

VOTES FOR WOMEN

VOL. V. (New Series), No. 236.

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THE ELUSIVE ONE IN EXILE



Some Recent Snapshots Taken by Mrs. A. S. May, Specially for "Votes for Women."

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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

Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans are still under torture in Mountjoy Prison. In the meantime we learn that the Viceroy of Ireland "has had pleasure in ordering the release of the men who were sentenced to six months' imprisonment in connection with the destruction of a portion of the new sanatorium at Peamont, near Dublin." These men who did damage to the

value of £500 as a protest against the erection of the Sanatorium in a spot they deemed unsuitable, have served five weeks only of their sentence. Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans are under sentence of five years' penal servitude, and have been forcibly fed for over three weeks. The Viceroy of Ireland, instead of announcing that he has pleasure in releasing them, has made it known that he is forbidden by the Prime Minister to release them under any circumstances whatever. Members of this Union are still in the keenest anxiety as to Mrs. Leigh's condition, and as to the manner in which the Government may deal with her. A demand has been made that she shall be examined by an independent physician, as in view of Sir James Dougherty's reference to her mental state, it is impossible to be satisfied with any statement made by the medical officers at Mountjoy Prison.

The Hatchet Charge

It is said that the charge of hatchet-throwing against Mrs. Leigh is to be withdrawn, the reason being that Mr. Asquith and Mr. Redmond are unwilling to appear as witnesses. We can well believe that they dare not face Mrs. Leigh, who made so brilliant a defence in the earlier case. Yet if Mrs. Leigh had not already been sentenced to five years' penal servitude, Mr. Asquith and Mr. Redmond

would no doubt have braved the disgrace and discomfiture that she would have inflicted upon them in Court. If the Government continue their present treatment of Mrs. Leigh, it may happen that when the Sessions begin there will, even if the prosecution is not for any other reason abandoned, be no prisoner to try. The W.S.P.U. is leaving nothing undone to rescue Mrs. Leigh from her position of danger. Miss Grace Roe, the W.S.P.U. Organiser, is conducting an active campaign, and a great protest meeting was held in Phoenix Park, Dublin, last Sunday.

The Campaign in Canada

The Women's Social and Political Union has been established in Canada for some time past, but now the campaign in that Dominion is to begin in real earnest. Miss Barbara Wylie, whose brother is a member of the Saskatchewan Provincial Parliament, sails next Friday, September 20, for Canada in the "Empress of Ireland." We are sure that members will gladly make a note of these details so that they may give her a hearty "send-off." She will extend and consolidate the W.S.P.U. there, and will conduct negotiations with the Government with a view to securing the passage of women's enfranchisement. Votes this session is the demand of the W.S.P.U. in the mother country; it will also

be the demand of the Union in Canada. The enfranchisement of women is inevitable, and delay in granting it would therefore be an unqualified evil. In a new and progressive country like Canada there will not be the apathy on the part of the public and the blind prejudice on the part of politicians which are the obstacles that all reformers at home have painfully and with difficulty to overcome. Miss Wylie has ideal qualifications for the very important task she has undertaken. Not only has she a personal link with Canada, but she has a very wide experience of political and organising work, while by her great ability as a public speaker she will make the militant movement and the principle of Votes for Women universally understood. In order to launch the new campaign a special fund is being raised to which Canadians living in this country are asked to subscribe. The good wishes of our readers will go with Miss Wylie as she leaves to fulfil her mission. She will be one more bond uniting British women on either side of the Atlantic. We appeal to all Canadians who are interested in Suffrage work, and resident in the British Isles, to send in their names at once to Miss B. Wylie, at 4, Clement's Inn.

The Eisteddfod

With unintentional humour, Mr. Lloyd George said of the Welsh Eisteddfod that it was democratic, symbolical of the culture of the Welsh people, and also an index of the progress of their intellectual development. It might, as the event proved, have been mistaken for a den of wild beasts. Unrestrained brutality was displayed towards the Suffragists who made their protest against Mr. Lloyd George's betrayal of the cause of women. Not one restraining word was uttered from the platform. Indeed, Mr. Lloyd George, in the course of his remarks, actually encouraged the men whom he saw committing these outrageous acts. But for the interference of the police, there is little doubt that some, if not all, of the brave protesters would have lost their lives at the hands of Mr. Lloyd George's supporters.

Criticisms

Some criticism has been made, of which the following, taken from the *Morning Post*, is typical:—

The Suffragists, it must be said, have some title to be annoyed with Mr. Lloyd George, for he has blown hot and cold upon their movement in a manner that must be peculiarly exasperating to those earnest-minded but misguided women. But their interruptions showed a lack of sense of the fitness of things, since there was nothing in the speech or in the occasion which bore in the least upon their grievances.

It must be remembered that in the early days of the militant movement only strictly political gatherings were visited for the purposes of protest, but for some time past Mr. Lloyd George has firmly refused to make a political speech in the presence of any women other than the tamest of Liberal women.

The Balmoral Incident

There has been inevitable hysterical comment upon the very mild protest made by women at Balmoral, and it has been suggested that some disrespect to the King and Queen was involved in this protest. We are able emphatically to deny any disrespectful intention towards their Majesties on the part of those who made the protest. It was solely against the action of Cabinet Ministers that protest was made. It has become a point of honour with women to approach Cabinet Ministers and to remind them of the demand for enfranchisement wherever those Ministers may be. It is felt that these politicians who are responsible for cheating women of the Vote, and are guilty of torturing political prisoners, must never be allowed to get beyond reach of the voice of their accusers. As the message planted upon the golf links at Balmoral said: "Cabinet Ministers, stop forcible feeding"; "Release Mrs. Leigh and Gladys Evans"; "Cabinet Ministers, stop torturing your countrywomen"; "Votes for Women mean peace for Ministers."

Mr. Brailsford and the Labour Members

The W.S.P.U. is calling upon the Labour Members to wage war upon the Government and to vote steadily and continuously against them in all divisions until they are either defeated or consent to introduce a Woman Suffrage clause. Mr. Brailsford rushes into print (in the columns of the *Labour Leader*) to explain that in his opinion the Labour Members will do well to refuse the claim the W.S.P.U. makes upon them. We think it most unnecessary, to use no stronger term, that one man should urge other men to do less than women ask them to do in support of their enfranchisement. It must never be forgotten that this is a Woman's Movement, and that the tactics whereby it is advanced must consequently be decided by women. All Mr. Brailsford asks of the Labour Members is that they shall vote against the third reading of the Manhood Suffrage Bill if women are not included, but he says that some Labour Members "appear to view this recommendation with growing disfavour." The women who are spending health and strength and

money in supporting Labour candidates should notice this!

An Ineffective Policy

We strongly maintain that a mere vote by the entire Labour Party against the third reading of the Bill is an ineffective policy. Hostility to the Government must be both immediate and universal. Mr. Brailsford admits this when he says that if the Labour Party confine their opposition to the third reading of the Manhood Suffrage Bill the Government may withdraw it this session. Anticipating our comments upon this, Mr. Brailsford says: "In that case the question is still open. Before this Government goes out it must deal with the franchise." Has Mr. Brailsford quite forgotten the Parliament Act and the fact that this is the last "effective" session of the present Parliament? Another of Mr. Brailsford's assertions which certainly needs some qualification is the following: "This Government want their Reform Bill, and they want it now." Is he so sure? Most people think that the abolition of plural voting will serve the Government very well, and we would point out that the *Plural Voting Bill* has already passed through Committee and is ready to be reported to the House.

Mr. J. R. MacDonald's Defence

At the Trade Union Congress Mr. J. R. MacDonald attempted to defend his Party against the charge of having surrendered their political independence. He said:—

The Labour Party is an independent party, and if it is to retain its influence it must remain an independent party. Always remember when you scan our doings in the House of Commons that an independent party can be used by the Opposition as well as by the Government. There are two sides that want our votes, not one only, and we can not only keep a Government in power, but we can enable an Opposition to come into office.

This is no answer whatever to the criticism of Mr. MacDonald's policy which has appeared in these columns. What we condemn is Mr. MacDonald's acquiescence in the Government's hostile and treacherous dealing with Woman Suffrage, and in their coercive and repressive methods. Mr. MacDonald, who has the power of life and death over the Government, could secure the introduction of a Government measure of Votes for Women. He refuses to do this, and allows himself, with what object he has never yet attempted to explain, to be dragged a willing slave at the heels of the Government. The question for Mr. MacDonald to answer is this: Why does he give his support to the Government for nothing?

Mr. Keir Hardie on Unofficial Amendments

Mr. Keir Hardie, unlike his colleague, Mr. Snowden, is evidently not dazzled by the brilliance of the "opportunity" which the Government have offered to women. Interviewed in the United States, where he now is, he is reported to have said that the fate of an "unofficial amendment would rest with the Irish Party." If they voted solidly against it it would be in grave danger. Now, as the Nationalists have already, through their official organ, the *Freeman's Journal*, made it clear that they will vote solidly against any unofficial amendment for Woman Suffrage, all further dependences by Mr. Keir Hardie and those entirely out of the question. To depend upon them instead of fighting for a Government measure is simply preparing for defeat. Mr. Keir Hardie has torn away from his Party every excuse for refusing to adopt an anti-Government policy in the House of Commons.

"Constitutionals" Manifesto

Constitutional Suffragists have issued to the Press a manifesto in which they deal with their refusal to demand a Government measure, and with their determination to rely upon the Government's worthless and already badly damaged pledge. In the course of their manifesto they say:—

Surely it is wiser to look facts in the face and recognise that until the House of Commons has expressed its desire that Woman Suffrage be included in the Reform Bill the Government will not put it in. We have no time to waste in demanding a Government measure of Woman Suffrage.

Our comment upon this is that the Government did not wait for a pronouncement by the House of Commons before dealing with the Insurance question by means of a Government measure. There is, therefore, no reason why they should insist upon Woman Suffrage being adopted by the House of Commons before making that also a Government measure.

Only Pressure Needed

Pressure is all that is needed to compel the Government to take full and direct responsibility for enfranchising women. There was a time when it was said that this Government would never unite in promoting a measure for this purpose. Now, in response to militant pressure, they have made a promise which, for the reasons often indicated in these columns, is a sham, that under certain conditions they will take this course. What the W.S.P.U. is now demanding is that instead of giving a false and conditional promise, the Government shall give their

honest and unconditional consent to introduce and carry through all its stages a Woman Suffrage Bill.

Mr. Snowden's Attitude

Even Mr. Philip Snowden, whose present attitude is so unsatisfactory and disappointing, is moved to protest against the neglect of the Trade Union Congress to give due attention to the vital and urgent question of Votes for Women. He says:—

There was one serious omission of which the Congress was guilty. It passed in a formal way an off-putting resolution about electoral reform. But at a time when this is a practical question, when there is a Bill before the House of Commons dealing with the subject, something more definite was needed from a great representative body of workers. The Congress, like the Labour Congress at Birmingham, ought to have made an emphatic demand for the inclusion of women in the Bill. It is thirty years since the Trades Congress first passed a woman suffrage resolution. There was the chance last week, thirty years later, to press that demand to a practical issue. A mere declaration in favour of adult suffrage, as one item among many, is not the way to treat this burning question.

The Government's Pound of Flesh

The authorities have up to the moment of writing taken no further action with regard to the sale of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's furniture at Holmwood. Great indignation at the Government's attack on Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence continues to be expressed. It has been realised from the beginning that the order to pay costs was made for the purpose of striking at Mr. Pethick Lawrence, and was an act of revenge for his championship of the women's movement. It is one among the Government's discreditable Anti-Suffrage methods. A vigorous W.S.P.U. campaign is being inaugurated in Dorking and Holmwood; to this we shall refer more fully next week.

Release of Mr. Gray

Our readers will have heard with much pleasure of the release, after two months' imprisonment with hard labour, of Mr. Charles Gray, who was charged with assaulting Mr. Lloyd George at a meeting in Kennington Theatre. It will be remembered that it was chiefly because of the excessive zeal of his own partisans that Mr. Lloyd George found himself rolling at full length upon the floor. It is significant of the state in which the administration of the law at present is that Mr. Gray should have served two months' imprisonment with hard labour, while men who at the Eisteddfod gathering the other day savagely and brutally assaulted women should be free as air. It can not any longer be said that the law is no respecter of persons.

Scientists Condemn Forcible Feeding

At a Woman Suffrage meeting held in Dundee to coincide with the British Association meetings, distinguished Scientists condemned forcible feeding in uncompromising terms. Sir Victor Horsley said that:—

Quasi-scientific statements in defence of forcible feeding had been read by the Home Secretary to the House of Commons, but the authors had not only concealed their addresses, but their names. He protested against these statements being received in any way as scientific until they bore the names of the authors. That misuse of science had led to prisoners being treated with cruelty for weeks and months, while other prisoners had been immediately released. Those who had been driven by their misunderstanding of national affairs into using repression in a question like the suffrage, had also been led astray in the matter of prison treatment.

Professor Halliburton, of London, said that the feeding by forcible means of even criminals would not be tolerated if statesmen really knew what it meant. The horror and disgust of it, quite apart from the actual physical injury which so often resulted, was a punishment which recalled the worst days of medieval cruelty.

Lord Robert Cecil on Militancy

No better defence of militancy and resistance to law could be wished than that offered by Lord Robert Cecil in a recent speech on the political situation, in the course of which he said that:—

He profoundly believed that what was at the bottom of the present tendency to resist the law was distrust of their legislative machinery. The people would not submit to what they regarded as unjust laws if they were passed by a Constitution which was no longer regarded as a free Constitution.

Utter distrust of the legislative machinery as worked by an unscrupulous Government responsible only to men is certainly at the bottom of Suffragist resistance to the law. So far as women are concerned the constitution of this country is not and never has been a free constitution.

Reminiscences of an Irish M.P.

Mr. William Redmond, M.P., speaking at a Home Rule meeting in Ireland, said:—

I was brought, like many another man, a young lad to the House of Commons, and Mr. Parnell told his men that there was only one thing to do, and that was to beat the drum, and make war on England all along the line. Did we not do that? To-day I passed the walls of Kilmainham Jail, now empty and desolate. Thirty years ago the pick of Ireland was there, rallying round Parnell. England gave us Coercion. We fought them back, and hand to hand, and foot to foot. We turned the House of Commons into a bear garden. I say that when fighting was to be done we did it like men. We beat Coercion. We won Land Acts for the farmers. We won some comfort at any

THE "HOME"

(Ancient Regime.)

By Ruth C. Bentinck

You still meet this English "Home" everywhere. Even abroad you may find it, taking its little holiday. The last specimen I came across was in an hotel where all the "personnel" spoke English, that being the only living language this Home deigned to know. It consisted of: Him, aged about sixty, with a beard most venerable; his rather dowdy wife, thin and worn; his equally dowdy sister, whose slight deafness may have been due to the deliberate cunning of her sex; and a daughter who was as colourless and flattened out as his other belongings.

When they made conversation—and it was clearly the rule that efforts should be made in this direction—it was invariably made to him. He laid down the law and they acquiesced. When any of the dreary triad uttered a platitude and he said, "I quite agree," the particular handmaiden who had met with his approval was obviously lifted above the other two, "clad in righteousness," so to speak, for the time being—that is to say, till he thought fit to snub her back into her proper place. Only his sister, on rare occasions, showed a disposition to refrain from grovelling; and when she offended thus the others gave her to understand she had forfeited her right to exist. She was simply not there. Her place was vacant, till such time as she should make conversation again in a duly humbled and chastened manner.

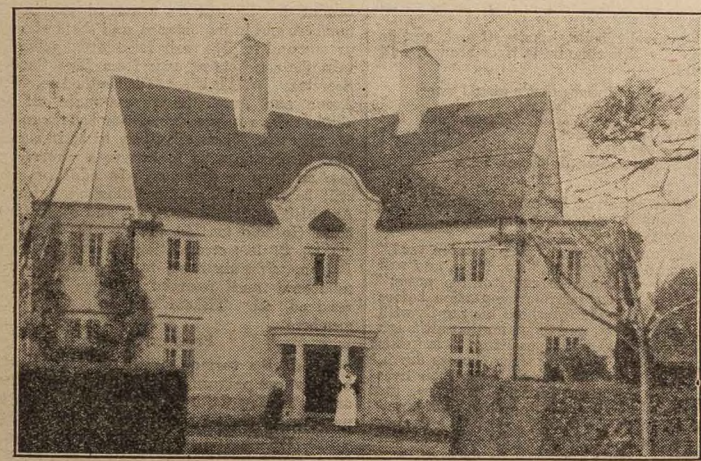
Scraps of the Home's dull talk would reach the next table during meals. For instance, He would assert that milk was better in Switzerland than elsewhere, the wife would assent eagerly, adding obsequiously something about the grass being so good. He would look at her contemptuously, and inform her that good grass did not suffice a cow without variety. She would hasten to agree that it was the "variety" which made such rich cream, whereupon He would reprove her again with—"It is not only the cream, it has many ingredients." And the three spiritless belongings would accept this nonsense as the deepest science, and never point out that it sounded rather like a doubt cast on the purity of the milk supplied.

At times He would indulge in furious invective against the "Borough," which I took to be a grievance about some Municipal election till it occurred to me that he meant the bureau in the hotel. When He was angry his belongings said "Tut-tut!" and wagged their empty heads most sadly. Or he would gaze approvingly round the ostentatious dining-room, with its mirrors and lights, a real object lesson in vulgarity, till his eye lit on a huge piece of tapestry, machine-wrought in a devilish harsh green—a material bearing about the same relation to real tapestry as a chromo-lithograph does to an old master. Fixing his unimaginative, beady eye on this abomination, he would remark, "I wonder what the history of that tapestry is!"

"Tottingham Court Road, I expect" yapped the dreary sister after a cursory glance at the decoration in question. Six eyes darted malevolent looks at the offender, and she ceased to exist; whilst He turned the painful subject and proceeded to cross-examine his hapless daughter—aged thirty at least—as to the type of boat she had been allowed to use when at school.

After much pompous talk about skiffs and outriggers, he would up by snorting, "Four schoolgirls go in that, indeed! Rubbish! Of course you didn't." He repeated the word "Schoolgirls" with withering contempt, while she sat meekly with eyes cast down.

THE GOVERNMENT'S POUND OF FLESH



The Mascot, Holmwood, the Country House of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence (Where the Government are threatening a sale of the furniture to pay the costs of the recent trial.)

rate for the labourers. We have got the right to govern ourselves legally. Catholic young men got some fair effort at least by the establishment of a National University. We fought the battle, and we won it all along the line. Now, to-day, the English people say to us, "We were wrong; coercion failed. Let us have peace. We will restore your Parliament, and let the people of the two countries work in friendship and union together for the future." I say we have not changed. It is the British people who have changed. When they gave us the clenched fist, we let them have it between the eyes.

To-day, the Irish Nationalists, having compelled the Government to concede their demands, are respectable and constitutional. It is now the pick of womanhood who in an Irish prison are battling for liberty, resisting coercion and fighting the Government back, hand to hand and foot to foot. The Nationalists turned coercionists are helping to use against the women the very same weapons that were used against them in the past.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst

We are able to announce that Miss Christabel Pankhurst is established in Paris, where she will remain for the time being, in order that she may deal with the political side of the movement. It is an open secret that from the day of her disappearance until now, she has written our leading article and the political portion of the Outlook. This she will continue to do, but from now onwards her articles will be signed. We have been asked whether there is any danger of this work being interrupted by Miss Pankhurst's arrest under the warrant for Conspiracy which is out against her. We are in a position to assure our readers that Miss Pankhurst is perfectly safe from arrest. Legal authorities have been consulted, both in France and in England, and they advise that her extradition could not be demanded, because the offence with which she is charged is a political one. Moreover, even if it had not been a political one, it is an offence which does not come within the category of extraditable offences. As soon as she left England, Miss Pankhurst ascertained that according to international law her position was one of perfect security, but it was decided to delay the public announcement of her whereabouts until now.

This Week's Issue

There is no need to tell our readers that this week's issue is one of exceptional importance! The fact that, after an apparent silence of six months, Miss Christabel Pankhurst reappears in an official capacity is in itself sufficient to justify the description. Readers will rejoice with the acting editors that this is so, and they will, we know, take the opportunity of bringing Votes for Women to the attention of a wide circle of new readers. We draw special attention to the interesting snapshots which take the place of our cartoon this week.

A CALL TO LIBERAL WOMEN

In reply to a reader of Miss Macdonell's article in *VOTES FOR WOMEN* last week, who evidently misunderstood one or two points, Miss Macdonell writes to us:—

"I should like to say that I never suggested that Suffrage Bills would fare better under a Conservative Government—though they could not fare worse. Nor did I suggest that Liberal women should 'throw what influence they have into the Conservative cause.' I advised them to refrain from supporting the present illiberal Government, and, that this might be plain to everybody concerned, to come out of their party associations. If their influence and work in the past be valued by the Liberal Party, then Liberal Members and candidates know how to regain these—by forcing the Government to include Women's Suffrage in their programme."

MAZZINI ON EMANCIPATION

And in bidding you farewell, I will remind you of another duty not less solemn than that which bids you achieve and preserve the freedom and unity of your Country.

Your complete emancipation can only be founded and secured upon the triumph of Principle—the principle of the Unity of the Human Family.

At the present day one-half of the Human Family—that half from which we seek both inspiration and consolation, that half to which the first education of childhood is entrusted—is, by a singular contradiction, declared civilly, politically, and socially unequal, and excluded from the great Unity.

To you who are seeking your own enfranchisement and emancipation in the name of a Religious Truth, to you it belongs to protest on every occasion and by every means against this negation of Unity.

The *Emancipation of Women*, then, must be regarded by you as necessarily linked with the emancipation of the Working-man. This will give to your endeavours the consecration of an Universal Truth.—From an address to Italian Working Men by Mazzini, 1858.

AN ELIZABETHAN SUFFRAGETTE

As for matters of Huswifery, when God puts them upon you it would be sin either to refuse them or perform them negligently, and therefore the ignorance of them is a great shame and danger for women that intend marriage. But to seek these kinds of Businesses for pleasure, and to make them your delights, is a great vanitie and folly at the best, and to neglect better things and more necessary by pretence of being employed in these things is surely, though a common Practice, yet a piece of sinfull hypocrisy!

Mary Ferrar.

THE GREATER POWER

There is a wonderfully beautiful story—and it comes from Ireland—that seems especially applicable to this precise moment in the history of the woman's movement.

Of the two kinds of Music: the one kind Being like a woman, the other like a man. It seems that Seanchan (pronounced Shanahan) the Poet had been wont to sit at the King's table among the Bishops, Soldiers, and Makers of the Law.

Next a ridiculous Jack-in-Office, in the person of the Mayor of Seanchan's native town, beseeches him to give way in a "matter of mere sentiment"; this personage has the grace to own that he never understood a poet's talk more than the baa of a sheep.

There is in this an irresistible reminder of "Women must not vote because they cannot fight!" Seanchan explains. The insult is not to him as an individual, but to all poets—to poetry.

Princesses come, offering him food and wine with their own hands, and promising him anything but just the one thing for which he has entered upon his hunger strike.

Like a great wind that runs out of the waste To blow the tables flat, and thereupon Lie down upon the threshold till the King Restore to us the ancient right of the poets.

Princesses come, offering him food and wine with their own hands, and promising him anything but just the one thing for which he has entered upon his hunger strike.

Yes, give me bread and wine; that's what I want, For it is hunger that is gnawing me. (He takes bread from Fedhelm, hesitates, and then Hursts it back into her hand.)

Princesses come, offering him food and wine with their own hands, and promising him anything but just the one thing for which he has entered upon his hunger strike.

* Plays for an Irish Theatre. With illustrations by Gordon Craig. (The Shakespeare Head Press, Stratford-on-Avon. Price 8s. 6d. net.)

SIGNS OF THE TIMES

A good Finance Department, like a wise weather-prophet, can read the signs of the times, and those in charge of the Clement's Inn War Chest have unmistakable evidence that coins, banknotes, money orders, and cheques are being held in reserve up and down the country for the great gathering of the clans at the Albert Hall on October 17.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £250,000 FUND

Table listing contributions to the £250,000 fund from August 20 to September 7. Includes names like Miss Margaret N., Mrs. E. Howlath, Miss Sarah Luce, etc., and a total of £133,379 18 4.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

This year has been full of big events—the great militant protest in March, the defeat of the Conciliation Bill, the arrest, trial, and imprisonment of the Leaders, their release, the undaunted courage of the women who since then have protested unceasingly.

Of all these prisoners our thoughts turn most often to the two who are in Dublin serving the preposterous sentence of five years' penal servitude, a sentence associated with forgery, manslaughter, and other base crimes.

These posters may be had, four crown size, 3d. each, double crown size, 1d. each, post free. Local unions or members able to distribute large quantities may have 100 posters for £1 2s. 6d. and 11s. 6d. respectively.

Our members are always working for some event. Scarcely is a monster meeting over than another demonstration calls for their energies.

Prisoners of War In all the turmoil of the ceaseless activity of holiday campaigning, speaking, selling the paper, and following Cabinet Ministers, the hearts of the members of the W.S.P.U. keep a vivid image of the brave women who are behind prison bars because they fought for liberty.

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WHERE CHRISTABEL IS

Miss Christabel Pankhurst is in Paris.

This is the meaning of the VOTES FOR WOMEN poster this week—"Where Christabel is"—as well as the answer to the question so often asked, but never answered, during the last six months.



MISS CHRISTABEL PANKHURST, LL.B.

We are sure that there is hardly a member of the Women's Social and Political Union, hardly even a diligent reader of the paper week by week, who has ever seriously questioned the authorship of our leading articles and Outlook notes on current political matters during that period.

THE DUBLIN PRISONERS

The W.S.P.U. Demands Instant Release

We have, unhappily, no better news of the two Englishwomen in Mountjoy Prison than we had a week ago. They are in a state of complete collapse. After a hunger strike of eight days, in protest against the refusal to grant them the treatment due to political offenders, they have now been subjected to the degrading process of forcible feeding for over three weeks.

The Manchester Guardian of September 5 states that Sir James Dougherty, Under-Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, had on the previous day issued the following: "The attention of the Lord Lieutenants having been called to a letter signed 'Grace Roe' which has been published in the newspapers by the secretary of the Women's Social and Political Union, I am directed to say that there is no foundation for the absurd statement attributed to his Excellency that 'it is Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George who are responsible for Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans being forcibly fed.'"

Meanwhile, on Friday evening, September 6, a large number of the scientists assembled in Dundee for the meetings of the British Association attended a meeting at the Guildhall Hall under the auspices of the Dundee Women's Suffrage Society.

That misuse of science had led to prisoners being treated with cruelty for weeks and months, while other prisoners had been immediately released.

THESE TWO BRAVE CONVICTS MUST BE RELEASED, AND VOTES MUST BE GIVEN TO WOMEN; OTHERWISE THIS GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE TO GO.

On the same day the Times quoted from its Dublin correspondent: "The statement in VOTES FOR WOMEN

Nationalist prisoners, refused to wear prison clothes, and remained shivering in their cells, often in the dead of winter, there were not wanting ribald jeers, and coarseness of advice to "wear their clothes sensibly." Those men were acting on principle. Nationalists, at any rate, must recognise that the Suffragist prisoners are similarly acting on principle in refusing food, and that their demand for full political treatment cannot be disposed of by a jeer."

Scientists' Protest Against Forcible Feeding

Meanwhile, on Friday evening, September 6, a large number of the scientists assembled in Dundee for the meetings of the British Association attended a meeting at the Guildhall Hall under the auspices of the Dundee Women's Suffrage Society.

That misuse of science had led to prisoners being treated with cruelty for weeks and months, while other prisoners had been immediately released.

THESE TWO BRAVE CONVICTS MUST BE RELEASED, AND VOTES MUST BE GIVEN TO WOMEN; OTHERWISE THIS GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE TO GO.

On the same day the Times quoted from its Dublin correspondent: "The statement in VOTES FOR WOMEN

Nationalist prisoners, refused to wear prison clothes, and remained shivering in their cells, often in the dead of winter, there were not wanting ribald jeers, and coarseness of advice to "wear their clothes sensibly." Those men were acting on principle. Nationalists, at any rate, must recognise that the Suffragist prisoners are similarly acting on principle in refusing food, and that their demand for full political treatment cannot be disposed of by a jeer."

PHENIX PARK DEMONSTRATION

The W.S.P.U. held its first demonstration in the Irish capital on Sunday last, to protest against the treatment of the English Suffragettes in Mountjoy Prison.

Doxens of police were also on the field, but their presence for protective purposes was happily not required. From the small boy who sat at one speaker's feet and at the end said in a solemn voice, "God bless you!" to the men who at first appeared angry, everyone listened attentively and with ever-increasing interest.

As in every big demonstration in a new place, a few had come for the purpose of making a disturbance, if possible; these people concentrated at Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's platform and interrupted during her speech. But that this hostility was not general was soon apparent, for Miss Jarvis, who presided, continued the meeting long after the others had finished.

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On Saturday, September 21st, at 3 p.m., a procession will form up at King's Cross Station and will march to Tower Hill, where an indignation meeting will be held at 4.30.

All local Unions are urged to help, and every London member who is in town is invited to come to show her sympathy.

The list of speakers and further information will be given next week. The Hon. Secretary of the Kensington W.S.P.U. is Miss Postlethwaite, 143, Church Street, Kensington.

should be decided to reveal her whereabouts, absolute secrecy.

Now, however, that need is at an end, and they joyfully make the announcement that not for one single week since the arrest of the leaders in the early days of March, 1912, has Miss Christabel Pankhurst failed to supply the leading article and the political notes in the Outlook pages—to act, in a word, as Political Editor of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

In future, the articles will be signed; that will be the only change. And lest Miss Pankhurst's many friends should be in doubt as to her security from arrest, we hasten to reassure them. As soon as she left England Miss Pankhurst ascertained that according to international law, her position was a perfectly safe one. Legal authorities on both sides of the Channel advised her that even were the offence with which she is charged not a political one, it would not come within the category of extraditable offences.

We have answered the question, "Where is Christabel?" But those who have had the privilege of working with her (though she has been invisible to them) all these months may be allowed to answer it in a personal sense also. And they cannot do so in more fitting words than those of Mr. Israel Zangwill at the Albert Hall on March 28, 1912: "Gentlemen of the police, she is here—in our hearts."

LONDON OPEN-AIR CAMPAIGN

The Organiser reports:—The open-air campaign has started, and will, we hope, continue to be as successful as our meeting in Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon. A report of this will be found on page 805.

The meeting to be held in Hyde Park at 3.30 p.m. next Sunday, September 15, when the speakers will be Mrs. Bouvier and Miss Leonora Tyson, should be well chalked in their own districts by all London members. A meeting will also be held in Regent's Park at 3.15 on Sunday, September 15. This is being organised by the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, and needs chalking and advertising as much as possible.

All workers are needed, particularly chalkers to advertise the big meetings in Hyde Park and Regent's Park, and at the various pitches in Westminster. Speakers and "chairs" are also wanted urgently, as it is still the holiday season, and many are away. It is hoped to hold three or four meetings daily, and this means that the demand for good speakers and "chairs" is very pressing. Thanks to all who have helped and are still helping.

INDIGNATION MEETING ON TOWER HILL

The Kensington W.S.P.U. is organising a great demonstration to uphold the courageous action of Mrs. Leigh and Miss Gladys Evans, who are literally facing death in Mountjoy Prison.

On Saturday, September 21st, at 3 p.m., a procession will form up at King's Cross Station and will march to Tower Hill, where an indignation meeting will be held at 4.30.

All local Unions are urged to help, and every London member who is in town is invited to come to show her sympathy.

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WOMEN'S FREEDOM AND THE RACE

The opponents of women's greater freedom commonly make great play with the infantile mortality figures, assuring us that as the employment of women outside the home increases, so too does the proportion of babies who die before reaching the age of one year. Yet when one looks calmly and dispassionately at the available evidence on the subject, it is astonishing how little basis there is for this statement. Dr. Newsholme, the Medical Officer of the Local Government Board, issued a couple of years ago a very full and careful report on infantile and child mortality, a report which is a model of statistical thoroughness and careful investigation. He enumerates as many as twelve possible factors which may influence the rate of infantile mortality, among which the extra-domestic employment of married women is one. The investigators state, apparently with some reluctance, that "the industrial employment of married and widowed women cannot be regarded as in itself the chief cause of excessive infant mortality." When one studies the actual figures, an even stronger statement would seem to be justified, for it appears that "Glamorgan and Northumberland, Durham, and Monmouth have the lowest proportion of married and widowed women employed of all the thirty counties under consideration, and also the highest infantile mortality,"* and from the figures given on p. 57—though this conclusion is not drawn by the author of the report—it can be calculated that in the ten counties where infantile mortality is highest the average number of married and widowed women employed per 1,000 females aged ten years and upwards is only 48, in the ten counties where infantile mortality is medium it is 60, and in the ten where infantile mortality is lowest it is 63. In so far as it is fair to strike an average for counties of very different size and condition, we can say actually that the rate of infantile mortality declines as the proportion of married and widowed women employed increases. The figures are at least strong enough to show that the ordinary and uncritical statements as to the evil effects of mothers working must be revised.

The same point is made in a very valuable investigation carried out in Birmingham by Dr. Jessie Duncan, under the direction of the Medical Officer of Health. During 1908, in two poor wards in the city, every baby born was visited either by Dr. Duncan or by one of two experienced health visitors. At the same time inquiries were made into the employment of the mother. Cases of 1,212 mothers in all were investigated, and were divided into those employed either before or after childbirth and those not so employed. It was discovered on working out the death rates that "the mortality among the infants born in 1908 of all mothers employed either before or after childbirth was at the rate of 190 per 1,000 births, while among those not industrially employed it was 207 per 1,000 births."

These facts are very remarkable; we must, however, admit that there are some figures which could be cited on the other side. In some areas, e.g., in Staffordshire, it is found that infantile mortality does increase with the employment of married women, and the same is the case in some districts of Lancashire. This goes to show that some forms of factory industry injure the health of the embryo; a view which is reasonable on the face of it. But because excessive work and bad sanitary conditions have this result, it does not follow that all and every employment for women will have the same effect, and the proposal to limit or prohibit women's industry, or even married women's industry, in the interests of their future children, might very possibly, if it reduced the mothers to greater poverty, have exactly the opposite effect. What we ought to do is to improve the factory laws, but if they are to be altered in the particular interests of women and babies, women themselves must be able by their votes to influence the legislators. We may even have to admit that some industries, in affecting the health of the mother, exercise a specific evil effect on the germ or embryo. Dr. Saleeby asserts that lead is such a specific racial poison. And the figures for the pottery districts, where the infantile mortality is found invariably to increase as the employment of married women increases, seem to bear out his contention. The exclusion of all young women of the child-bearing age from such an industry would be reasonable, but should certainly not be undertaken by men alone. The co-operation and assent of women is essential, both to avoid the suspicion of injustice and to secure the end in view, the future well-being of the race.

Another aspect of this question is discussed by Dr. Havelock Ellis in his recent book on the "Task of Social Hygiene," which ought to be read by all Suffragists and Suffragettes. In it he insists that an extremely high infantile mortality is usually connected with a high birth rate, and that as the one declines so does the other. The real test of a country's vitality is not the mere birth-rate, whether "crude" or "corrected," i.e., calculated in reference to the proportion of women of the child-bearing age in the population, but the excess of births over deaths. He says: "In Norway, on one side of the world, and in Australasia, on the opposite side, we see a large natural increase effected not by a profuse expenditure of mostly wasted births, but by an economy in deaths, and the increase thus effected is accompanied by highly favourable social conditions and great national vigour. Norway appears to have the lowest infantile death-rate of Europe." Further on Dr. Ellis quotes Sir J. A. Baines as saying that New Zealand has attained "the nearest approach to immortality yet on record." The Suffragist will, of course, note that all the countries named are approvingly are those where Women's Suffrage is already an accomplished fact, and where the freedom

of women in general has reached a very high level. Thus, save in a few special cases, there is absolutely no evidence that the independence of women has an evil effect on the rate of infantile mortality. M.A.

THE NEW MAN

We are somewhat tired of the so-called New Woman. And indeed she is new no longer; yet the nine days' wonder of her arrival has not come to an end, in fiction at any rate. But the New Man—he is a novelty, and while we are glad to meet him, we may perhaps give him one friendly hint—his danger lies in the tendency to be just a little "schoolmastery." This, at least, was Bruce Harbourn's snare.

All the same, he is a very attractive person. He has lived much in the lonely places of the earth; he has a Past; it has left its mark, and it has given him a rare understanding and power of sympathy; "almost," says Fane, "like that of another woman." Here is the New Man's own view of himself. "Because of the new woman," he says, "a new man, with toil and tribulation, is having to evolve, to match. Things are a bit at sixes and sevens, but they'll settle down in time. No one who's been entire boss likes making way for a co-boss." That is the crux of the situation. This particular New Man, however, has got beyond the stage of "not liking it"—he wants his woman friend to be co-boss with him. Listen to his views about her:—

"Women have got a grip of the fact that they're not 'undeveloped man, but diverse.' They discovered the important fact when they were forced to find their own feet, economically, or go under. And they're gone considerably further than the Tennysonian idea; they're diverse, but equal in their diverse way! . . . One can read the signs of the times in the faces of the women one sees in the streets of the big towns; it isn't only independence; it's deeper than that. . . . It seems to me it's a conscious self-possession. But there's no serenity; it's still a battle. The faces of the women of the next generation will have got rid of that 'new' look. I see it in the school-girls' faces. There's an astonishing frankness and self-containment, without hardness or boldness; more the look of a self-reliant, though gentle boy."

There have been scoffers at the entire "Woman Movement," whose main plank has been: "O yes, women's friendships are all very well, but wait until two women, professing great affection for one another, fall in love with the same man." This is the situation created in "Force Majeure," and the author tells how both Doria and Fane (the two girl friends) act just as men do in similar circumstances—in novels, at any rate. The first goes away and tries to efface herself for the sake of her friend; then the second, having discovered the truth, effaces herself in her turn. In the end things come right, and there is a happy ending. Doria conveniently finds that after all she and Tim were always meant for one another, and Harbourn and Fane, who were equally intended by Nature to run in double harness, discuss love and improvements at Herne Abbey in a pretty dénouement at the close of the story.

Fane is decidedly a "newer" type of woman than Doria, and it is therefore a little annoying that we cannot get so clear a mental picture of her. The following extract, however, throws an interesting light on her as a type:—

"There is in women of her type an instinct of reservation, more subtle than the instinct to give. They are subconsciously jealous for the innermost sanctuary, the 'behind the veil' where man does not belong; where only the woman-spirit dwells secure, and where sometimes the veil trembles with the Breath of God. And just because this man to whom she was going to surrender had so much of the woman-spirit in him, so much insight for the hinterlands of the soul, she feared his clairvoyance."

Though the Woman's Movement, as such, never obtrudes itself, the characters in the story are its direct products: "Force Majeure" could hardly have been written ten years ago—or even six.

WOMEN AND SPIRITUAL EQUALITY

Miss Hatty Baker has added to the publications already existing in defence of women clergy. In "A Strategic Outpost for Woman Suffrage" (from Miss Hatty Baker, Harlington Villas, Hove, and from the Woman's Press, price one penny), the suggestion is made that—

to demand man's equal chastity with woman's; to insist upon woman's spiritual equality with man's; to break down the prejudice, narrowness, and littleness which contradict this; to fight for her right to enter the pulpit as readily as the pew, may not only be the means of another and the greatest reformation in the Church, but may indeed be the nearest way to the poll.

Reference is made to the refusal of the National Free Church Council to allow so much as a resolution on the enfranchisement of women, and the pamphlet concludes with an appeal to women who feel deeply the stigma which such episodes cast upon them to band themselves together for the formation of a Woman's Church Council on more spiritual, more flexible, and broader lines.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"The Conservative Party and the Future." By Pierce Loftus. (London: Stephen Swift and Co., Ltd. Price, 1s. net.)
 "An Englishwoman in Germany." By Leonora Fairweather. (London: John Ousley, Ltd. Price, 2s. 6d. net.)
 "The People's Medical Guide." By John Grimshaw. (London: J. A. Churchill. Price 8s. 6d. net.)
 "A Child's Visions." By Daphne Allen (aged twelve). (London: Geo. Allen and Co., Ltd. Price, 6s.)
 "Love's Victories." By M. M. Lee. (London: The Happy Publishing Company. Price 1s. net.)

* "Force Majeure." By Patrick Rushton. Mills and Boon, 6s.

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LESSONS FROM HISTORY

What was the revolution in 1688? And how was it brought about? Will any man undertake to say that it was brought about according to the forms of law? . . . No! that was one of those nodes in the history of nations, where men must act upon first principles, and not according to the strict letter of the law. That was one of those occasions on which men are obliged to act according to the necessity of the case, and in conformity with what their own conscience tells them is most for the benefit of the community.—Lord Viscount Milton in 1832.

It was a matter of rejoicing that the improved spirit of the age had wrung from the Government successive concessions in favour of liberty, . . . but when we looked at the history of those concessions was it creditable to, or consistent with, the character of the legislature of this country that we should always appear to grant such concessions only at the moment when prudence and necessity compelled us no longer to withhold them?

Mr. Huskisson, M.P. (in the debate on the Reform Bill, February 18th, 1830).

It would be but to misread the teachings of history if one were to suppose that any popular cause with a real grievance behind it could be suppressed in such a country as England by mere prosecutions and sentences.

Justin McCarthy.



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THE FIGHT GOES ON!

Strange that there can still survive some anti-suffragists who fondly imagine that if all is not completely well with women in the best of all possible worlds, yet that their interests are adequately protected by men! Only within the last few days the newspaper-reading public has been reminded of Mr. Hardy's story of the sale of Mrs. Henchard by her husband, in "The Mayor of Casterbridge," for the story has just received confirmation from no further off than Bedford, where a woman who applied to the magistrate for a separation against her husband stated that ten years ago he sold her to another man for a shilling, and put her in a train at London to go three hundred miles. On the day before this news appeared, it had been stated that in Hungary wives are frequently bought and sold, and that quite recently there a house painter sold his lawfully wedded wife to a comrade for the sum of £21. The Standard ("Woman's Platform") on September 5 recalled other cases of the kind, and the Manchester Guardian on September 6 had a curious leading article which seemed to suggest (unless we read it wrongly) that possibly some women may have liked being sold as an escape from unwanted husbands!

Even if wife-selling is of rare occurrence in this country (and we believe it is), there is abundant evidence that wives are still, in some ranks of society, looked upon by the law, as well as by their husbands, as property. A case was before the Aberdeen Police Court so recently as August 23, when thirty days' imprisonment was considered an adequate punishment for a brutal assault on a wife. The charge, as reported in the Aberdeen Free Press of the following date, was that "In a house occupied by him and others he [the accused] did assault his wife, did repeatedly seize her by and compress her throat, and throw her down upon a bed, seize her by the hair of her head, drag her about, and throw her down on the floor. While there, he kicked her on the face and body and injured her to the effusion of her blood, inserted his fingers in her mouth, and pulled her jaws and slackened two of her teeth." The accused pleaded guilty. In extenuation he said that all he did was to prevent his wife, who had drink, from smashing all the things in the house! That, said the Fiscal, was a fine story, but not true, and he proceeded to run over some of the events in the married life of the couple. It was a sordid story, in which poverty, drink, and several previous assaults figured largely. On the last occasion, he said, the prisoner had been drinking heavily. The wife had tried to keep the home together. And then—thirty days! One cannot help comparing this sentence with the sentence of one month's hard labour passed on Mrs. Gatty for breaking a pane of glass value 3s. 6d. Who, knowing that these things are so, can dare to say that the woman is the spoilt child of the law?

Nor is it any better when we think of the children. Almost at random we pick out half a dozen cases in the month of August alone, in which men have been sentenced to varying penalties for abominable assaults on little girls; sentences ranging from two months' hard labour to £5 or one month were passed; in one case where there were two charges (at Chertsey) the sentence was two months' imprisonment on each in the second division. In another, at Chapel-en-le-Frith, it is reported that "in consideration of the prisoner's great age, the Bench let him off with two months' hard labour." Contrast with any of these sentences that on Charlotte Marsh of six months for damage in connection with a political agitation!

And then people wonder at militancy! It is the knowledge that these things go on daily in our towns and villages, and that the efforts to remedy them are so inadequate (because the woman's point of view has been overlooked), that turns quiet, gentle, peace-loving women into militant Suffragettes. They know that until women have the weapon of the Parliamentary vote the remedies will continue to be ineffective, and, meanwhile, the lives and happiness of thousands of women and children are being sacrificed. To what? To a hoary old prejudice that ought to have died long ago, the prejudice in favour of one-sided legislation—one sex making laws, the other suffering under them. That is why the fight goes on.

IN MEMORIAM

Much regret is felt at the death of Miss Carter, a resident of Ilfracombe, who was probably the oldest member of the W.S.P.U., having reached the age of ninety-six. Miss Carter took much interest in the Woman's Movement, and often opened her house for meetings in aid of the cause. She joined the Union after hearing Miss Annie Kenney speak at a drawing-room meeting given by her. She possessed her faculties entire to the last, was a clever chess player, and a good conversationalist to the very end.

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The Editors cannot hold themselves in any way responsible for the return of unused manuscripts, though they will endeavour as far as possible to return them when requested if stamps for postage are enclosed.

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A SOCIAL CLUB is BEING FORMED and will be Opened at the end of September for MEN AND WOMEN interested in the Suffrage Movement. Premises under negotiation are situated in St. James' Street. Founder Members, £1 1s. Early application advisable. Further particulars, Box 102, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

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VOTES FOR WOMEN 4, CLEMENT'S INN, STRAND. FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1912.

PERSONAL VIOLENCE "We do not approve of personal violence. Nothing can justify violence." So say the opponents of Suffragist militancy. Let these critics pour out their condemnation upon the Government, for the Government it is who have initiated the policy of personal violence, and the Government it is who have carried that policy to an extreme point.

The militant methods adopted by the Women's Social and Political Union six years ago consisted in questioning Cabinet Ministers at meetings, and in sending deputations to the Prime Minister at Westminster. Neither of these methods involved the use of violence, but the Government used personal violence to repress the women who adopted them.

Let us first discuss the case of deputations. Unarmed women would proceed to the House of Commons, there to demand an interview with the Prime Minister. Before they reached their destination they were set upon and driven back by police-mounted and on foot—until it became evident that they would not go away until they had performed their mission. Then they were arrested; absurd charges were trumped up against them, and they were sent to prison. These deputations went over and over again to the House of Commons, and were each time overcome by forcible means, until that day ever to be held in evil memory as Black Friday.

What happened on Black Friday is best described in the words of Lord Robert Cecil and of Mr. Ellis Griffith, who has since become a member of the Liberal Government. In the report drawn up, after careful investigation, by these two Members of Parliament, appear the following words:—"We cannot resist the conclusion that the police as a whole were under the impression that their duty was not merely to frustrate the attempts of the women to reach the House, but also to terrorize them in the process. They used, in numerous instances, excessive violence, which was at once deliberate and aggressive, and was intended to inflict injury and pain. Many of them resorted to certain forms of torture. They frequently handled the women with gross indecency. In some instances they continued to injure and insult them after their arrest."

It was in consequence of the Government's action on Black Friday that militant women took to window breaking. It was felt that if any other method of protest were available as an alternative to having their bodies injured, women, if only because of their race responsibility, ought to adopt that alternative. A window can be replaced; a woman's body cannot. Physical force has also been the means chosen by the Government for coercing women who question them at public meetings. Now, putting questions at meetings is a perfectly legitimate and recognised form of political action where men are concerned, but women have found that because they are voteless they must also expect to be gagged when they put a question to Cabinet Ministers. When the militants first began to ask members of the Government, "Will you give votes to women?" they were careful to wait until question time, although they noticed that the men members of the audience frequently did not display so much patience. Their questions were answered either by their violent ejection, or by the escape to catch a train of the Cabinet Minister from whom they sought enlightenment as

to the Government's intentions in regard to Votes for Women. Therefore, following the example of men meeting-goers, the militant women took to making appropriate and pointed interjections in the course of Cabinet Ministers' speeches. Violence was again the answer given to them. Still the women were undaunted, and finding that violence could not break their spirit, Cabinet Ministers decided that thenceforward political meetings should be held for men only.

Then it was that a number of brave men volunteered to attend these meetings and to represent the women who were shut outside. Again the weapon of violence was invoked, and men who ask questions on Votes for Women at Cabinet Ministers' meetings do so at the gravest peril.

One case of injury to a man Suffragist was the subject of an action in the Law Courts, when substantial damages were awarded. The victim was Mr. Hawkins, who, when Mr. Churchill, at a meeting held in Bradford, was referring to the question of the House of Lords, said, "What you say applies equally to the women who are demanding the Vote." Mr. Hawkins was immediately seized by a number of stewards, dragged out of the hall, and thrust down a staircase with such violence that his knee-cap was doubly fractured.

It must not be thought that the orgies of violence which occur at every Cabinet Minister's meeting whenever a man or a woman asks a question on Woman Suffrage, or makes a protest against the Government's mishandling of the question, that those to blame are simply stewards or members of the audience. Cabinet Ministers, by their refusal to rebuke this action, and by their callous and often amused demeanour, give a positive encouragement to this brutality. Indeed, their incitement to violence has often been open and direct. Mr. Lloyd George is one of the worst offenders in this respect. At a meeting which he addressed in Swansea a woman asked a question. Instead of answering it, Mr. Lloyd George said, "By and by we shall have to order sacks for them, and the first to interrupt shall disappear." He invited the stewards to fling out ruthlessly the women who were making interjections. "Put a handkerchief over her mouth. I think the gag should be tried," is another of his pronouncements on this question. "He went out very nicely," said this Minister at a meeting of Free Churchmen, when a man who had protested on behalf of women had his clothes torn to pieces and was afterwards ejected.

At another meeting, held in the same hall, Mr. Lloyd George applauded the violence of the stewards by saying, "If you only throw out the Lords like you throw out that man, all will be well." The latest example of physical force methods in the repression of Suffragists is supplied by the recent Welsh Eisteddfod, at which Mr. Lloyd George presided. Such a display of heroism on the one hand, and savagery on the other, has rarely been witnessed. The people of Wales are unfortunate in their leader, Mr. Lloyd George having set an example of using violence towards women, this example was eagerly followed by his supporters at the Eisteddfod. Violence, obscene language, and attempted indecency were the weapons used against those who called upon him to do justice to women. It is a miracle that life was not lost.

Undaunted by the awful experience of those who had gone before them, man after man, and woman after woman, rose and uttered the protest they had come to make. As the Manchester Guardian correspondent wrote, "Victim after victim claimed a place on that harsh altar."

The Government's policy of personal violence is carried into effect even within prison walls. Forcible feeding, which, as the most eminent physicians have told us, consists of severe physical and mental torture, is even now being inflicted upon the two brave women in Mountjoy Prison.

No one whose eyes are not blinded by party passion can deny that the personal violence employed by the Government against women is immeasurably greater than the physical violence employed by women against members of the Government. Moreover, whereas the women's violence has justification, the violence of the Government has none whatever. Compare the case of Mr. Asquith with that of Mrs. Leigh. Mr. Asquith, cowering behind rows of policemen because he is afraid of the women to whom he is denying their citizen liberty, is a contemptible and ridiculous figure. Mrs. Leigh, on the other hand, is a figure truly heroic. If she has offended against the law, she has done so in order to liberate humanity. It is said that she attempted to do violence to Mr. Asquith, but Mr. Asquith has done far greater violence to her. She attacked him because he would not yield to her and give her the Parliamentary Vote. He has tortured her because, as he would put it, "she will not eat her food." It is plain that Mrs. Leigh had the better reason for using violence.

Much has been said lately against militancy, but we believe that there are few people who would not, in their hearts, grieve if it were to end before its object is attained. Mrs. Leigh and her comrades in prison represent at this moment not only the other women in the militant movement, but all those brave men and women who ever have stood, or ever may stand, for Right against Might. We think whatever gods there be for her unconquerable soul. If she were to yield, our belief in the infinite strength of the human spirit would be by that much diminished. Mrs. Leigh's triumph over physical torture tells us far more than do all the scientists of the British Association about Life and its meaning. From her we learn that man is a spirit. That is why all the prison officers, and all the Cabinet Ministers, are utterly powerless to bring her to surrender. Christabel Pankhurst.

A REPLY TO MR. SNOWDEN, M.P.

By Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B.

We were amazed and indignant when Mr. Philip Snowden hailed Mr. Lloyd George, that unscrupulous enemy of Votes for Women, as the hope of the democracy, and as a possible leader of the Labour Party. We are even more amazed and more indignant at his recent utterance on the outlook for Women Suffrage. The article in question is simply an attack upon the W.S.P.U. and a whitewashing of the Government. Mr. Snowden's attitude is a new illustration of the fact that the chief hindrance to women's enfranchisement is the weakness of its Parliamentary supporters. Prayers are needed less for the softening of the enemy's heart than for the strengthening of the backbone of our friends.

It is important to notice that Mr. Snowden makes no reference whatever to the dangers which are exercising the minds even of those women who belong to the "Constitutional" camp. These dangers are the hostility of the entire Nationalist Party, and the defection of Liberal Suffragist M.P.'s caused by the Government's intrigues. By declining, in what purports to be a survey of the situation, to recognise the existence of these dangers, Mr. Snowden has tacitly admitted that he holds a brief for the Government. Indeed, he makes an open statement of that fact in the following truly astonishing sentence:—

"Assuming, of course, that Mr. Asquith intends to carry out his promise in the spirit as well as in the letter, his concession is as much as one could reasonably expect from a Government which is not united on the question."

This sentence is worthy of Sir William Byles or Mr. Crawshaw Williams!

To begin with, the Prime Minister, far from intending to carry out his promise in the spirit, has broken it already, and has broken it repeatedly. But even if the Prime Minister had kept his promise, we should protest against the statement that the promise is "as much as can reasonably be expected." If the Government are not united on Woman Suffrage, it is Mr. Snowden's business to unite them, not to apologise for them. What is he in Parliament for, and what is his Party there for, if not to compel the Government to unite in carrying the reforms in the Labour programme? Mr. Snowden is not a political infant, and therefore he knows that the favourite excuse of reactionary Governments for refusing to concede reform is that they are not united in its favour. So long as that excuse is accepted, so long are the people kept waiting for justice.

Says Mr. Snowden: "The Women's Social and Political Union have made a very grave mistake in not accepting the Prime Minister's offer." No doubt a very grave mistake from the Government's point of view, and from the point of view of Mr. Snowden and his Party! How peaceful all would have been if the militants had quietly taken the proffered chloroform! The Government could have pursued undisturbed their intrigues against the women's Amendment, while a virtuous minority, including Mr. Snowden and all those Labour Members who had no other engagement, could nobly have voted for the ill-fated Woman Suffrage Amendment in Committee, and afterwards administered consolation to the defrauded women whom the Manhood Suffrage measure had reduced to a new despotism. Yes; if the militants had accepted Mr. Asquith's offer, Cabinet Ministers would have lived quiet lives, and Labour Members would not have been asked to do the unpalatable duty of fighting against that Government to which they are so devotedly attached.

These militants are so hard to please! "They have clamoured," complains Mr. Snowden, "for a Government measure. They can have Woman Suffrage in a Government measure if they can induce the pledged supporters of it in the present House of Commons to vote for it." That little word "if"—so much hangs upon it that it cannot bear the strain. The militants' refusal to stake their liberties upon an "if" is described by Mr. Snowden as "tactics which appear to spring from a determination that they will have Woman Suffrage come in the way they say it must come, or they will not have it at all." We charge Mr. Snowden to look well into his soul, and then to tell us whether he truly believes what he has said. Has he convinced even himself that the Government's "offer" is the equivalent of the Government measure demanded by the W.S.P.U., and does he honestly believe that Mrs. Leigh has staked five years of her life on a mere point of false pride?

We will ask Mr. Snowden another question. It is this. How has he managed to convince himself that a Government which is not united enough to introduce a Woman Suffrage clause is nevertheless united enough to carry it through the report and third reading stages in the House of Commons, and through all

its stages in the House of Lords? What does this extraordinary inconsistency mean? It can only mean that the Government have planned the defeat of Woman Suffrage at its first stage. It can only mean that they have taken steps to prevent the passing of any unofficial Woman Suffrage Amendment.

Mr. Snowden, in the course of his article, favours us with an essay on compromise. "In politics," he says, "we can never get our own way, and the only way by which we can get something of what we want is by compromising with other people who want something different." This is regular House of Commons talk. What a demoralising place it is! There is such a passion, such a mania for compromise in these days that it has become a point of honour with Members of Parliament, and with some people outside Parliament, not to get anything more than a compromise. "Of course," these wisecracks say to their opponents, "of course I do not expect you to give me what I want. I therefore suggest that whereas, as a matter of form, I have asked for a certain thing, you shall give me only half or one-third of it." We can assure any who are inclined to doubt it that this literally describes the method of political warfare now in vogue. The Government's worthless offer is, Mr. Snowden says, a compromise. Does he not see that a compromise devised by the Premier is likely to be a disguised defeat for us? Mr. Asquith thinks so, and has said that the passage of a Woman Suffrage Amendment is altogether improbable. He is more likely to be right on this point than Mr. Snowden.

Here is our opinion on the subject of compromise. To accept a compromise while one has any strength left to continue the fight is not wisdom, but arrant cowardice. We militants have a great reserve of fighting strength, and having that reserve we should regard ourselves as traitors if we were to accept any compromise. Mr. Snowden and his party have also a great untouched reserve of fighting strength whereupon to compel the Government to assume responsibility for giving Votes to Women. How, then, can they reconcile it with their conscience to compromise with Mr. Asquith at women's expense?

Mr. Snowden has much to say in condemnation of militancy. But he cuts the ground from under his own feet by saying:—

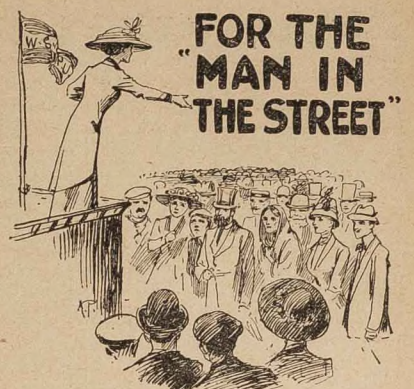
"If the Government, without a single exception, is composed of men who mean to betray the women, and if they (the W.S.P.U.) are right in assuming that reason and justice can never influence the Government and the House of Commons on this question, then their militancy may be justified."

Now delete the "ifs," and this precisely describes the state of affairs. The Government contains many men who mean to betray the women, and it contains no men who, whatever their professions of friendship to Woman Suffrage, have the sincerity and courage to prevent this betrayal. Therefore the condition which in Mr. Snowden's view justifies militancy is present. "But," says Mr. Snowden, "militancy must have an appearance of justification. And at present there is no apparent justification for it." The guilelessness of men! Has it not been Mr. Asquith's express object to rob militancy of the appearance of justification? He has evidently succeeded in completely hoodwinking Mr. Snowden. If he had announced Manhood Suffrage pure and simple, the Snowdens of the world would at once have seen the justification of militancy, and would have upheld the militants. Therefore it was that Mr. Asquith made his so-called offer to women.

Mr. Snowden says that "it may be that even yet the whole Suffrage movement may have to adopt militant tactics." For what is he waiting before giving his sanction to militancy? Presumably for the irrevocable passage of Manhood Suffrage.

Mr. Snowden warns us of the delicacy of the convictions of "lukewarm and timid M.P.'s." We are fully alive to this danger. That is why we demand a Government measure. It is the Government, and the Government alone, who can drill and discipline these cowardly, weakly wobblers; and they must be made to do it. Mr. Snowden admits the difficulty of "getting complete unity among the various kinds and degrees of Suffragists in the House of Commons." That is another of the reasons why a Government measure is absolutely necessary, and Mr. Snowden knows it as well as we do if he has learnt as much about Parliamentary conditions from being inside Parliament as we have learnt from being outside.

Mr. Snowden, by trusting to unofficial Amendments, is gambling with women's liberties. He and his Labour colleagues have power to make Woman Suffrage a Government measure. All that is needed is that when Parliament reassembles the Labour Members shall vote against the Government until they are defeated, or until they assume full responsibility for introducing and carrying a Woman Suffrage clause. For the Labour Members to refuse to take this action will be as gross a betrayal of their principles of the people as any political party has ever committed.



In this column we propose, during the holiday season, when VOTES FOR WOMEN touches a new circle of readers, to answer some of the questions that present themselves to the minds of those not yet convinced of the urgency of Woman Suffrage.

Question 1.—Cannot the interests of women be looked after by male legislators?

Answer.—Experience has shown that it is quite impossible for one body of persons to legislate satisfactorily for another. Many of the existing laws, such as those dealing with divorce, the legal position of wives, the hours of working women, &c., are inimical to women's interests, and have been passed solely to carry out the views of men legislators. Acts such as the Married Women's Property Act and the Local Government Act, which are in the interests of women, were only passed after strenuous agitation by the women who were also demanding the Suffrage. A recent instance of the failure of men to legislate in the real interests of women is provided by the White Slave Traffic Bill, which, although framed to remedy a terrible evil concerning women, was blocked again and again by certain Members of Parliament; and now that it has been taken up by the Government as a sop to rebel women Liberals, it has been so mutilated in Committee that it will probably fail when passed to achieve its purpose.

Question 2.—But if many old laws are bad, may not this have been due to want of interest on the part of women?

Answer.—It may be that in former days women were too indifferent or too weak to intervene, but they cannot be reproached for this. They were not only allowed no power, but they were encouraged to think public affairs wholly out of their sphere, and every obstacle was put in their way. If men usurp the power, they cannot blame women for not showing interest. No voteless section of any community takes a great interest in legislation which it is powerless to alter; the first step is always to obtain just representation, and to this truth women have awakened at last.

Question 3.—Our laws regarding children are very good, and they were made by men; why should men not make laws for women?

Answer.—There are two absurdities in this question. First, the laws regarding children are not good. For years children were actual slaves, and most inadequately protected, and though this has been remedied in some measure, one has only to look at the rate of infant mortality, the terrible cases so lightly punished of assaults on children, the powerless position of the mother, to see how the views of the mother, who surely understands children better than anyone else, have been ignored. The comparison implied is also absurd. Children must have laws made for them because their reason is not developed, and they would be incapable of grappling with problems. But women are adult reasonable beings like men, and should certainly have a voice in the laws they are expected to obey.

Question 4.—Still, would not a reasonable man see the justice of consulting women, and take their point of view into consideration if they put it before him quietly and logically?

Answer.—Unfortunately, logic has not been found to exert nearly so much influence on politicians as strong feeling backed up by action, and in any clash of interests it is the side without political power that would suffer. Human nature may wish to be "reasonable" and "just," but we must not put too great a strain upon it.

IRISHWOMEN'S COMMITTEE FOR SECURING VOTES UNDER THE HOME RULE BILL

The idea of gaining support for the Woman Suffrage Amendment to the Home Rule Bill has appealed to Irish Suffragists, and an extensive campaign is being organised. To ensure this being successful hundreds of pounds are needed. Funds are therefore urgently appealed for. Irishwomen in London who have friends in other parts of the country are asked to send in their names and addresses, so that the Committee may be enabled to get into touch with them. Gratefully acknowledged: Miss Gertrude Smith, £1 1s.; Mrs. Casey, 2s. 6d. Further subscriptions and all names should be sent to Miss Aileen Connor Smith or Miss Lennox, 43, Kempford Gardens, Earl's Court, London, S.W.

MANCHESTER MEETING

There was a reminder of Peterloo in the great meeting which gathered in Platt Fields, Manchester, last Saturday. Previous to the meeting there was a procession from St. Peter's Square, in which the banners, bearing such mottoes as "God Armeth the Patriot," "Political Equality for Men and Women," "We Will be Free," were surrounded by the red caps of Liberty, copied from those used at Peterloo and other political meetings of the period. Saturday's demonstration was organised by the W.S.P.U., with the assistance of other societies, and the platforms and speakers were as follows:—

1. Celtic Platform (Irish and Welsh Flags): Dr. Helena Jones, Miss Slieve McGowan, Mr. J. Clayton. 2. W.S.P.U.: Miss Hicks, Mrs. Drummond, Nurse Griffin, Miss Billing. 3. Actresses' Franchise League: Miss Horniman, Miss Muriel Pratt, Mme. Miller, Miss Christie Leonard. 4. Men's League for Woman's Suffrage: Miss S. Pankhurst, Miss Williamson, Miss Forrester, Miss Nancy Lightman. 5. L.L. Party: Mr. Lansbury and others. 7. Mrs. Drummond, Miss Mabel Capper, Miss Lee, Mr. Duval.

The resolution, carried at each platform, with very few dissentients, was as follows: "That this mass meeting of Lancashire men and women assembled on Platt Fields, Manchester, calls upon the Government to sweep away the sex disqualification which at present debar women from the exercise of the franchise, and to insert in its Reform Bill provisions for extending to women complete political equality with men."

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst said that in the past fifty years the electorate of men had grown from 700,000 to close upon 7,000,000, and now it was suggested that the number of men voters should be still further increased. Manchester, with its traditional love of liberty, ought to be the centre of a very strong movement to claim for women a place in the Reform Bill side by side with men.

MR. G. LANSBURY, M.P.

Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., was the principal speaker at a platform arranged by the Independent Labour party, and proposed the adoption of the resolution. He said the real fundamental thing in politics was how we could make laws and organise industry and social life so that all men and all women should have the fullest opportunity and the fullest and most free life possible. (Applause.) They contended that everything else that politics might do was unimportant compared with that one thing, and in doing that piece of work they maintained that women had as much right as men to have their voices heard and to give their votes. The whole record of agitation in this country, and especially of Irish agitation, showed that statesmen never gave way until they were kicked to the way. (Hear, hear.) They were told that Mr. Redmond was going to use the Irish members to deny to English women votes on the same terms as men. (Shame.) Irishmen complained that laws were made for them by the Government majority at Westminster, and they claimed the right to make their own laws. Women were exactly in the same position. They were outside the law, they were outlaws as Irishmen were. Every Liberal knew that one of the canons of Liberalism was that it never attempted to govern without the consent of the governed. He challenged Liberals on that point. Their history and traditions ought to put them on the side of the women in the fight they were putting up just now. People in his constituency had written asking him whether he defended the throwing of hatchets and the setting of theatres on fire. He was old enough to have had that said to him with regard to other outrages in Ireland, and he asked—Why did outrages happen? If we so treated people that they were driven to secret revolt we had got to put up with the consequences. (Hear, hear.)

"If men had not used force you would not have the rights you have today. The Free Trade Hall in your city stands on the very spot where they rode your fathers down for demanding the same thing that women are demanding now." He spoke of the analogy of the Irish question because to his mind it proved the case of the women up to the hilt. "When Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke were assassinated in Phoenix Park," Mr. Lansbury proceeded, "most people in this country said the Irish were not fit for Home Rule, but I said then, and I say now, you have no right to judge a country or to judge these people by what men and women might do who are driven to do

things in the height of rebellion and revolt. In conclusion Mr. Lansbury said he would vote against the third reading of the Reform Bill unless it included the provision of votes for women.

THE "NATION" ON FORCIBLE FEEDING

In the course of a leading article on the subject, the *Nation* says:—

"The Irish Government have apparently decided, with evident reluctance and doubt, to continue the forcible feeding of the two women convicted of the serious outrages in Dublin. Before we come to a conclusion on this grave and difficult matter, we are bound to ask what is the object of the hunger strike, and whether the Government can reasonably and properly satisfy it. If the prisoners are resisting all law in pursuance of a definite policy of general social defiance, there is, we fear, little more to be said. Such fanaticism, however brave, can have but one end. But if they are merely concerned to assert the political character of their offence, Sir James Doughty's statement of the extent to which this claim has already been conceded would seem to point directly to a full concession of the rights of a first-class offender. The Dublin crimes were very serious. But so are many political crimes. Neither the judge nor anybody else excluded the motive of the prisoners; and that motive we know to be a desire to bring about the political enfranchisement of women. If, therefore, the hunger strike can be ended by the granting of first-class terms, no pedantry of official form should be allowed to stand in the way."

But even if this tactic failed, and a deeper and more impracticable strain of obstinacy were revealed, we cannot see how forcible feeding can be continued in face of the medical report on it by Sir Victor Horsley and two women doctors. This inquiry was indeed conducted by friends of the Suffrage, but we cannot imagine that Sir Victor would put his name to a false or an exaggerated statement of a grave medical issue.

PRISON WARDERS

Long agitation on the part of prison warders for improved conditions of service has at last borne fruit, says the *Manchester Guardian*. Salaries are to be raised, hours reduced, and minor grievances removed. In the case of wardresses, however, nothing has been done, though there have been a large number of resignations owing to unpleasant duties arising from the imprisonment of suffragettes.

THE CABINET MINISTER'S HOLIDAY

ON THE LINKS AGAIN!

On Wednesday as we went to press the following telegram reached us from Inverness:—

Mr. Asquith and Mr. McKenna reached 10th hole Dornoch links confronted by two Suffragettes. Mr. Asquith turned pale and retreated hurriedly behind Mr. McKenna, who assumed a defensive attitude. Suffragettes approaching Mr. Asquith said: "Mr. Asquith, you are responsible for forcible feeding." Mr. McKenna seized them, and threatened to throw them in an adjoining pond. They replied, "Then we will take you with us." A fat detective arrived puffing, and for the next ten minutes there was a struggle between women, detectives, and Mr. McKenna, the latter calling small boy caddies to help. They were too dumbfounded to obey. The women told Mr.



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PROGRESS.

In the less fortunate countries where Women Suffrage has not yet been granted, the struggle for justice proceeds apace. Just lately several items of news have reached us. In Austria the Women's Union is presenting a petition to the Bohemian Parliament on behalf of Frau Vik-Kuneticka, who was recently elected as first woman Member of Parliament in Austria, but whose right is not yet recognised. The petition points out that the question is one which interests not only Bohemia, but the whole of Austria. "There is no need for us to prove what the spirit of the age and the needs of our century demand from woman. It is sufficiently manifest by the election in question, by the movement throughout the whole civilised world. Still more, however, especially in Austria, are these needs evident in the number of women engaged in industry, in the proportion of 40 per cent. It will be a glorious thing in the history of Bohemia that the representatives of the land are among the first nations of Europe to meet the requirements of an advanced civilisation, and we are convinced that the High Council of the Nation will not oppose this step." It is significant, too, that in Bohemia the Secretary of the Interior has drawn up a scheme of electoral reform

which gives the vote to women holding diplomatic or responsible positions, or owning land or property. In Holland the Amsterdam Suffrage Society has recently opened new headquarters, and a Men's Society has been formed. In Kansas a vote on the Suffrage Question among farmers' wives resulted in 1,125 for and 175 against. In Chicago eight women attorneys are organising a suffrage campaign and lectures on the legal position of wives and mothers.

Meantime, everywhere new careers are opening for women. In Aigle a woman has been made Directress of a prison. During the illness of her husband Madame Fanny Porchert had taken his place, and on his death she was nominated his successor. The first woman "rector" in Germany is a National School mistress of Westphalia. She has just passed the examination for "Rectors." A Finnish lady, Fraulein Vera Hjelt, the first elected member of the Landtag, is a Trade Inspector, and has just arranged a permanent exhibition of objects concerning the welfare of the working classes. In Munich women are employed by the Municipality to sweep streets, drive watercarts, &c., and an inquiry has elicited the striking fact that between 1898 and 1907 the increase in the number of women employed in agriculture was 5,874.

It is evidently much easier for women to do their share of human work than to obtain their share of human rights!

FROM MARIENBAD

A Minister's lament—with apologies to Mr. Hemans. "Oh, Suffy still makes tracks for me. Why can't I play alone? I've lither come at peace to be. Oh, bid the dame begone."

"Though now, for once, the sun gleams bright, The links my presence lack. I daren't go forth the ball to smite, With Suffy on my track."

"Mad cows run wild when gad-flies goad, But they are naught to shie; Remove, I pray, this terror's load, And send her back from me."

"She will not hear thy protests mild; She won't go back from thee; From chasing by this bovine wild On earth thou'lt ne'er be free."

"A demon's talent to annoy. Such has to her been given. Thou canst not play alone, my boy, Till Suffy goes to heaven."

"Are naught, then, my persuasive powers? And must I plead in vain? Through these too short vacation hours, Will she still come again?"

"In goal she might at least have stayed Till holidays were o'er. Oh, while the Judges with her played, Would they had g'ed her more!"

—Truth.

MR. CHARLES GRAY RELEASED

Friends and sympathisers of the Suffrage movement assembled early on Thursday in last week outside Wandsworth Prison to welcome Mr. Charles Gray, who has served the preposterous sentence of two months' hard labour passed upon him for an alleged "assault" on Mr. Lloyd George at the Kensington Theatre "Joy" meeting on July 13. Mr. Gray, who bore traces of his long imprisonment, was cheered not only by his friends but by the members of the public. He was presented with flowers in the colours of the W.S.P.U. and M.P.U. Mr. and Mrs. Duval, of 37, Park Road, Wandsworth, entertained Mr. Gray and a number of friends to breakfast. Several new members were enrolled for the M.P.U., which will give a public welcome to Mr. Gray in the Kensington Town Hall on Friday, October 11.



"One of them endeavoured to take hold of Mr. Churchill." (See page 805.)

THREATENED ARREST OF MR. MARK WILKS

A correspondent sends us the following:— Once more the absurdity of the present state of the law with regard to the income of a married woman has been shown in the case of Dr. Elizabeth Wilks, of Hackney, whose husband is threatened with immediate arrest by the sheriff's officers. Dr. Wilks, one of the founders of the Women's Tax Resistance League, and a member of its committee, has for some years refused to pay her income tax, on the ground that she had no voice in the spending of the money. Twice she suffered distraint in consequence, and the authorities would have pursued this course again had not Dr. Wilks discovered that as a married woman she was not liable for taxation. Since then they have sued her husband, and though he has made clear his inability to pay, they now propose to take the extreme course of sending him to prison "during His Majesty's pleasure." This is made possible by the ridiculous law which, in spite of the Married Women's Property Acts giving a wife complete control over her own income, still muddles the two incomes together for the purposes of taxation.

In this case the husband is the one to suffer, in others, the law presses unfairly on the wife; as, for example, in the case of recovery of income tax deducted at its source, on the wife's separate income: the authorities will only pay this to the husband, and she has no means of recovery from him!

Mr. Wilks is determined to suffer imprisonment rather than use any influence to induce his wife to pay the money and so surrender the principle of "no taxation without representation," for which she has fought for five years. It can easily be understood that Dr. Wilks would willingly pay and undergo imprisonment herself to show the depth of her conviction, and that it is a much severer trial to accept this sacrifice on the part of her husband.

In the event of Mr. Wilks' expected arrest, a demonstration is being arranged for Saturday next, September 14. A procession, in which the W.S.P.U. and other Suffrage societies will take part, will march from Kensington Church at 3 p.m. to Brixton Prison, where a meeting of protest will be held. All are asked to come and help make the protest an effective one.

We must support this courageous stand. Men and women (especially the former, as this is a case which particularly concerns them) are asked, in the event of Mr. Wilks' arrest, to write letters and send resolutions on the matter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and to hold themselves ready to join the demonstration of protest. The Hon. Secretary of the Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage also sends us particulars, and adds: "The threatened arrest of one of our members, Mr. Mark Wilks, calls for our immediate action. Members are urged to hold themselves in readiness, and to keep themselves in touch with the Rederation."

EQUAL PAY

The fair principle of equal pay for equal work has been judiciously laid down in Australia. In June the question of the wages of fruit-growers came before Mr. Justice Higgins, president of the Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration, and in setting the amount he pointed out that homo conditions could not be taken into account, and that often hitherto women had been employed because they were paid lower wages. He considered, however, that in the case of the fruit-pickers, men and women being on a substantial level, should be paid on the same level of wages; and the employer would then be at liberty freely to select whichever sex and whichever person he preferred for the work. All this tended to greater efficiency in work, and to true and healthy competition—not competition as in a Dutch auction by taking lower remuneration, but competition by making oneself more useful to the employer. This was the first time that this Court had had to deal directly with the problem of female labour. The unions here insisted on "equal pay for equal work." This phrase had an attractive sound, and seemed to carry justice on its face, for obviously, where a woman produced as good results as a man in the same kind of work, she ought not to get less remuneration.

Commenting on this case, the *Melbourne Age* says:— "The woman entered late into the industrial arena, and she still suffers the consequences of her erstwhile political inferiority. A new era is, however, now opening before her. She has been given the franchise, and is on the same political plane as man. There only remains to assert her title to social and industrial parity."

Another piece of good news comes from Victoria, where clerks are in future to receive a minimum of 48s. a week, irrespective of sex. In England, where women have not got the vote, the average wage of men clerks is 25s. to 30s., and of women, 15s. to 20s.

Here is a practical answer to the question of how votes affect wages. This judgment would never have been delivered if Australian women had not had votes.

SUFFRAGETTES WILL HAUNT MONTREAL NOW

Under this heading the following Canadian Press Despatch appeared recently in a Canadian paper:—

"MONTREAL, August 9.—The police were warned to-day that the Suffragettes were determined to make Montreal a centre for their operations during the forthcoming visit of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Winston Churchill.

"A Suffragette recently released from Holloway jail has arrived in Montreal and has been joined by some others from New York."



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THE HOLIDAY CAMPAIGN

Splendid accounts of meetings held and Votes for Women sold continue to come in, but our space does not permit more than a brief report. From Torquay come accounts such as we always like to receive from workers, not only hundreds of copies disposed of to casual purchasers, but of copies where it is now, as a result of the campaign, being regularly ordered for customers, as well as of paper sellers established for street selling. The campaign includes a decorated motor boat, many meetings (only the rain prevented still more), a tea and fete at Oddcombe beach turned at a moment's notice into a Town Hall entertainment paid for by a local member, a march with a band playing Dr. Eibel Snydler's "March of the Women," and columns in the local papers! Mrs. Collyer, Mr. Boase, Miss Hewitt, Mrs. Hooney, Mr. and Mrs. Faustini (Mr. Faustini originated the motor boat idea), and Miss N. Baker are all thanked for valuable help. We learn also that a "heckler" at the Town Hall meeting, who was "very wroth" at militancy, ended by joining the procession and the M.P.U., and that new W.S.P.U. members were made. Bravo, Torquay!

We wish we had space for another report, this time from Cornwall. It tells of a new speaker's nervousness overcome, of the indignation of the inhabitants, who said the town must not be judged by the rude behaviour of a few imported "young gentlemen" of orderly and attentive meetings, excellent sales of the papers, visits on market days to neighbouring towns, where awkward children who had never before seen a real live lady chalking pavements whispered, "Them must be Suffragettes," of requests to hold evening meetings when the women could come too, of many questions asked and answered, and a collection taken from the steps outside the market place, of a sailing boat flying the colours from masthead and peak ("she was the fastest craft in the bay"), and of the mobbing of the Suffragettes at one place by boys, while a number of school girls formed themselves into a bodyguard and conducted the Suffragettes in triumph to their lunch place. "Cornish people," says this worker, "are descended from a warlike race, and their ancestors have fought desperately for existence and liberty, and they seemed to understand the spirit in which we are fighting."

The Kensal Rise, Stoke Newington, Sheffield, and Leyton branches of the Independent Labour Party has passed resolutions strongly protesting against the sentences on the Dublin prisoners.

MEETING IN HYDE PARK

The opening meeting of the special London campaign in protest against the treatment of Mrs. Litch and Miss Evans in Hyde Park last Sunday, showed how decidedly the public are with the W.S.P.U. in the demand for First Division treatment for political offenders. Before three o'clock people were waiting patiently in front of the lorry. By the time the speakers mounted, a goodly crowd was waiting with eager upturned faces to hear the latest news of the Dublin prisoners. "Here and there," says one of the speakers, "one noted familiar faces of members of the Union, but the crowd was composed mainly of strangers—men and women anxious to hear the women's point of view." The crowd gave the speakers a splendid hearing, appreciating the points made, applauding plain statements and lies refuted. There were a few—very few—young men who showed their disapproval in the usual way. When one large man became somewhat objectionable a Colonial dealt so effectively with him that he was soon appealing to the speaker to "find his opponent" for him! Did the crowd understand? Yes, they did! "Political treatment? Well, it's only fair," they said. A resolution strongly condemning the Government's attitude, and demanding immediate political treatment for the two women prisoners, was carried with an overwhelming majority.

On the suggestion of a clergyman present, a vote of censure was passed on "those cads who had dared to vote in favour of forcible feeding," which was also enthusiastically passed. "Splendid meeting," "Wish we had some men like these women!" "They're the right of it, we'll back them," such were the remarks heard after the meeting. Miss Naylor and Miss Gwen Richards made fine speeches.

PUBLIC OPINION

Realising the public importance of the issues involved in the Dublin trial and the heavy sentences, the *Western Daily Mercury* invited the opinions of its readers by means of a prize competition. It is interesting to note that an immense number of letters were sent, and that opinion was exactly balanced as to the justice or injustice of the sentences, thus necessitating a division of the first prize. The *Mercury* justly points out that many of those who approve the sentences were influenced by the idea that the people in the theatre were actually in danger, and makes it clear that this idea was erroneous as the auditorium was practically empty.



She didn't mind the Rain! (A Sketch from Life.)

CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

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

BALHAM AND TOTTING. Open-air meetings resumed. Casting Road, Balham...

BOWES PARK AND DISTRICT. Will members please make great effort to attend meetings...

LEWISHAM. The new office is now open, and members and friends are reminded of the Saturday afternoon 'rally'...

NORTH ISLINGTON. Members please 'rally' for first reunion of the way of work...

CLAPHAM. Prisoners' reception will be held early in October. Particulars announced later...

EALING. Thanks to Miss Trim, who kindly spoke on Sunday in the place of Mrs. H. J. Kennedy...

FULHAM AND PUTNEY. Only 100 tickets left for the 15th and 16th left for sale...

HACKNEY. Open-air campaign now in full swing. More supporters needed. Members asked not to forget subscriptions...

HAMPSTEAD. All local effort must now be directed on Hampstead Heath and in the Park...

HORNBY. Autumn campaign opens Friday with good meeting at Burgoyne Road, Harringay...

ILFORD. Meetings were held Wednesday, Thursday, and Saturday. Members urged to work in district...

KENSINGTON. Will members please help with paper selling while regular sellers are away...

KINGSTON AND DISTRICT. Scotch Café meeting great success. Every seat filled. Dr. Fairclough's address highly appreciated...

LONDON MEETINGS FOR THE FORTHCOMING WEEK.

Table listing London meetings for the forthcoming week, including dates, locations, and speakers.

sold out. Shop reopened Monday. All members who have come forward with offers of help...

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KINGSTON AND DISTRICT. Scotch Café meeting great success. Every seat filled. Dr. Fairclough's address highly appreciated...

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garden meeting photos still remain unclaimed. Will members now back from holiday secure their copies?

WIMBLEDON PARK AND S. WIMBLEDON. The first meeting of the series was a brilliant opening. An immense crowd listened eagerly...

WOOLWICH. It is hoped to hold a meeting for Mrs. Aldham, Sept. 18. Members will receive notice shortly...

Home Counties. BEXHILL-ON-SEA. Regular weekly meetings in shop have commenced. Regular weekly meetings in shop have commenced...

West of England. BATH. Shop will reopen Monday, Sept. 16. Shop rally Saturday, Sept. 21, 5.30-6.30. Important! All members please send...

BRISTOL. Important meeting to-morrow, Saturday (see programme). Every member should do her utmost to be present...

FALMOUTH AND PENYRN. Mrs. Vans Agnew Corbett, who founded the local Unit, has left and will be greatly missed both by members and townspeople...

NEWPORT. Thanks to all members who took part in the Women's Political Union meeting on Friday, Sept. 7. The meeting was a success...

HASTINGS AND ST. LEONARDS. Excellent meeting held on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, Sept. 10, 11, and 12. Members are reminded that a great deal of work has to be done...

PORTSMOUTH AND SOUTHAMPTON. Many thanks to Miss E. B. Healy for 5s. 6d. earned as roque prize. (Hon. Sec.—L. V. Peacock, 4, Pelham Road, Southsea.)

SOUTHEND AND WESTCLIFF. An extremely large meeting was held Saturday evening outside Technical Schools. Mrs. Bouvier spoke. Mrs. Grant, of Leigh, kindly gave week-end hospitality to the speaker...

TUNBRIDGE WELLS. This past week members said good-bye to the Misses Wedgwood, who have left the town for good. Many thanks to them for all they have done this summer to keep the flag flying...

Eastern Counties. FELIXSTOWE. Over sixty papers were sold last week, but more help is needed in selling for remainder of season...

North-Eastern Counties. LEEDS AND DISTRICT. Meetings held on Woodhouse Moor every Sunday, 3.30 p.m. Members please meet at office, 3 p.m. Secretary will represent Leeds in Provincial Section meeting at Clement's Inn to-morrow (Saturday)...

BERMINGHAM AND DISTRICT. W.S.P.U. meeting held at the Birmingham Women's College (see programme). Members are asked to rally on Sept. 16, as this meeting will take the form of a Prisoners' Welcome. Desires party for prisoners and friends, Saturday, 21st. Please book early...

SCARBOROUGH. A joint meeting of W.S.P.U. and the L.P.P. was held West Pier, Saturday evening. Miss H. A. Howes and Mr. Foster addressed a very interesting crowd. There were good paper sales...

LEICESTER. Will-drive will be held, L.P.S. room, Sept. 27. Members please call at shop for tickets, and induce friends to buy. Please attend Thursday evening's

MEETINGS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

Table listing meetings throughout the country, including dates, locations, and speakers.

WOMEN'S TAX RESISTANCE LEAGUE. A successful demonstration held East Ham, September 10. Members were well supported by local friends...

IRISH WOMEN'S FRANCHISE LEAGUE. Open-air meetings at Belford Place and Phoenix Park recently attended this week. Mrs. Cousins and Mrs. Palmer spoke. Mrs. Cousins also presided...

WOMEN WRITERS' SUFFRAGE LEAGUE. Office now open. Office hours 11 to 4, except on Saturdays, when from 10.30 to 12.30. (Office—Goschen Buildings, 12, Henrietta Street, W.C.)

IRISH WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY. Portadown and Lurgan were visited last Saturday, and large interested crowds listened to speeches. Mrs. E. J. O'Connell was the speaker...

MISS TYSON'S GERMAN TOUR. Miss Leonora Tyson will visit Germany in October, and will be giving introductions or to help to fix further meetings are asked to write to Miss Tyson at 5, Strubbery Road, Stockwell, S.W.

THE BEST-PAID PROFESSION. Some women are not aware that there is a profession in which they can earn a salary higher than that of the average man...

MR. G. BOWER CODLING. Conducts Classes in PUBLIC SPEAKING at HABLUR'S ACADEMY, BEDFORD HOUSE, BEDFORD STREET, STRAND, W.C.

ISLINGTON DENTAL SURGERY. 69, Upper St. Mr. CHODWICK BROWN, Dental Surgeon. MR. FREDK. G. BOUCHER, Asst. Dental Surgeon. Established 35 years.

Gas Administered daily, at 11 and 3, by a Qualified Medical Man. FEE, 7s. 6d.

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Prices are advancing. Have you bought your coals? Silkstone... 26/-, Tostler Nuts... 22/6, Special House... 21/-, Best Nuts... 21/6.

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ALFRED DAY, 51 and 52, Park St., Regent's Park (Gloucester Gate), London, N.W.

ALFRED C. BROOKS, BUILDER, DECORATOR, SANITARY ENGINEER, AND HOUSE AGENT, 23, Exmouth Street, Commercial Road, E.; and 351, Hither Green Lane, Lewisham, S.E. Telephone—East 3203.

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SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

[Property found at W.S.P.U. meetings should be sent to Miss Kerr, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.]

GIVEN TO BE SOLD FOR THE FUNDS.—Real Indian table-cloth, 38in by 38in, embroidered in Union's colours on white linen 1 5 0. Ditto, 40in by 40in, embroidered on white lawn 0 15 0. Ditto, 37in by 38in, embroidered on white calico 0 8 0. Handsome silk tea or dinner jacket (genuine Chinese) 2 2 0. Gold and coral brooch 1 0 0. Gold locket 1 10 0. Antique hand-painted miniature (in gold frame) 2 2 0. Apply, Mrs. Sanders, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

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BOARD-RESIDENCE for Students, Visitors to London, &c.; moderate; comfortable; good cooking; central—Miss Kilbey, 5, Guilford Street, Russell Square, W.C.

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

BROADSTAIRS.—Dickens' Old House. Visitors for change, rest, or nursing welcomed; from 21s. Accommodates delicate children mothered; Dr. Oldfield's diets provided.—Edwards, Lawn House.

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

FOLKESTONE.—Board-Residence.—"Keywood," Castle Hill Avenue; pleasantly situated; best part; close to Leas; moderate terms.—Proprietress.

HOSTEL FOR LADIES.—10min. from University and British Museum. Bed-sitting rooms with breakfast, also private board; moderate, pleasant house.—Oakley Square, N.W.

LONDON, at 26, Kensington Gardens Square, Hyde Park.—Superior Board-Residence from 21s.; partial board; ideal house and position; private gardens; close Queen's Road Tube; comfort, cleanliness, quiet; excellent cuisine; recommended by the Queen and Lady's papers. Highest refs.

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ON Heights of Udimore (300ft) near Winchelsea. Restful holidays amidst beautiful country. Old farmhouse, indoor sanitation; good table; delightful gardens; terms moderate.—Hidley, Parsonage Place, Udimore, Rye.

RESIDENTIAL Club for Ladies.—Cubicles from 18s. 6d. per week with board; rooms 25s.; also by the day.—Mrs. Campbell-Wilkinson, 49, Weymouth Street, Portland Place, London, W.

SANDGATE.—1 1/2 miles Folkestone; constant motor service; airy, comfortable house, facing sea; bathroom, electric light; board-residence, 27s. 6d. W.S.P.U.—2, Sunnyside.

SOUTH HAMPTSTEAD.—Lady offers comfortable Board-Residence to another lady; convenient situation; near tram, tube, and motor-bus; moderate terms; references given and required.—Box 148, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

SUFFRAGETTES, spend your Holidays at BRIGHTON. Revolving Shelter in garden for sleeping; home-made bread; terms moderate.—Miss Turner, "Sea View," Victoria Road, Nat. Tel. 1702.

SUFFRAGIST offers very comfortable, refined home to another; five minutes station and church; very moderate terms.—B., "Barton's," East Street, Bromley.

TWO LADIES (gardening, poultry-farming) receive Paying Guests. Charming house; most lovely moorland country; good sketching; cycling; open-air swimming-bath. Terms, 30s.—Leslie-Carrington, Coughton Cottage, Verwood, Dorset.

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FISHER PARK.—Girtonian, having taken artistic cottage, next open park, near pines and a station, would let three rooms unfurnished; gas, bath.—Box 152, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

FLAT, FURNISHED, in Private House; large sitting-room, two bedrooms, kitchen, bathroom, garden; 35s. weekly; two extra rooms if required.—12, Dalmeida Avenue, Camden Road.

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LARGE ROOM to Let, suitable for Meeting, At Home, Dances, Lectures. Refreshments provided.—Apply Alan's Tea Rooms, 263, Oxford Street.

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NEAR ASCOT.—Charming well furnished Cottage, three bedrooms, two sitting, bathroom; shady, well-stocked garden; not isolated; low rent for winter months.—Apply, Pirfield, Holyport, Berks.

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TO LET, for 6 or 12 months, small well-furnished House in Garden Suburb; six rooms, kitchen, bathroom, electric light, good position, garden.—E. B., VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn.

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TO LET.—Small Furnished House, any period; 1 hour London; 2 reception, 5 bed-rooms (both h. and c.); excellent garden; 2 guineas weekly.—Box 154, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

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MEMBER will exchange for six months plus. Furnished House in Cornwall, close to good seaside town (very mild climate and beautiful garden), for good flat in W.C. district.—Lorraine, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn.

HALF-HOUSE Required, unfurnished, 4 rooms, kitchen; quiet road or square, any where fairly central for professional man and wife; moderate rent.—Box 146, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn.

WANTED.—Boy or Girl to Educate with Boys of 10 and 12. Healthy country home; large grounds; vegetarian. Agnostic references. Parents write; I thank you for your great care. "Are well satisfied with his progress, mentally and otherwise." 15s. weekly.—Charles Oliver, B.A., Tadley, Basingstoke.

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

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BUSINESS, Etc.

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