'We will not have this state of things lasting any longer.' What do you see in the street now—windows barricaded. Presently we shall have all the windows barricaded; and look at the humour of the situation, shopkeepers barricading themselves against their customers, a thing that will not be able to continue very long."

"Full Personal Responsibility"
An important speech (counsel continued) was made by Mrs. Pankhurst at the London Pavilion on February 4, when she said:

"The fight is going on very well. I want to say here that for all that women have done up to now, and what women will do in the future, short of taking human life, I take full personal responsibility. I want to tell our friends the Government that since I accept that responsibility, so long as I am at liberty I shall be plotting and planning and arranging with my colleagues in this campaign we have undertaken."

At the London Pavilion on February 10 Mrs. Pankhurst said:—

"We are not destroying orchid-houses, cutting telegraph wires, and injuring golf links in order to win the approval of the people who are attacked."

Referring in the same speech to the Home Secretary, she said:—

"His fellow golfers are very angry at what is being done, and particularly angry with me, and since they recognise quite rightly that I am the head and front of the movement, and in many cases have incited people to do these acts, let me answer them so long as I have the chance. This is the answer: It is inevitable they should be angry with the women who do these acts, and particularly angry with the woman who has incited them to do them."

At Croydon, on February 12, she used these words in a speech:—

"Here am I, going about plotting all kinds of things and helping to do all kinds of things."

At Putney, on the 18th, she said:—

"I wonder why I am here, because I ought not to be here if the laws of the country are effectively administered, because I have been breaking the laws myself, and not only inciting and instigating and preparing other people to do the same. I have been prepared during the last few weeks at any time for arrest. I want you to do it, but I am above the law. (Laughter.) I am a chartered libertine. I am set above the law."

After the Bomb Incident
After the outrage at Walton Mrs. Pankhurst spoke at Cardiff, and referring to Mr. Lloyd George, said:—

"We have tried blowing him up to wake his conscience. . . . I want to say this in all seriousness, realising the responsibility of what I am saying. For all that has been done in the past I accept the responsibility. I have advised, I have incited, I have conspired, and I say this, the authorities need not look for the women who have done what they did last night. I accept the responsibility for it. . . . If to-morrow I am arrested for what happened last night, and if I am sent to penal servitude, I shall prove in my own person that punishment, unjustly imposed upon women, who have no voice in making the law, cannot be carried out. If they send me for five, ten or twenty years I shall not stay. I shall at once hunger strike."

There was some laughter from women at the back of the court, and, turning towards them, Mr. Bodkin said: "I do not know what there is to laugh at."

Mrs. Pankhurst: Indeed, I do not think there is.

Continuing, counsel said that at the Chelsea Town Hall Mrs. Pankhurst said that it was wrong for women who had committed these acts to be punished, while she, who had incited them, was at liberty.

Summing Up
"Upon these statements," said Mr. Bodkin, "I submit there is a question above all others for a jury to determine at the Assize for the county, as to whether these speeches do not amount to admissions by a person who glories in what has been done, and who, to her supporters, disclosed that she is at the bottom of each and all of these outrages which have taken place, and takes credit for them as the leader of the movement. She takes credit for each and every one of these outrages, including the most serious one of all, which has taken place in your division."

Evidence Called
Witnesses were then called for the prosecution.

Henry Elliott, a carter at Manor Lodge, Walton-on-the-Hill, said that at 4.30 a.m. on February 19 he heard the sound of a motor-car. On looking out he saw a car going in the direction of London. Some time afterwards he heard a rumbling noise like that of a big gun.

James Gray, of Walton, a builder's foreman, in charge of the work at the house which was damaged by the outrage, said that on February 18 the building was structurally complete, and the decorations were being carried out. Twelve men were employed that day. When he left in the evening the house was in proper condition. The doors had been hung and were locked at night. When he arrived next morning at 6.30 he found the building damaged to the extent of some £400 or £500. Witness also described the finding of the unexploded bomb.

Mr. Bodkin: Could you see how anybody got into the house that night?—Yes. There was a window to be put in under the stairs. That was about 2ft 6in above the ground level, while there was a little scaffolding 3in off the ground.

Inspector Tudgey, of the Surrey Constabulary, said that on the floor of the servants' bedroom he found a cord slightly scorched, a twisted mass of fin, which was once apparently a candlestick, and a tin basin.

The Inspector then reconstructed the "infernal machine" found in the cupboard.

It consisted of a square tin, on the top of which witness placed a black piece of cloth, which in turn he placed in a candlestick filled with shavings.

The Chairman: It is not charged, is it?—No, I think not, sir. The paper was round it, and it was fastened by the cord. Amongst the shavings, on closer examination, I found this hairpin.

The Chairman: It was not part of the apparatus?—No, I should not think it had anything to do with causing the explosion.

Home Office Inspector
Major Astley Cooper Key, Chief Inspector of Explosives at the Home Office, said he examined the damaged house at 5 p.m. on the 19th. The damage to the servants' bedroom was caused by the explosion of ordinary black gunpowder. He looked at the cupboard on the same floor. It was 3ft 4in away from the bedroom.

Mr. Bodkin: Had the explosion in your opinion been a violent one?—Yes. What I should expect from an explosion of a few pounds of gunpowder.

Would the draught caused by such an explosion be felt, do you think, at a distance of 36ft?—Certainly, when it was confined by the walls of the passage.

Did you afterwards examine the things shown to you by Inspector Tudgey?—Yes. I saw them the same evening at Leatherhead. The canister is the ordinary 5lb tin in which gunpowder is usually sold.

What did you find in the tin?—I found some gunpowder mixed with nails and small percussion caps.

"I may say," added the Inspector, "that the fact of the percussion caps being present with the nails created a very dangerous situation at the time the powder was being conveyed—dangerous to the person who carried it. The rag, in addition to being soaked in oil, had been made into tinder by means of wet gunpowder and would spit sparks. The shavings were soaked in ordinary oil."

Short-hand Notes Produced
A transcript of the shorthand notes of Mrs. Pankhurst's speeches was then produced.

Detective Renshaw, of the special branch at Scotland Yard, who deposed to taking

shorthand notes of some of the speeches, was cross-examined by Mrs. Pankhurst.

What do you mean by the "special branch at Scotland Yard," she asked.

Witness: The political department.

Mrs. Pankhurst (to the Chairman): What I wanted to ascertain is the fact that there is a political branch of the C.I.D.

The Chairman: Yes; I think you have got that.

Mrs. Pankhurst (to the witness): Is it part of your duty to go to Ulster?

Mr. Bodkin: The Royal Irish Constabulary look after Ulster, as other parts of Ireland.

This closed the case for the prosecution.

Committed for Trial
In reply to the customary caution, Mrs. Pankhurst said: "I do not propose to offer any evidence, sir; I reserve my defence."

The Chairman: You will be committed then to the Assizes of this county, to be held in May, at Guildford.

Mr. Pankhurst: I would ask, sir, if possible that I might be sent to the Assizes which, I understand, are in progress now. I should like this case to be disposed of as soon as possible.

The grand jury have dealt with all the cases, and I am afraid it is impossible to have it at this Assize.

Mrs. Pankhurst said she could not consent to give an undertaking over so long a period as that. She would be quite prepared to give an undertaking for a week or a fortnight, but could not possibly do so for a longer period, looking at the fact that a new Session of Parliament began in March, and was vitally concerned with the interests of women.

The Chairman advised Mrs. Pankhurst to consider her position a little more.

Mrs. Pankhurst: I want to point out that prison on remand, on the authority of Lord Robert Cecil, is absolutely unfavourable for preparing an adequate defence. I have had experience of that before. Any trial will be a farce so far as I am concerned. If I remain in prison I shall not have a fair trial. I have made up my mind firmly. I shall take a most serious view of the situation and adopt the strike which has been adopted by many other women in prison. If I am allowed to be tried when the Summer Assizes come on it will be a dying woman they will try. I say that in all seriousness.

The Chairman said that unless Mrs. Pankhurst gave a definite undertaking to abstain from criminal offences she would have to be committed for trial without bail.

Mrs. Pankhurst: Sir, I cannot undertake that.

Bail Refused
The Chairman remarked that she was charged with one of a series of disgraceful outrages on Scotland Yard, and that the criminal law. Whatever the motives might be, such methods could not be allowed in a civilised country. If she could see her way to enter into recognisances to abstain from these methods, the Bench would be willing to grant her bail.

Mrs. Pankhurst: I am quite prepared to give that undertaking for a reasonable period, but I cannot do it for the time between now and the next Assizes.

The Chairman: That means you are willing for a short time not to defy the law?

Mrs. Pankhurst: Quite so.

The Chairman: But after a short time you will defy the law?

Mrs. Pankhurst refused to give any promise, and the chairman remarked that he was afraid the Bench had no alternative.

Ultimately Mrs. Pankhurst was committed for trial as stated, bail being refused.

She was then removed in custody.

WHAT MILITANCY COSTS THE NATION
Half-a-Million in Seven Years
According to the Standard, £500,000 has been spent over the militant agitation since its commencement in October, 1905. The losses are roughly set under three heads:—

(1) Actual damage caused by wanton outrage.

(2) Heavy expense of preventing and detecting outrage, a sum far larger than most people suspect.

(3) The withdrawal of funds from charitable and other public purposes by women who are supporting the movement.

The following are some of the more recent items:—
Bomb explosion at Chancellor's house, cost £200 to £600.
Regent's Park pavilion burned out, £720.
Kew pavilion burned down, £1,000 (or more).
Golf greens damaged, over £100.
Letters damaged and telegraph wires cut, costs not yet ascertained.

Guarding Cabinet Ministers
Then there is the cost of surveillance. All the parks and public buildings are being watched night and day, to say nothing of pillar boxes; and, continues our contemporary, "At least twenty Ministers of the Crown are under constant surveillance, never less than two detectives being at their immediate call, this involving the employment of five or six men per day,

and at times more than that; whilst the watching of their houses in town and country, whether they are in residence or not, employs many more. Motor-cars or taxi-cabs are in frequent requisition for this purpose, and when a Cabinet Minister is going to fulfil a public engagement he is usually preceded and followed by cars containing detectives, with sometimes a scout on a motor-cycle. Taxi-cab drivers have been known to take 15s. or £1 in an evening on this work. In the season these bodyguards of the Ministers cost the country from £250 to £300 a week. The protection of meetings, garden-parties, &c., is another heavy expense. For provincial meetings Metropolitan Police and armies of detectives are brought down, every railway station is watched, and the spaces round the halls are sometimes boarded off into narrow avenues.

Shadowing Militants
A few years ago, when Mr. Asquith went to Birmingham, the cost of protection is said to have amounted to close on £1,000. Then Scotland Yard has a special department of the Criminal Investigation Department employed solely in watching the movements of well-known militants not only in London, but the provinces. The expense in connection with parliamentary "raids" during the past seven years has been immense. At times as many as 2,500 to 3,000 police have been on duty, and on one occasion there were certainly not far short of 5,000. This means the bringing up of a large force from the suburbs and outer districts, with expense of fares and keep whilst on duty, at a cost of perhaps hundreds of pounds. Added to this is all the cost of police court and sessions cases, and the maintenance of prisoners convicted or on remand, for on one occasion the cost of the prisoners retained in Holloway had to be found accommodation in Holloway."

In addition to all this there have been the window-breaking raids (the one in last March cost not less than £10,000) and the money raised by the W.S.P.U. and the money withdrawn from public charities. "All told, it would be a moderate estimate to say that seven years of militancy has cost the country over half a million of money."

PRESS COMMENTS
While we need hardly say that we entirely disapprove of the outrages that have been committed, we cannot but feel that the Liberal and Tory Press, by their comments on these and other phases of the militant campaign, have done much to intensify the present bitterness. Charges are made which show that those who make them altogether fail to understand the psychology of the militant women. It is quite untrue to suggest, as has frequently been suggested in the last few days, that the women are guilty of "potential murder." Mrs. Pankhurst has challenged Mr. Harcourt to prove that the wing of his house, which women were convicted of attempting to fire, was the children's wing; it was, she declares, an uninhabited part of the house. Equally untrue is the suggestion that the women are presuming upon their sex, and pride themselves on their ability to escape punishment because they are women. The truth, rather, is that they pride themselves upon their ability to bear a greater punishment than the Government dare to inflict. Anyone who knows the spirit and temper of the militant women realises that Mr. Pethick Lawrence's letter in Monday's "Times" does not exaggerate; the hunger strike is not a bluff but a grim reality, and the women who suffer it are prepared to pay the last penalty. If it were true, as the "Westminster Gazette" said last Thursday, that the women are defying the Government to treat them as it would treat men, Mr. Pethick Lawrence would not now be writing to the "Times." The authorities released him, as they released the women, because they were not prepared to face the consequences of allowing either a man or a woman to die in prison. It is dangerous, indeed, to press the women beyond the limit they set for themselves. Mr. Massingham writes very wisely in the "Daily News and Leader" when he declares that the women "do not will not and cannot put the whole armour of devils and kill some men in order to frighten others into giving them the vote." There is a danger that a challenge of that sort will be taken as a challenge, as militant women are Mr. Hobhouse's incautious reference to the burning of Nottingham Castle. For our part, we believe that a more effective pressure might be brought to bear upon the Government if the Liberal Women's Federation would, as they have been asked to do, call a special conference and devise a way of convincing the Government that they will not support from any woman until the question of the franchise is settled. It will certainly not be settled by the arrest and imprisonment of Mrs. Pankhurst, which may only render the women still more desperate. — Christian Commonwealth.

The powers that be have plucked up courage to arrest Mrs. Pankhurst, or in a fit of desperation they have seen the necessity of doing something that will look more or less dramatic.

One thing is quite certain. Such arrests will do nothing to curb the militant spirit and movement. Militant tactics are regarded from different points of view, according to temperaments and preferences. But there is absolutely no room for doubt as to the intensity and grit of the militants themselves. They would go to the stake for their ideals. . . . The militants are urged in divers tones to be constitutional. But they cannot be constitutional. Women are outside the Constitution. Constitutionally they are outcasts. The plain and simple way to make them constitutional is to give them the vote.

It is not always exactly constitutional. When kings and aristocrats themselves stood in the way of his heart's desire he acted in pretty much the same spirit as that in which the militant women are acting to-day.

The contemporary male Briton idolises and idealises those bygone idealists. He wants everything alive to be constitutional; but he adores militants provided they have been dead for a couple of hundred years.

The trouble is that militants cannot die and be heroic unless first of all they live and fight.—Daily Herald, Feb. 25.

FIRST CATCH YOUR HARE!
It remains to say that the nation will have this affair treated as an attack on its peace and security, and not as an opportunity for the criminals to advertise their own opinions and the weakness of the Government. The perpetrators have to be found; and when found to abide the sentence of the law, like any other assailants of the order of a civilised State.—Daily Telegraph.

BENEFACTORS—NOT CRIMINALS
However much the wanton act of those who destroyed the tea-house at Kew Gardens may be deplored, very little sorrow will be felt by those who knew the building at its loss. It was a mean and insignificant structure—one utterly unworthy of the beautiful situation it occupied.—Daily Telegraph.

COMING TO THE POINT
The following emphatic statement of the position was given in a letter to the Daily Telegraph last Wednesday:—

Sir,—Everyone seems to agree upon the necessity of putting a stop to Suffragette outrages; but no one seems certain how to do so. There are two, and only two, ways in which this can be done. Both will be effectual:—

1. Kill every woman in the United Kingdom.

2. Give women the vote.—Yours truly, BERTHA BREWSTER.

THE CASE OF MISS LENTON

Serious Result of Forcible Feeding—Home Office Responsibility

Miss Lenton has been released from Holloway Gaol in a serious condition of health, after being forcible fed.

It will be remembered that Miss Lenton was one of the two Suffragettes arrested last week in connection with the burning of the Kew tea-house. She was brought up in Richmond Police Court on Thursday in custody until Thursday in this week, bail being refused. As a protest against not being allowed bail Miss Lenton at once started the hunger strike. On Saturday morning she was perfectly well in health; during the day she was forcibly fed once, and became so ill that shortly afterwards she was hurriedly released and taken to the house of a friend, where she has been lying seriously ill ever since.

Caused by Forcible Feeding
There is little doubt that the origin of her illness is to be found in the forcible feeding to which she was subjected against her will. She is suffering from pleurisy and, it is feared, from septic pneumonia as well, there being every sign of the feeding tube or the food having entered the trachea.

Miss Lenton's Account
Miss Lenton's own statement is that— "The whole time the tube was really in I was coughing violently and continuously, and made a queer noise in breathing. A voice said something I did not catch, to which a man's voice answered, 'Yes, go on.' Then something was poured in again. I was coughing ever so much, meanwhile. They took out the tube, untied me, and I got up, but fell against the wall. I

began to be in pain from the waist upwards.

The pain became intense. I rang the bell, and first one doctor came and examined my chest, warning me not to sit up. He told the waitress to bring blankets and a hot-water bottle, which they did. The doctor then went away, and came back and said he was authorised to tell me I should be released as soon as possible if I promised to appear at the Police Court, Richmond, on the following Thursday. I said I would, but was not asked to sign any paper.

"During the following two hours they gave me, and I took, brandy with brandy and milk with brandy. The doctor also gave me a third injection, saying it was necessary to enable me to stand the journey. They carried me in a chair to the taxi and the doctor came all the way with the waitress to my friend's house."

Miss Lenton is, of course, far too ill to appear at her trial this week, and the doctors take a very grave view of her illness.

Why Was She Released?
In view of what has occurred, the indignation in the Press over Miss Lenton's release is a revelation of the prevailing ignorance as to the dangers of forcible feeding. The Standard in its leading article of last Wednesday considers that Miss Lenton was a case for "medical treatment in the prison infirmary," and blames the Home Secretary for releasing her. We who know the facts about forcible feeding in prison are well aware of the Home Secretary's reasons for not wishing to retain Miss Lenton in the prison infirmary. This is not by any means the first time that the Suffragist victims of forcible feeding have been released from prison because the Government did not wish to have their death upon its hands.

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FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1913.

IF MR. ASQUITH WERE

A STRONG MAN

A grave crisis confronts Mr. Asquith as the responsible head of the State. He is faced with a situation which demands not merely intellectual understanding, but profound judgment and fearless courage. He has to consider not his personal predilections, but his duty to his Sovereign and to the Nation.

Hitherto he has treated the question of the enfranchisement of women with a disdainful contempt; in his view it was not a matter on which the Cabinet need make up its mind. If only sufficient delay could be interposed the agitation would die down, and women would learn once more to be content with the position which had satisfied their mothers and their mothers' mothers before them.

From this comfortable complacency Mr. Asquith has been roused by militancy which has steadily extended and intensified until it has reached the point at which the very serious events of the past fortnight have taken place. No one, least of all Mr. Asquith, the head of the Government, can wish these events to continue; and yet no one can doubt that they will be continued unless some step be taken by the Government to bring them to an end.

The question which confronts Mr. Asquith is what that step shall be. He is not without counsellors in the matter. Apart from his private friends and his colleagues in the Ministry, the Press have deluged him with advice both of their own and from numerous correspondents. He has been exhorted to consider "neither the sex nor the motive" of the offenders, but to bring to bear upon them the "full rigour of the law"; he has been urged, in the event of their adopting the hunger strike, to abandon the practice of releasing them when at the point of death, and instead to allow them to die in prison. He has been invited to carry into law special coercion acts rendering them liable to flogging or torture or deportation, while even authoritative sources have recommended new legislation enabling him to attack the funds of

societies or individuals, and to subject ordinary prisoners on release to the regulations of ticket of leave. All these recommendations can be summed up in a single phrase: "Coercion, more coercion, still more coercion."

If this agitation rested (as its enemies profess to think) upon no more sure foundation than the wild vapourings of a few hysterical men and women, this plan of meeting it would no doubt succeed; but then it would have succeeded long ago, and the agitation would have been at an end. Coercion has been tried and it has failed, more coercion has been tried, and it has not merely failed, but it has swelled the ranks of the agitators and fanned their indignation to a hotter flame.

And why? Because the movement rests upon the firm basis of widespread discontent, because women are become conscious to-day of their right to citizenship, because they recognise that their peaceful demonstrations have been treated as of no account, and that they have been tricked and humbugged by politicians long enough. Because also the bulk of the men of this country are with them in their demand for enfranchisement. In spite of the wanton campaign of incitement by which the Press is trying to egg them on to maltreat the Suffragists, to break up their meetings, to insult and mob them in the streets, the decent, honest, sober, justice-loving men of the country are asking with increasing insistence these two questions: "Why should not women who possess the qualifications and bear the responsibilities which entitle men to vote receive the Parliamentary franchise? How can Mr. Asquith, whose own salary is in part extracted from the pockets of women, deny them that right to control the taxes which is a fundamental part of the Liberal creed?"

It is for these reasons that coercion has not succeeded in the past, and it is for these reasons that it cannot succeed in the future.

Mr. Asquith may order the arrest of Mrs. Pankhurst, but we do not so underrate his intelligence as to imagine that he thinks this step will be effective in bringing the disorder to an end. Similar steps have been taken in the past with practically no effect. Whatever on this occasion be the result of her trial, whatever variations of treatment may be administered to her (if she be sentenced), or to other Suffragist prisoners who may be caught red-handed in acts of violence, whatever further acts of repression be attempted either under the existing law or under special new coercion legislation, Mr. Asquith must realise by this time that they will not achieve their purpose. He must see that the agitation will go on becoming daily more serious and menacing.

Knowing this, as he must do, the weakest course possible for him is to continue to pursue from pure inertia a policy which he recognises to be utterly futile, and which is at the same time fraught with dire consequences to the well-being of the State. Better far would it be for him to retire from his position and leave others to adopt the one solution to the problem which his own obstinacy prevents him from carrying into effect.

But if he were really a strong man, he would adopt neither of these alternatives. He would refuse to be bound by the mistakes of his past judgment. Eschewing the example of Lord North, who continued in his course of folly to the end, he would range himself with Peel and Gladstone, who knew when the time had come for them to bow to the will of the people.

Such a course would not be yielding to violence or intimidation, it would be yielding to the public opinion which has prevented the Militant Suffrage agitation from being snuffed out by coercion. It would be the course dictated by wisdom and courage. For it is the weak man who mistakes obstinacy for steadfastness of purpose; while the strong man is not ashamed to learn from his experience of life to correct the mistakes which he has made in the past.

The approach of the County Council Elections makes it important that women electors should realise the rights they possess, so that they may use them unflatteringly and efficiently. These rights are, it is true, limited to the administration of laws over which they have no control, except through the powers bestowed upon County Councils to promote Bills in Parliament, but still they are considerable, and affect the welfare and comfort of the community in every department of daily life. It is one of the favourite arguments of anti-Suffragists against the enfranchisement of women that women do not use the vote which they already possess, a statement based on an impression not verified by any conclusive facts. It is true that, on an average, only about 50 per cent. of municipal electors, men and women, record their votes, but we have no exhaustive returns to show the proportion of women. Where such have been made they rather tend to prove that men and women vote in about equal proportions. It is to be regretted that municipal voters should be so apathetic, but we must not blame them too severely when we consider the diversity of the functions of local councils and the bewildering manner in which they overlap.

There are, however, questions which obviously affect all classes of the community, such as public health, housing, the laws relating to midwives, adulteration of food, the licensing of music-halls and places of entertainment, and above all, education, which concerns every family in the country, and the fact cannot be too strongly emphasised that women, by their vote, have a voice in this question of national importance. County Councils are the education authority for the whole kingdom, subject, of course, to certain limitations imposed by the Board of Education, and to the exclusion of private or endowed schools which need no financial grant. Candidates make so many promises that they cannot possibly fulfil them all; still, where their electors show a serious determination, they will be forced to use their votes on the Council in the desired direction. Electors must therefore remember that the training of the rising generation is in their hands, and that it is futile merely to grumble when they have a voice in the selection of those who are entrusted with such serious duties. Housing, health, and all similar questions which come under the control of the Municipal Councils are certainly of vital interest to the community, but education decides the future development of the nation.

THE COUNTY COUNCIL ELECTIONS AND THE WOMEN'S VOTE

By A Worker in Local Government

I am told that baby clinics was the bone of contention between Liberals and Conservatives! Surely it is time that women electors should shake off the trammels of party and set an example of judging these important questions in the light of common sense.

No Political Value

It has been repeatedly pointed out that this tyranny of the political caucus is also responsible for the shortage of women candidates, but as this shortage is continually quoted by anti-Suffragists as a proof of the indifference of women to public interests, it may not be superfluous to state the facts once more. Political associations, to which, as a rule, women are not admitted, select the candidates for Municipal Councils, and use the party machinery to secure their election. If they adopt a woman she has a chance of being elected; if, as is usually the case, they refuse to do so because she has no political value, her failure

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THE MOTHER-CREATURE AT BAY

(The following letter from Mrs. Pethick Lawrence appeared in the "Pall Mall Gazette" on Wednesday, February 26.)

Dear Sir,—In every revolt there are at least two points of view that need to be considered by the thinking public. In dealing with the present outbreak of the militant Suffragists you have presented one point of view—that of the outraged authorities. Will you allow me to speak from the other point of view—that of an outraged sense of justice? You condemn militancy, which you say "is resented by every thinking person," but you do not recognise that every other alternative excepting militancy has been taken away from women, who are steadfast in their determination rather to struggle for their liberty than to submit to their exclusion from citizenship. It must be remembered that Suffragists have carried out the greatest constitutional campaign ever waged in the history of this country for any social reform without the aid of the political Press or of the political party leaders.

What Has been Done Legally

It can be shown by available statistics that Suffragists have held more meetings during the last five years than all the other political parties put together. As a matter of fact, it would be impossible to hold greater out-door demonstrations than have been held. Nor, to get together greater numbers of people than those that have been gathered in Hyde Park (on one occasion the crowd was estimated by the Times to number half a million to three-quarters of a million people) would be incompatible with public safety. To organise greater processions than those that have marched through the streets of London numbering fifty thousand to sixty thousand persons is not feasible because (as we are informed by the police) the limit of disorganisation in the traffic of London has been reached.

It would be impossible and useless to send greater Petitions to Parliament than those that have been sent comprising millions of signatures. There is no point in converting more members of Parliament, as over two-thirds of the House of Commons have pledged themselves in favour of the Reform, though they can always find some excuse for breaking their pledges.

Everything that can be done in the way of constitutional agitation has been done for over fifty years, and, for the past five years especially, all records in educational propaganda have been broken. The only political result of it all is a sequence of Parliamentary tricks and betrayals which in the words of Lord Robert Cecil would have driven men not "to a casual outrage," but to an "insurrection."

Furthermore, much legislation affecting women both in their home life, in their industrial life, and in their economic life, which, in their voteless condition, they have keenly resented, has been passed in the very teeth of this agitation. For example, they have been recently forced to contribute to the payment of salaries to over 600 members of Parliament who are not in any way responsible to them, and do not even profess to represent their interests or their wishes.

And a poll tax is exacted from them under the Insurance Act which, apart from pressing hardly upon them in many details (as in many details it presses hardly upon men), is in its main conception and purpose fundamentally unjust to women.

What Ministers Have Said

Added to this indirect provocation has been the direct incitement to militancy on the part of responsible Cabinet Ministers, beginning in 1906 with the often-quoted advice of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman "to keep on pestering," emphasised by Mr. Herbert Gladstone when he said:—

Political dynamics are far more important than political argument. Men have learnt their lesson, and know the necessity for establishing that "force majeure" which actuates and arms a Government for effective work. This is the task before the supporters of this great movement.

Women have been jeered at by Lord Haldane for their— Policy of pinpricks, and have been told that they should take to "sterner measures." They have been taunted by Mr. John Burns with— Scratching at the door which men have forced open.

is almost certain, as she has the full power of both political parties against her, and moreover the expense is generally prohibitive. How can we expect women to come forward in large numbers under such conditions?

To sum up. Local Government has been described as the housekeeping of the nation, and for this reason it presents peculiar difficulties. In a household you do not expect the gardener to understand the duties of a lady's maid, or vice versa, though both may be quite able to form an opinion on the minimum wage or National Insurance. I have dwelt in detail on the importance of the rights already possessed by women, but from the very nature of these rights it is obvious that they are in no sense a substitute for full political enfranchisement. These duties, like all other duties, ought to be conscientiously performed, but they only touch one side of life, and must remain ineffective without the complete privileges of citizenship.

Last of all, they have been told in the recent speech made by Mr. Hobhouse in Bristol—

That in the case of the Suffrage demand there has not been the kind of popular sentimental uprising which accounted for Nottingham Castle in 1832 or the Hyde Park Railings in 1867.

"The Anger of the Bully"

It may be argued that these incitements were never intended to be taken seriously, and acted upon. In that case, they were taunts levelled at women's dislike and avoidance of violence. And the anger of the Government whose spokesmen these men are, and the anger of those who from party instincts or from the instincts of sex dominance, support them, is the anger of the bully who is taken by surprise when his victim unexpectedly shows fight.

The authorities who deemed women weak have continued to ruthlessly driving them to the wall. And now women, with their backs against the wall, have turned, and are defying the authorities in the name of outraged human nature. They have all the courage and all the final desperation of the mother-creature at bay.

Yes, that is the secret of the woman's movement—the dawning in the consciousness of women of the sense of race-motherhood and of the corresponding sense of human dignity which expresses itself in the determination to be included in the human commonwealth as a sovereign half of a sovereign people.

The tragic thing is that men, instead of welcoming this new passion of race-motherhood in women, should drive it to the defensive. It is a sight to behold—the pioneer womanhood of the future, so forsaken yet so indomitable, doing desperate battle for her race-motherhood rights against all the organised powers of physical force!

Of the unthinking crowd that hurl their denunciation at her, it must be pleaded, as it was for men of another race, "they know not what they do."

Let it be no mistake. A new consciousness, a new idea, once it has become wrought into one substance with the human will, cannot be suppressed. There was a time when women's emancipation was a question of argument, when the only appeal put forward on its behalf was the appeal to reason. To that appeal the country was deaf.

Now it is a battle between the inspired human will and the "old regime."

The divine right of the male electorate is a theory similar to the old theory of the divine right of kings, which was quite logical and found acceptance for centuries. But in the face of a new race-consciousness wedded to indomitable will the theory ceased to correspond with the fact, just as the theory of the divine right of the male electorate ceases to correspond with the actualities of the woman's movement to-day. The vote of men cannot coerce women. No political party, however strengthened by the vote of the male electorate, can force upon an awakened womanhood a system of government without consent.

The present situation is deplorable. It threatens to become worse. It possesses all the elements of a great tragedy. Must the fate work itself out to the bitter end? Must the sacrifice of human and material substance, so costly to both sides, be paid to its uttermost farthing?

It is not too late for some leading voice to speak, for some saviour of the people with the instincts for statescraft to step in and persuade the country as a whole that the time has come for a reasonable compliance with the reasonable demand of women that they shall be the fellow-citizens of men in common service to the State.

The Only Way

That is the only way to put an end to militancy. And it is the right way. Because the only strength of militancy is the justice of the Cause behind it. But for that it would have been stamped out long ago. But for that it could be stamped out to-day. What those responsible for the government of the country lamentably fail to see and understand is that they are up against a force that has all the spiritual reinforcement of a new religious faith. And that is a force against which repression cannot hope to prevail.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

THE MILITANT AGITATION

Widespread Discussion in the Press—Opinions of Eminent Men and Women—Coercion or Legislation?—The Hunger Strike and How to Deal with it

Public attention has been focussed all the week upon the activities of the militant Suffragists. The difficulties of a situation in which the principal actors successfully set at defiance both the law and the penitentiary code have been universally discussed, and a mass of suggestions have been made in the Press and elsewhere as to the best way of dealing with law-breakers who, by adopting the hunger-strike, can terminate their own sentences at will. In a growing minority of instances, the solution suggested is the simple one—Give women the vote. Those others who do not recognise with us that militancy is an expression of an intolerable sense of injustice, and that the only way to stop it is to remove the injustice, make suggestions that may be roughly grouped as follows:—(1) The extension of the ticket-of-leave system, whereby the hunger-striker may be released when life is endangered, and imprisoned again as soon as she is fit to go through it again. (2) The imposition of fines without the option of imprisonment. (3) The placing of food within reach of the prisoner, and leaving her to starve to death unless she takes it voluntarily. (4) Deportation of the offenders. There are, of course, the usual hysterical correspondents of the daily papers who shriek for the use of the birch and the ducking-stool, but, with a few notable exceptions, such as Mr. Cutcliffe Hume, who advocates the latter, these curious denizens of the Dark Ages prefer to be anonymous, and need not be further considered here.

"GIVE THEM THE VOTE"

Several of the newspapers have been asking well-known men and women how they would deal with the problem of the militant Suffragists. The following are a few of the answers which really go to the root of the matter:—

Miss May Sinclair (in the *Daily Mirror*):—
"No solution occurs to me except giving women the vote."

Sir Thomas Barclay (in the *Weekly Dispatch*):—

"The obvious answer is that if an Act of Parliament giving the women the same franchise as men were passed violence would cease. The anti-Suffragists missed their chance when they opposed the Conciliation Bill. The only course now open seems to be to grant political equality. Down to the present the women have been singularly humane, and moderate, and though they are now resorting to violence, no life has thus far been endangered. I trust they will remain true to their principle of respecting human life, and thus set examples which will be followed by another 'hunger-strike' would follow. It could be dealt with in just the same way. The offender would thus find herself under the constant surveillance of the law, subjected to experiences which would be uncomfortable, but not heroic. 'Martyrdom' on such an instalment plan would probably break down the most robust faith in arson as a weapon of agitation. If the offender took the way out of her difficulties of leaving the country, that would be a solution of the problem which most people would welcome, for there is no vindictive wish to punish these folk; but there is a stern necessity to deter them from further outrages."

Sir Arthur Pinero (in the *Weekly Dispatch*):—
"Treat the women and their cause fairly and liberally."

Mr. George Bernard Shaw (in the *Weekly Dispatch*):—
"I should give the women the vote."

Mrs. Fawcett, in a Press interview last Monday, said: "I can think of only one thing which, as far as I can see or suggest, would stop militancy. That is, to grant women the vote." And in a letter to the *Times* of February 25, she wrote: "As the Government have by their mis-handling of the whole subject of woman suffrage created a situation which has brought the administration of the law into contempt, I do not see why suffragists should make suggestions to help them out of their difficulty."

LETTERS IN THE PRESS

In the Press some excellent letters have appeared, offering the same solution as the only one. We select one of these, from the *Manchester Guardian* of February 24, in which Miss Maud R. R. Mackenzie, after quoting Mr. Herbert Samuel, who said recently that Parliament to grant the vote now would put a premium on disturbances and offer an invitation to crime," goes on to say:—

"In view of this expression of opinion from a Cabinet Minister it is interesting to compare the diametrically opposite view of Lord Morley with regard to far more serious outrages in India in the House of Commons on June 6, 1909:— 'Some in this country lean to the opinion—and it is excusable—that riots ought to suspend all suggestions and talk

of reform. His Majesty's Government considered this view, and in the end they took very determinedly the opposite view. They held that to draw back on account of local and sporadic disturbances, however serious, anxious, and troublesome they might be, would have been a really grave humiliation . . . and would have been taken as a sign of nervousness, trepidation, and a fear that is always unworthy in any Government. A statesmanlike dealing with the question of women's suffrage would have averted all 'outrages,' and at the present time the passing of a Government measure would be the signal for their cessation."

TWO PROVINCIAL PRESS OPINIONS

The *Nottingham Guardian* is to be congratulated on the following courageous expression of opinion in its leading article of February 21:—

"It is easy to talk about severe punishment, and so on, but experience shows that when there are political objects to be attained severe punishment only defeats its own ends. This has been proved over and over again. The suffragists may be convinced of the justice of their cause, and of the necessity for the measures they are taking to gain their ends. And unless experience is all at fault, severe punishment will not stop them. It is all very deplorable, but the root of the mischief lies in the fact that neither the Government nor the House of Commons has treated the subject of votes for women on its merits. Party politicians have played with the question instead of honestly facing it."

Similarly, the *Halifax Daily Guardian* (February 19) says:—

"The problem is, what will the authorities do? They tried fines, and the result has been nil. They have tried imprisonment, and the hunger-strike has followed. Mrs. Pankhurst goes one further still. If the hunger-strike be not successful, there is still a further way of securing release, and 'if I drop out a hundred more will take my place.' We believe this is a mere statement of simple fact, but it increases rather than diminishes the work which the authorities have to do. The Executive Government are in difficulties indeed, and it is not easy to see the best way out, apart from conceding the women's claims!"

"RELEASE HER ON A TICKET-OF-LEAVE"

The extension of the ticket-of-leave system to the Suffragist hunger-striker was recommended in the *Morning Post* of February 22 by "A Legal Correspondent," who wrote: "It seems to me that there is a common-sense way out of this difficulty. Let the hunger-striker continue her fast for forty-eight hours (that would not endanger life), and then release her on a ticket-of-leave, the conditions of which could be made extremely onerous—for example, a personal report of her fast twice a day at a police-station. The hunger-striker would probably break the conditions, and would be liable to re-arrest under the original commitment. Perhaps another 'hunger-strike' would follow. It could be dealt with in just the same way. The offender would thus find herself under the constant surveillance of the law, subjected to experiences which would be uncomfortable, but not heroic. 'Martyrdom' on such an instalment plan would probably break down the most robust faith in arson as a weapon of agitation. If the offender took the way out of her difficulties of leaving the country, that would be a solution of the problem which most people would welcome, for there is no vindictive wish to punish these folk; but there is a stern necessity to deter them from further outrages."

The *Morning Post*, in its leader, commented thus on the above suggestion: "It would require a very stout spirit to face for some months or years an existence composed of hungry days in prison broken by short intervals of restricted freedom for the purpose of recuperating from the sufferings of the self-imposed fast."

"WITHOUT THE OPTION OF IMPRISONMENT"

The *Legal Correspondent* of the *Morning Post* further proposed the "revival in the Law Courts of the old system of exacting money penalties in reformatory for crime," and the *Daily Chronicle* on February 20 enlarges thus on the advantages of imposing fines "without the option of imprisonment":—

"The method which we suggest has this great merit. It enables the State to punish the organisers rather than their tools. And it does not worsen the lot of honest spontaneous political martyrdom, such as conscientious individuals are sometimes driven to. What it hits is organised martyrdom, with money behind it. Martyrdom of this kind is not bona-fide; it is simply a political dodge, which any rich organisation can practise, and which for

various reasons is most undesirable, and ought to be ruled out of decent political warfare, just as we rule poisoned or explosive bullets out of the battlefield. When it is courted by crimes such as that committed at Mr. Lloyd George's house, or those attempted at Nuneham and the Dublin Theatre Royal, it is quite time legislation were introduced to make it less absurdly cheap and easy than at present it undoubtedly is."

"Pay, Pay, Pay!"

Last Sunday's *Observer* took the same view, that the law might be strengthened with regard to the levying of fines, and the *Globe* of February 20 said: "There should be no difficulty in making the funds of every society guilty of complicity in these outrages liable to confiscation. If imprisonment has no terrors for the offenders it is possible that heavy fines rigorously exacted from individuals, and not to be evaded either by deeds of gift or resort to the Bankruptcy Court, would prove very efficient. If nothing else will do, we would certainly prove effective, and are sure that it would be heartily approved by all reasonable people of both sexes."

The London Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* says:—
"The Home Office is very closely occupied with the militant outrages, and every effort is being made to cope with the situation. The attitude of the authorities may be said to be as follows. They are resorting to forcible feeding, and will continue to resort to it so long as it does not involve any danger to life. In the event, however, of any such danger becoming apparent the Home Office will continue to order the release of the prisoner. In this attitude they have the approval of prison doctors concerned. So far as the immediate future is concerned, one must not exclude the possibility of special legislation being brought forward at the beginning of the session to give the authorities full power to deal with these outrages. No information is yet forthcoming as to the lines which this will follow, but possibly it may mean an extension of the number of releases on licence, and power in certain cases to impose fines which may be levied by distress."

Sir Robert Anderson (in the *Weekly Dispatch*):—

"No crime of any kind can be supposed to be 'coercive Acts' properly administered; and the existing criminal law only needs to be enforced to enable us to deal with the particular crimes which are now *sub judice*. But just because they are *sub judice* I cannot speak more definitely. Upon the general question I would remark that organised crime is easily detected and, therefore, easily suppressed. The outrages, campaigns of Irish Fenianism never made headway, except at times when the Government of the day was criminally apathetic. And the same should be true of any prisoner liable of the conspiracies which I have had to do—was promptly suppressed by Sir William Harcourt's drastic Coercion Act, an Act which is still in force. But in public opinion it is not sanctioning these ladies as the dynamiters and Fenians were treated, legislation becomes necessary. It would be idle for me, however, to formulate here a *propos de loi* to meet the case. If a reform I have long advocated were introduced into our stupid criminal code, and a criminal was always required, as part of his sentence, to compensate the person injured by his crime, a window-breaking crusade would cost the Suffragettes as much as it now costs the shopkeepers. And the law of conspiracy, enlarged if necessary, would bring into the net those whose names would suffice to cover the damage."

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Mr. Eustace Miles:—"I should put before each suffragist a tempting meal, and leave it with her. I should take care that it was sufficient and nourishing, and would even go to the extent of having it certified as such—so that there would be no possible doubt. Details of the meals provided should be sent out to the Press, so that the public would know that if anything happened it was not the fault of the authorities. At any rate, they would be the judges."

Would They Give In?

All these opinions, as can easily be seen, are based on the assumption that the suffragist hunger-striker would not be able to resist the temptation of food if it were placed temptingly before her, and that in no case would she die sooner than give in. We are glad to note that the *Observer*, of last Sunday, while believing that this treatment would lead to the end of militancy, showed rather more knowledge of militant suffragists than to suppose that they would give in sooner than die. "What is the solution?" it asks, and goes on thus:—"A Radical member, who is not by nature inhuman, urges that the militants go to prison by their own act. Hence, if they choose to starve themselves, let them. 'Keep them in and let them die.' This view is undoubtedly shared by an increasing number both of men and women. They argue that without the ability to meet force by force, and to meet the determination of the lawless by the stronger determination of the law-abiding, no means for preserving civilisation has yet been discovered. Those who say that if the suffragists insist on committing suicide they ought not to be prevented also believe in capital punishment, irrespective of sex, not because they are inhuman, but because they believe execution to be the best preventive of murder. If militants became responsible for murder they would, of course, be executed. The present kind of outrages, stopping short of that, are more difficult to grapple with. To allow militants to starve themselves to death would lead in the long run to the end of militancy, no doubt, but it would give the halo of martyrs to those who had died, and would probably carry their cause. In any case, Government being what they are, that method will not be tried."

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"I am opposed to militant methods, and I think it is a mistake in tactics to injure tradesmen for what is not their fault. The rank and file of the business and professional world is in favour of women's franchise, but it does alienate a man's sympathy if you break his windows for the sake of the very opinions which he shares with you. I don't say this is a justifiable attitude, but it is a very human one, and angry people are apt to forget that a good cause should, and does, stand on its merits alone. Why don't the women concentrate their energies on the Ministers who are to blame? Worry the Government. Show Mr. Lloyd George the votes he will gain or lose by taking up a strong attitude. So-called friends of the suffrage would not be wobbler if they were a definite number of votes to be gained."

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MRS. FAWCETT'S CONDEMNATION
Mrs. Fawcett's condemnation of militancy has been so widely exploited in the Press that it is only fair to say that, in addition to the condemnation, which in many papers was all that was reported of her speech, Mrs. Fawcett said: "Deeply as I detest the violence of the militants, I equally detest the violence to which they have been subjected—the forcible feeding, which ought never to have been resorted to, and the nameless insults which they suffered in Wales."

Continuing, Mrs. Fawcett said she entirely agreed with Mr. Alfred Lyttelton's appeal to responsible statesmen to observe the causes that led to the disorder and remove the cause. It was no unusual demand, for statesmen did constantly consider questions of disorder in that broad way, as, for instance, in connection with the riots in India, when Viscount Morley

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CORRESPONDENCE

"POLITICAL MILITANCY." To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Dear Editors.—May I put in a few words in answer to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's article under the above heading, and preface them by saying that I grant freely and without reservation all she postulates as to the moral and political effect of the system of asking questions at public and semi-public meetings, no matter of what complexion.

support from the country in every way by refusing to contribute to all public charities, and withdrawal of voluntary help, as well as by exclusive trading as suggested in VOTES FOR WOMEN by one of your correspondents.

LIBERAL WOMEN. To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Dear Editors.—Last year I resigned my office of President of our branch of the Women's Liberal Association in consequence of the set-back and disappointment of all our hopes that we should have the promise of the Liberal Government carried out with regard to the franchise for women this Session.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE. I would like to reassure Miss Boyle that there was no misunderstanding on my part as to her position. I heartily welcomed her letter as a contribution to the general discussion.

ANOTHER SOLICITOR'S VIEW. To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Dear Editors.—I have read Mr. Pearse's elegant letter in your paper of the 14th inst. He has acted on our professional saying, "If you have no case, abuse the Plaintiff's Attorney."

TO THE EDITORS OF VOTES FOR WOMEN. Dear Editors.—In a recent number of your paper (which I have not by me, having passed it on) a correspondent objected to protestations at public meetings because of the violence thus provoked in our opponents.

TO THE EDITORS OF VOTES FOR WOMEN. Dear Editors.—The arrest of Mrs. Pankhurst and the vindictive and repressive measures threatened by the Government make it of urgent importance that those (and I believe there are large numbers) who are ready to carry out Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's suggestion of Militancy without Violence should "come out" at once, and organise a "National Boycott" to be carried out by suffragists in order to back up those who are now suffering so much for the Cause.

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MILITANT ACTION

DIARY OF EVENTS

Thursday, Feb. 20.—Tea pavilion, Kew Gardens, destroyed by fire. (Miss Lilian Lenton and Miss Joyce Locke arrested.) Pillar-boxes attacked at Edinburgh (upwards of 2,000 letters damaged), Leith, Leeds, and Northampton.

Friday, Feb. 21.—Grand stand, Kempton Park Racecourse, set on fire. (Eight windows, value £120); Miss Sarah Benett, six months (two windows, value £180); Miss Clara Lambert, six months (two windows, value £180); Miss Pleasance Pendred, six months (one window, value £15); Miss Jane Shortt, six months (three windows, value £75).

Saturday, Feb. 22.—Outbreak of fire at the Guildhall (supposed by some to be the work of suffragists). Letter-boxes attacked at Lewisham, Richmond, Boston, and Scarborough.

Sunday, Feb. 23.—A pillar box at Forest Hill (Ireland); a considerable number of letters damaged. Wednesday, Feb. 26.—Telephone wires at a dozen call offices in Belfast severed by knives.

IN THE COURTS

Last Friday, as the Daily Citizen remarked, was "militant Suffragist day" at the London Sessions. Five women, charged with window-breaking above the value of £5, surrendered to their bail, and were sentenced by Mr. Robert Wallace, K.C., to the following terms of imprisonment in the Second Division:—Miss Editha Warwick Ball, six months (eight windows, value £120); Miss Sarah Benett, six months (two windows, value £180); Miss Clara Lambert, six months (two windows, value £180); Miss Pleasance Pendred, six months (one window, value £15); Miss Jane Shortt, six months (three windows, value £75).

Miss Margaret Haley. We are asked to correct a misstatement which has appeared in the Press to the effect that Miss Margaret Haley echeated her bail in failing to appear at the London Sessions last Friday. Miss Haley was not given bail; she was awaiting her trial in custody, and in consequence of the hunger strike became so ill that she was released before the date of her trial.

Charged With Damaging the Mails. Miss Stevenson was charged at the Richmond Police Court on Monday, February 24, with attempting to damage the mails by posting, on Saturday, in the Richmond head office letter-box, a packet containing two tubes of phosphorus solution. Evidence was given, Miss Stevenson herself saying she posted two letters, and was prepared to give the names and addresses. She was committed for trial, bail being allowed.

MR. HUGH FRANKLIN. At Wealdstone Petty Sessions, last Tuesday, Mr. Hugh Franklin was charged on remand with wilfully setting fire to a Great Central train, and thereby endangering the lives of passengers, on October 25, 1912. It was alleged that, on the arrival of the 4.5 p.m. train from Marylebone at Harrow, the accused was seen to leave a compartment of the train which was on fire. He was summoned, but failed to appear, and wrote a letter to the chairman of the Bench stating that he was a Suffragist, and that he would only attend by the issuing of a warrant. However, he was not arrested until last week.

Monday, Feb. 24.—At the Richmond Police Court, charged with attempting to damage mails; Miss Stevenson, committed for trial. Tuesday, Feb. 25.—At the Epsom Police Court, before Sir William Vincent, Mrs. Fankhurst brought up; remanded on bail. At the Wealdstone Police Court, charged with endangering passengers by setting a compartment of a train on fire on October 25, Mr. Hugh Franklin, committed for trial, bail was allowed.

Wednesday, Feb. 26.—At the Epsom Police Court, before Sir William Vincent. SUFFRAGISTS IN PRISON. In Holloway Gaol.

Table with 4 columns: Name, When Sentenced, Length of Sentence. Miss Louise Gay, Jan. 9, 8 months. Miss Evelyn Cotton Haig, Jan. 23, 1 month. Miss Margaret McFarlane, " " 1 " " Miss Nora Newton, " " 1 " " Miss Marie Neill, " " 1 " " Miss Margaret James, Feb. 5, 6 months. Mrs. Ethel Beckett, Feb. 3, 5 " " Mrs. Maud Brindley, " " 5 " " Mrs. Marie Louise Miles, " " 3 " " Miss Mabel Muriel Scholefield, " " 3 " " Mrs. Branson, Feb. 19, 2 " " " Miss Joyce Locke, Feb. 13, 2 months' hard labour. Miss Annie Lansbury, " " 1 month " " Mrs. Moor, " " 1 " " " Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, " " 2 months' " " Mrs. Eva Watson, " " 2 " " " Miss Zella Emerson, Feb. 20, Remanded, bail refused. Miss Editha Warwick Ball, Feb. 22, 6 months, 2nd division. Miss Sarah Benett, " " 6 " " " Miss Clara Lambert, " " 6 " " " Miss Pleasance Pendred, " " 6 " " " Miss Jane Shortt, " " 6 " " "

Table with 4 columns: Name, When Sentenced, Length of Sentence. Mrs. Purser, Jan. 30, 1 month hard labour. Mr. William Lansbury, Feb. 13, 2 months' hard labour.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN AMERICA

Legislative Victory in Nevada. A correspondent sends us particulars of the voting on the equal suffrage amendment, which, as we announced in our issue of February 7, was passed by the Nevada Legislature on January 24. In the Assembly this was carried by a majority of 49 to 3, and in the Senate by a majority of 19 to 3. Having been passed by two successive legislatures, those of 1911 and 1912, the proposal can now, according to the Constitution, be submitted to the electors in the form of a Referendum at the next general election, which, unless anything unforeseen occurs, should take place in November, 1914.

"AN ARTIST'S PETITION." We have received a communication criticising the poem by H. W. N., which appeared under the above title in last week's VOTES FOR WOMEN, and we gather from it that our correspondent did not quite realise that the verses were intended to be satirical. We are sure that a second perusal will reveal the humour that lies in the poem, and rob it of any sinister aspect it may have presented at first sight.

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY. Addresses: Franchise League, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C. Artists' Suffrage League, 259, King's Road, S.W. Australian and New Zealand Voters Association, 9, Grosvenor Street, W. Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, 55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W. Church League for Women's Suffrage, 11, St. Mark's Crescent, Regent's Park, N.W. Civil Service Suffrage Society, 39, Rosseton Road, Highgate, N. Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, 43, Dover Street, W. Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies, 16, St. James' Street, S.W. Free Church League for Women's Suffrage, 2, Holmby View, Upper Clapton. Forward Cymric Suffrage Union, 53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W. Friends' League for Women's Suffrage, Mill Field, Street, Somerset. Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society, 2 York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester. International Women's Franchise Club, 9, Grosvenor Street, W. Irish League for Woman Suffrage, Emerson Club, 13, Buckingham Street, W.C. Irishwomen's Franchise League, Ardent Concert Buildings, 61, Brunswick St., Dublin. Irishwomen's Reform League, 29, South Anne Street, Dublin. Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation, 29, South Anne Street, Dublin. Irishwomen's Suffrage Society, 27, Donegal Place, Belfast. Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association, 125, Leinster Road, Rathmines, Dublin. Jewish League for Woman Suffrage, 32, Hyde Park Gardens, W. London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage, 5, Waterloo Gate, Balling. Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage, 24, St. Paul's Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C. Men's League for Woman Suffrage, 136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster. Men's Political Union for Women's Emancipation, 15, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C. Men's Society for Women's Rights, 141, St. Stephen's House, Westminster. National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society, 5, John Dalton Street, Manchester. National Political Reform League, 16, St. James' Street, S.W. National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W. New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage, 5, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge. People's Suffrage Federation, 31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W. Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage, Sanwick, Berwickshire, N.B. Suffrage Alliance, 6, St. Paul's, Shepherd's Bush, W. Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, St. James's. Suffragists' Vigilance League, 49, Queen Victoria Street, E.C. Women's Freedom League, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C. Women's Social and Political Union, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C. Women Teachers' Franchise Union, 27, Marillo Road, Lee, S.E. Women's Tax Resistance League, 10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C. Women's Western Suffrage League, Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

COMING EVENTS. We remind our readers that the Micala Carnival Party in aid of the International Suffrage Shop will be held at the Gaxton Hall, Westminster, tomorrow (Saturday), from 3 p.m. till midnight. Admission, 6d., by ticket bought beforehand, or 1s. at the hall. Miss Lena Ashwell and Mr. George Lansbury will open the carnival, and Mrs. Cecil Chapman, Mrs. Despard, and Miss Eva Moore will be among the hostesses. There will be no suffrage speeches. Miss Ellen Terry is to present the prizes, which will be decided by ballot, for a fancy-dress parade, and Miss Cicely Hamilton will be in charge of the wax-works.

The Forward Cymric Suffrage Union will hold their March meeting at the Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand, on Monday, March 3, at 8 p.m. Mr. Pethick Lawrence will be one of the speakers. Mr. Pethick Lawrence will speak at a meeting of the Cambridge University Suffrage Society next Thursday, March 6, at 8.15 p.m.

The Women's Tax Resistance League have decided to hold monthly meetings for their members on the first Thursday in every month. The first of these meetings will take place at the offices of the League, 10, Talbot House, 98, St. Martin's Lane, W., at 4 p.m., on March 6.

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THE SPIRITUAL MILITANCY LEAGUE

Nearly 100 members of the new Spiritual Militancy League for Woman Suffrage attended the church of St. Ethelburga, in the City, last Sunday, all wearing the orange scarf which is the badge of membership. The Rev. Dr. Cobb preached the sermon, and at the end spoke of the aims of the new Society. "Without criticism of methods which have brought the whole question of women's status before the nation," adds the Manchester Guardian, the preacher "referred to the detronement of women during the past four centuries. The sermon was an appeal to the new society and its adherents to supply an influence that will balance any excess and enhance every precious element in the movement for women's enfranchisement."

Next Step in the Campaign. The Spiritual Militants will attend the three o'clock afternoon service at Westminster Abbey on Sunday next, March 2. They are to assemble outside the main entrance, wearing their orange scarves, which can be obtained from Mrs. Stanton Coit, 30, Hyde Park Gate, or, if necessary, borrowed from her at the church door.

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All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

"QUI VIVET!"—See that your district is covered with Suffrage posters.—For particulars write, Mrs. K. Bentinck, 78, Harley Street, W.

FORWARD CYMRIC SUFFRAGE UNION, at Essex Hall (small), Essex Street, Strand, on Monday, March 3, at 8 p.m. All seats free. Chair, Mrs. Mansell-Moulin; speakers, F. W. Pethick Lawrence, Madame Pascoli, Mrs. M. E. Davis (in Welsh).

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE holds regular public meetings at Caxton Hall every Wednesday afternoon. Speakers: March 5, H. Baillie-Weaver, Esq., on "The Status of Woman," and Mrs. Nevinnson. The chair will be taken promptly at 3.30. Admission free.

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BRIGHTON.—TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good table, congenial society. Terms from 25s.—Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

FOLKSTONE—"Trevorra," Bouverie Road, W. Board-residence, excellent position, close to sea, Leas, and theatre; separate tables; moderate terms; private apartments if required.—Miss Key (W.S.P.U.).

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HAMPSTEAD—Lady wishes to let portion of house, three or four rooms, unfurnished. Use of bathroom (geyser). Very moderate rent.—Box, 320, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

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TO LET, March, Furnished Flat; 4 bed, 2 sitting-rooms. 2½ guineas weekly; six months.—Miss Little, 75, Prince of Wales Mansions, Battersea Park.

WANTED.

WANTED—Kensington (near Scarsdale Villas), unfurnished ground floor—1 or 2 rooms, or studio.—M. W. Smith's Library, 232, Earl's Court Road, S.W.

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DENTISTRY—Mr. Smedley, recommended by W.S.P.U. Sets from 1 guinea; partial dentures from 2s. 6d. per tooth; re-make from 10s. 6d.; repairs from 2s. 6d. (in a few hours); extraction, 1s.; painless, 2s. 6d.; with gas, 5s.; stopping from 2s. 6d.; gold crowns; teeth without plates; children's teeth regulated.—39, Beauchamp Place, Brompton Road, S.W.

GOD'S WORD TO WOMEN has never been a word of disapproval and suppression. The Bible encourages the development of woman and stands for her perfect equality with man, in spite of the teachings to the contrary. Do you wish to equip yourself for meeting the arguments of those who attempt, with sacrilegious hands, to throw the Bible in the way of woman's progress? Do you wish to know WHERE and HOW they mistranslate and misrepresent it? Send 7d. (5cts., American stamps) for 101 Questions Answered, a Woman's Catechism, prepared purposely to solve your perplexities.—Katharine Bushnell, "Bernard Lodge," 10A, Drayton Park, Highbury, London, N.

LADIES' ELECTRIC SUN BATHS—5, Maddox Street, Regent Street, W. High frequency treatment for neuritis, rheumatism, &c.; special treatment for obesity; light baths, face massage, manicure, chiropody; for ladies only; consultation free; ladies attended at own residences; hours, 10 a.m.—7 p.m. Telephone, 339 Mayfair.

LITTLE SALON LITERARY CIRCLES—Topical Debates, New Books, Poetry, Drama, Lectures, At Homes. Members bring friends. Social Introductions. Refreshments Included. Sub. Mod. Writing now.—"M. L. Breakell," Little Salon, 24, Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C.

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MRS. MARY OATEN'S Dental Surgery, 10, Sydney Place, South Kensington, S.W. Telephone: Ken. 1084.—Artificial teeth at reasonable prices. Extractions absolutely painless. Gold fillings a speciality.

MOTOR-DRIVING and Mechanism—Miss Addis Price personally instructs ladies in all branches; terms on application.—36, Long Acre. Phone 1642 Gerard.

TO SUFFRAGIST SPEAKERS—Miss ROSA LEO, Honorary Instructor in Voice Production and Public Speaking to the W.S.P.U. Speakers' Class, requests those desirous of joining her private class or taking private lessons to communicate with her by letter to 45, Ashworth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W. Separate classes for men. Mr. Israel Singull writes: "Thanks to your teachings, I spoke nearly an hour at the Albert Hall without weariness, while my voice carried to every part of the hall."

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WOMEN FARMERS!—Practical training at Lovgrove's Dairy and Poultry Farms.—Write prospectus, Kate Lelachaur, Checkendon, Reading.

BUSINESS, Etc.

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WANTED—A refined, educated lady, as Companion Housekeeper to a Suffragette. Comfortable home. Salary from £25.—Box 326, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

WANTED—Companion-Help, domesticated, practical, energetic; in country guest house; also competent plain cook; state age, experience, salary.—Mrs. Hallam, Littledean House, Newnham, Glos.

WANTED—Experienced Lady Gardener to take sole charge of small fruit and flower garden.—Apply Mrs. Marsh, worth, Oaklands, Caerleon, Monmouthshire.

WANTED, for Vegetarian Sanatorium, a thoroughly experienced, trustworthy Cook.—Apply, Matting wages and previous experience, to Manager, Broadlands, Medstead, Hants.

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