

VOTES FOR WOMEN

VOL. V. (New Series), No. 235.

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WHAT THE LABOUR PARTY OUGHT TO DO



ROBIN HOOD AND HIS MERRIE MEN: (all) "Beshrew us, knaves and caitiffs, an ye make not way for ye women-folk eke with ye menne-folke 'twill bee ye downfalle of ye alle!"

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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

Very grave accounts reach us from Dublin of Mrs. Leigh's state of health, and most alarming of all are the references to her mental condition made by Sir James Dougherty in the course of his interview with Miss Grace Roe, the W.S.P.U. representative in Dublin. We cannot forget what happened a little while ago to another Suffragist prisoner, Mr. William Ball, who after a course of forcible feeding was thrust into a criminal lunatic asylum, where but for his timely rescue he would probably have become hopelessly insane. We cannot forget either that the recently issued medical report upon "The Forcible Feeding of Suffragist Prisoners" states that "the

wonder is that they retained their sanity." If Mrs. Leigh's mind is becoming affected, then the only thing for the authorities to do is to place her in the hands of her friends, who will spare neither trouble nor expense to repair the grave mischief which the Government have done. Perhaps the authorities will deny that her mind is affected. If they do, then the only remaining explanation of Sir James Dougherty's very ominous words is that Mrs. Leigh is to be thrust into a criminal lunatic asylum, in order to break her spirit and in order that it may be more difficult for her comrades outside to get her set free. We ask that our readers will help in the crisis that has arisen.

A Vindictive Policy—Sale at Holmwood

The Government are persisting in their vindictive policy of extracting a heavy fine from the defendants in the Conspiracy Trial. The bailiffs are still in possession at Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's house at Holmwood. Mr. Pethick Lawrence's business representative has asked that the matter shall be allowed to remain in abeyance at least until his client returns from Canada, but he has met with an uncompromising refusal. Five days from now the authorities may issue an announcement of the sale of the furniture at "The Mascot." Particulars of this we shall give in due course, as we anticipate that members and friends of the W.S.P.U. will wish to be present as a mark of their sympathy with Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and their indignation at the Government's act of persecution. If Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence are to have their house invaded and their furniture sold, it is time that Cabinet Ministers were compelled to pay out of their own pockets for the special police protection

which they have hitherto enjoyed at the public expense.

The "Labour Leader"

The *Labour Leader* devoted the leading article in its last issue to a defence of the Labour Party against our criticisms. This defence is so lame as to be more like a confession of sin. For the *Labour Leader* does not hide the fact that the Labour Members are determined not to endanger the Government for the sake of Votes for Women. Our claim that the Labour Members shall wage war upon the Government until they consent to include a Woman Suffrage clause in their Franchise Bill, the *Labour Leader* described as "wrong suggestions," and adds:—

It is hardly worth while to reply to those who reason after this fashion. A hot sense of wrong has so affected their judgment that the impossible becomes the possible; the absurd appears to them wise and reasonable.

We ask, and shall be interested in the answer, why it is absurd and impossible to expect the Labour Members to threaten and, if need be, to destroy a Government in order to vindicate a principle and to enfranchise millions of women toilers! The unfavourable impression conveyed by the *Labour Leader* is strengthened by the report that one very prominent Labour Member has publicly declined to "sacrifice" the Manhood Suffrage Bill for the sake of women. We are glad to see that the more enlightened men among the Labour rank and file are protesting against the unworthy attitude of their Parliamentary representatives.

A Challenge to Mr. Snowden

Mr. Philip Snowden writes in this week's

Christian Commonwealth on "The Outlook for Woman Suffrage." From him we should have expected something better than from certain other members of his Party. But no, all that he has to say is that women ought to open their mouths and shut their eyes and take what Mr. Asquith sends them. We shall deal more fully with his article next week, but we will here draw attention to one point of especial importance. Mr. Snowden says: "I would have liked to see the Government shouldering the responsibility for Woman Suffrage from the introduction of the Reform Bill." Then why, we should like to know, does not Mr. Snowden, with the rest of his Party, insist that the Government shall now shoulder the responsibility for Woman Suffrage? The Labour Members, with their forty-one votes, have the power to compel the Government to do this. Will they use their power? We challenge Mr. Snowden to answer yes or no.

Another W.S.P.U. Deputation to Mr. Borden

Mr. Borden, having expressed his willingness to receive a Woman Suffrage Deputation in Canada, the W.S.P.U. of Canada is asking him to grant an interview. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will accompany the Deputation, and among its members will be her sister-in-law, Mrs. Harold Pethick, and some of the militants who, after taking their share in the struggle for the vote in the Mother-country, have now settled in Canada. This is a very opportune moment to ask Mr. Borden and his Government to pass a Bill making women electors of the Dominion Parliament, because in the Session just about to open it is proposed to carry a Bill dealing with the kindred question of Redistribution of seats. The policy of the W.S.P.U. is to demand that the franchise for the Dominion Parliament be granted by the Dominion Government. The franchise for the Provincial Parliaments must, of course, be granted by those Parliaments, but the Dominion Government will be held responsible for giving or withholding the franchise for the Dominion Parliament. "We are one people," said Mr. Borden, speaking of the inhabitants of the various parts of the British Empire. That fact alone gives the W.S.P.U. of this country a right to question him concerning Votes for Women. Women are asked to leave the United Kingdom and to settle in Canada, and surely they may be permitted to ask some questions and express their views concerning the political status which Canada accords to them. Moreover, the W.S.P.U. is an Imperial organisation, and will never be content until in every self-governing part of the Empire women vote on equal terms with men.

The "Times" Comment

The *Times* accuses the W.S.P.U. of striking the only jarring note heard during Mr. Borden's visit. Where there exists an injustice jarring notes will always be heard. We hope that when Mr. Borden pays his next visit to this country the W.S.P.U. will be able to thank him and congratulate him upon having given votes to women. Mr. Borden's reply to the Deputation was encouraging if only because it erected no barrier. From him we have had no foolish and ignorant talk of "disaster" such as Mr. Asquith indulges in. Mr. Borden says, and here again he shows himself the superior of Mr. Asquith, that he is "perfectly willing to listen to reason and argument, and to weigh them with the greatest possible care." If Mr. Borden is prepared to be guided by reason and to respond to argument, then militancy will not be needed in Canada. It would, however, have been a piece of affectation for the W.S.P.U. Deputation not to refer to the consequences which have in this country resulted from the Government's unstatesmanlike dealing with the Suffrage question, and to the similar consequences which would necessarily result if the Government of Canada were to follow the example of Mr. Asquith and his colleagues.

Irish Women and the Home Rule Bill

Judging by the communications appearing week by week in the *Irish Citizen*, representative Irishwomen are strongly opposed to the suggestion that Mr. Snowden's Woman Suffrage amendment to the Home Rule Bill shall be withdrawn in exchange for a promise from Mr. Redmond to use his influence in support of the Women's amendments to the Manhood Suffrage Bill. Opposition to this scheme is partly due to the conviction that Mr. Redmond cannot be held to his pledged word. Thus Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington, Chairman of the Irish Women's Franchise League, writes:—

We in Ireland may be presumed to know our Mr. John Redmond and his Party better than the National Union can. We have had pledges from members of that Party in support of the Conciliation Bill, and repeated personal pledges from Mr. Redmond that he would not influence their vote, and yet it was admittedly the vote of the Irish Party that killed (at Mr. Redmond's suggestion) the Conciliation Bill. A promise of conditional support, in view of the Irish Party's record of treachery, could therefore carry no weight or conviction. A deal with these notorious promise-breakers is unthinkable. No self-respecting Suffrage organisation can have any truck with Mr.

Redmond's Party. There exists but one instrument that will bring them into line—the Government Whip.

"Wobblers."

There are many Suffragists who believe that even though they obey the law, they need not trust the Prime Minister and submit to his attempt to shirk his constitutional responsibility in the matter of Votes for Women. A moving spirit amongst this school of Suffragists is Miss Winifred Holiday, who in a recent letter to the Press destroys the argument that an unofficial amendment to the Manhood Suffrage Bill can be carried by the aid of wobblers. She says:—

The Liberal "wobblers" have already been captured by the threat that the Government will be split if the amendment is carried. . . . In reality, there will be no "free vote" when the amendment comes on, and the ground has thus already been cut from beneath the feet of those who believed Mr. Asquith's pledge to be genuine.

A Step in the Right Direction

Miss Holiday contends that the Anti-Suffrage Premier and his followers and the Government have held the winning cards from the beginning, that they are already secure of the Liberal wobblers and the Nationalists, and that they hope so far to capture the hesitating Labour Party as to obtain their abstention from a hostile vote on the third reading of the Bill if women are not included. Appealing to Suffragists to unite in demanding a Government measure which would escape all these perils, Miss Holiday says:—

What we want the non-militant organisations to realise is that their continued dependence on Government "pledges" or on the support of parties with their own axes to grind is, in our eyes, as great a danger to the success of our common cause as militant methods appear to them.

We do not know how, without militancy, the demand for a Government measure can be enforced, but to formulate that demand is at any rate one step in the right direction.

It is reported that the Hatchet charge against Mrs. Leigh, which on August 7 was postponed to the October Sessions, has been withdrawn. We reserve comment until we are in possession of further details.

THE LESSONS OF HISTORY

If meetings have no effect—if the open and almost universal expression of opinion has no power on the Administration and the Legislature, then, inevitably, the minds of the people will seek other channels with a view to obtaining and securing the rights which are so contemptuously denied them. If I am wrong in believing this, then history is a lie from the beginning, and we have all been mistaken in our estimate of the causes out of which many of the great and deplorable transactions in history have sprung. —John Bright (in a letter written February 16, 1867).

In judging a system of Government, we know no test by which to distinguish good government from bad, except this—that good government is government which is conducted and founded upon the assent and consent of the governed. —Sir William Harcourt in 1887.

What then is the duty of an English Minister? To effect by his policy all those changes which a revolution would do by force. —Lord Beaconsfield in 1844.

We have done everything that could be done to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned—we have remonstrated—we have supplicated. . . . Our petitions have been slighted, our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded. . . . In vain after these things may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. There is no longer any room for hope. If we wish to be free—if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending—if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained—we must fight! . . . There is no retreat but in submission and slavery. . . . Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty—or give me death. —Patrick Henry in 1775.

If we look back to the riots and tumults which at various times have happened in England, we shall find that they did not proceed from the want of a Government, but that the Government was itself the generating cause; instead of consolidating society, it divided it; it deprived it of its natural cohesion, and engendered discontents and disorders which otherwise would not have existed. —Tom Paine's *Rights of Man*.

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A PROBLEM

By Theresa Gough

Since my release from prison I have often been asked how I escaped being forcibly fed during the April hunger strike. I wish I could answer that question satisfactorily. It will probably always be a puzzle. But let others judge for themselves.

In the depths of my consciousness I had hoped and prayed that a miracle might happen to save me from what I regarded as a monstrous outrage against the sanctity of the individual. Only a miracle, I knew, could save me, and yet to objective vision nothing phenomenal occurred when the medical torturer entered my cell. And yet . . .

My thoughts flash back to that morning when the strike became known. The sun was flooding the exercise-yard with warmth, caressing the lilacs into early blossom. But it only made the anxious, haggard faces of our women look even more ghastly than when they first filed out of their cells. We had been fasting for two days, but so far had kept it secret. That was easy enough, for the pigeons were voracious little visitors at our windows.

We knew we should get solitary confinement as soon as it was found out. No more exercise, no chance of exchanging a word of mutual encouragement, no chapel, no books. And we dreaded the lack of mental stimulus at such a time—the long, lonely hours, with nothing left to us but the anguish of slow starvation or the bitter, brooding regret that we had not adequately earned our scandalous sentences.

For my own part, I feared above all to be shut up with the hideous spectre which always seemed to glare at me out of the evening gloom in the corners of my cell. "You'll get forcibly fed," it used to gibber at me, until I had to clench my teeth to keep from screaming. Perhaps the depth of degradation was to think of enduring it at the hands of a man who smirked and made flippant remarks meanwhile. Though, to be sure, it might be even worse to suffer it under the eyes of that other—those eyes in which lurked the cruel gleam of an Inquisitor.

We were sitting on the ground near the centre of the yard—very close together, for we knew we should soon be parted. And who could tell what might happen? Some of us were very old and frail, others mere girls. We were wondering if our comrades in a distant block of the vast prison had begun the strike yet. We knew they were as determined as ourselves to revolt, for the status which civilisation has always accorded to political prisoners had been withheld from us.

True, the Government, under pressure of public opinion, was now offering certain privileges "as a reward for good behaviour," forsooth! A sop to keep "the pampered Suffrage prisoners" quiet in the third division! But Suffragettes had won Rule 24A for themselves at the cost of untold suffering in the past, only to have it snatched spitefully away now. We would demand it as our right, and decline to take it as a favour.

Suddenly the matron joined us. The other ward had started first. But our famished faces had betrayed us. The Governor knew all. She bore a message from him, however. We were to return quietly to our cells. At exercise in the afternoon we should be allowed to consult—a great concession—with our comrades, and for her own part she trusted something might thus be arranged to avert the suffering and so on. We could feel how sincerely she meant it, and we agreed.

When the hour for exercise came we were told the doctor had ordered us close confinement! Next day forcible feeding began. When he came to me he announced his intention to feed me before even feeling my pulse. But I had just strangled the spectre, and felt strangely calm. I criticised his action—his indecent haste—quite candidly. I reproached him for the trickery. He slipped nervously out of the cell. Hearing voices, I followed to the door.

"Oh, just as you like, my dear fellow," he was saying. "I only thought you might like to see this specimen here." He jerked his head towards my cell.

"I think I've seen enough of them already to write a book about them," laughed his colleague as he disappeared.

"And so he's not interested in seeing any more specimens to-day," said I, as he re-entered the cell.

"You quite misunderstood," he murmured feebly.

"Oh, I think not. My hearing is most acute," I assured him. "Now let me congratulate you." I went on, and suddenly I felt as if I were towering above him.

"I fail to understand you," he retorted uneasily.

My head seemed to me to be toiling the tall stars. "Let me congratulate you and your Liberal Government on all you are doing for our Cause." I was gazing fixedly into his shifting eyes. "You are giving us a splendid plank in our platform of propaganda. I am a street speaker as well as a journalist, and I promise you I'll make this known when I get out."

"Have you ever been forcibly fed before?" he asked uneasily.

"Never," I said in a voice which I could not recognise as my own. But he vanished so quickly that I could only sit down and gasp. Then I felt limp, and little, and dazed.

The heavy iron door clanged. I heard the rattle of the chains and the wardresses' keys. There was the tramping of feet on the flagged floor, and presently a suppressed scream. Then confusion of sounds for a long time before silence settled down. And the shadows gathered, but the spectre never appeared again: nor did the doctor.

TO LIBERAL WOMEN—A CALL TO ARMS

By Anne Macdonell.

At the present moment there is some confusion of mind among you Liberal women who desire the Suffrage. By your concerted action you have done much to put the present Government in power, and to keep it in place. You can still, if you so desire, help to prolong its existence, and thus delay your own enfranchisement. Or you have the power to make its continuance in office conditional on the granting of the Suffrage by so weakening the hold of Liberal candidates on constituencies that these candidates, largely indifferent now, and often contemptuous, will serve as the best of all levers to force a measure of justice from the Government.

Your central organisation gives you no clear lead, but says weakly: "Yes, the Government is unjust to us women, and perhaps a day may come when we may have to send an ultimatum to Messrs. Asquith and Co." The Government do not believe in that day—small blame to them! Organisations are useful things, but the best are apt to grow stiff and unwieldy in time; and, besides, the Women's Liberal Federation and its allied associations have been weakened by one special blow from their very start. The individual members have always been for the most part sincere and intelligent Liberals; and the disinterestedness of a vast number of unfranchised persons giving hard service to their country, is undisputed. But the Executives have been too largely ruled by socially important persons, wives, sisters, daughters, aunts, of Liberal Members and candidates, pledged to the Party programme, and to the Party programme only. As unfranchised Liberals you women had a fine chance of independence, and have thrown it away to become devoted Party slaves.

Thus were you hindered from wasting your energies on "fads," it is answered. But better a propaganda of "fads"—if by such are meant opinions and measures still unripe for legislation—than the long servile propping of a caucus. True, in the early days your apprenticeship to the Party gave you a chance of political experience; but that apprenticeship has now been served, and Liberal Members and candidates seem as far as ever from acknowledging the logical result of it.

There is one fact of the case which has received too little attention. I speak under the correction of such as may know the history of the Women's Liberal Associations better than myself; but so far as my own experience goes, I speak with assurance. The cry of the men's official organisations and of the candidates to you women has ever been, "Come and help! Send us workers! Canvass! Speak for us! Use all your arts to get us votes!" Never, so far as I know, have these clamorous bodies or individuals asked only for competent workers, well-instructed canvassers—though they have got them—or taken the faintest trouble to find out the kind of work proffered them. Anyone who would drudge to get them votes was welcome—though I admit the most welcome of all have been the ladies who would dash up and down the constituency in fine raiment and lend a kind of social prestige to the candidature. So far as Liberal candidates are concerned, the plea that women are unequal to the task of taking a very direct share in political work, is proved to be sheer humbug. Practically they have assumed every woman to be capable of something far more arduous and responsible than the recording of a vote. How often has Mr. Harcourt, I should like to know, declined the services of women willing to secure votes for him, on the ground that they are incapable of political judgment, or, if he prefers, far too good and fine to be engaged in the gross work of politics? No. Votes are always good for men, however secured; and they are always bad for women, however hardly earned.

The Federation and the Associations generally will give you no clear lead. Then let those who regard Women's Suffrage as something more than an ordinary political measure to be shoved aside and kicked behind other measures of infinitely less far-reaching consequence, come out. And let not your coming out be furtive or apologetic, but open and protesting. Even the action of isolated twos and threes will be effective—though there will be little isolation. The

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

Numbers of Irishwomen have already responded to last week's appeal, and several sub-committees are being formed, but as these are mostly in and near London, a special appeal is made to Irishwomen in other parts of the country to send in their names at once. Irishwomen who are keen on seeing the political emancipation of their sex a reality, will not fail now in getting support for Mr. Snowden's amendment to the Home Rule Bill. Names should be sent to the Secretaries—Miss Aileen Connor-Smith and Miss Geraldine Lennox, at 43, Kemptford Gardens, Earl's Court, London, S.W., who will also be glad to receive donations towards expenses of postage, &c. These will be acknowledged in VOTES FOR WOMEN.

courage of a few leading spirits will reveal and touch to life thousands only waiting for a call. You will hear at once, of course, the bitter cry of the wives and sisters, the mothers and the aunts, of the Liberal candidates—"Oh, the horrid schism! Oh, the disloyalty!" Face the accusation and examine it. It is not merely on the ground of policy I appeal to you to secede, not merely because you have in your hands the most effective weapon against a Government that refuses you justice and treats your demands with contempt, but first of all, and mainly, in the name of Liberalism.

Are you Liberals worthy of the name in supporting a Government the most fundamentally illiberal of modern times? Its foreign policy has been one long blunder, at once provocative and servile. What quarrel have we with Germany? What quarrel has Germany with us? Yet the Cabinet has all but involved us in a monstrous war, beside which the Tory crime in South Africa would seem but a trifle. The menace hangs over us still; and the welfare, nay, the very civilisation of our country, is starved to maintain and increase a hideous array of armaments, while vast portions of our land are turned into manœuvring grounds and firing ranges. Our blood is being sucked by vampire Dreadnoughts; and what is a Dreadnought but a Fear-all? What of our broken agreements as to the integrity and independence of Persia? After all our promises, what check have we given to the brutal designs of Russia in that country—where English honour must now be a thing to jeer at? What protest did we dare to make when Italy, in a fit of wild-cat Jingoism, snapped the treaties she was bound by? Under this Liberal Government England dare not raise a finger in the cause of freedom.

Does it please you to watch the English Parliament fast becoming a mockery, to see Liberal Members at the beck and call of a Cabinet which is practically a secret society? The defiance of the Tory House of Lords, being open, was as nothing to the sinister menace to freedom and independence of the Cabinet of Asquith, Grey, and Co. Apart from Old Age Pensions, what large and courageous measure of justice to labour can they point to? How in the recent Dock Strike have they held the balance between the strong organisation of money and the hunger-weakened organisation of the poor? Home Rule? But it was not Mr. Asquith, but Gladstone who called out the moral force that made the concession possible. It is as if in a family, who for ages had been contracting and disowning a great debt, one had arisen who saw his duty, who brought the rest of his brethren to own it, who earned the money to discharge the debt, and then died. To him surely the credit is due—not to the lawyer who does little more than hand over the cheque.

As this Government grows older more and more does it threaten freedom, and it is a sign of the enfeebled Liberalism of the country that attacks on liberty of speech and opinion are constantly tolerated with meekness. Not to speak of the gagging of women in the Press and at public meetings, how poor and ineffective was the protest against the arrest and imprisonment of Tom Mann for speaking out what most civilised persons feel in their hearts! The old traditional sturdy Liberalism sadly needs reinforcing. That is the spirit the Suffragettes are showing, and few besides them; and their persecution is not merely an attack on Woman Suffrage, but the symptom of a decaying Liberalism, which permits injustice and calls it law. Come out of your Associations, then, to be better Liberals.

What measure of justice to women can you expect from Mr. Asquith? As well look for delicate poetry in a law book. What from the slippery Chancellor, with whom his own ingenious little Bills will always stand first? What from a Home Secretary who tortures women rather than own them to be political offenders? What from Mr. Burns, from whom the mere sight of a woman rising in one of his meetings brings forth a torrent of vulgar abuse, and an incitement to brutal criticism? Will your self-spoken friend, Sir Edward Grey, keep faith? He has broken faith with the weak before now. They all hold you Liberal women weak, because you support them through thick and thin, heedless of your own dignity, and of the honour of Liberalism. They are ruled by their own convenience, and they yield to fear. Hence Mr. Bonar Law and Sir Edward Carson can incite to bloodshed and go scot free. Show them you are made of better and more formidable stuff than ordinary partisans. Come out, to be better Liberals.

THE DUBLIN PRISONERS GRAVE NEWS

Special Campaign Throughout the Country to Demand Release
This practice [forcible feeding] consists of a severe physical and mental torture.

The news from Dublin concerning the two women—Mrs. Leigh and Miss Gladys Evans—condemned to penal servitude for five years, and now in Mountjoy Prison, is of the gravest, and we fear that the condition of their health is indeed most serious.

Dear Miss Barrett,—I had an interview with the Lord Lieutenant on Sunday, August 25. He told me that the authorities here have a horror of forcible feeding, and that it is Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George who are responsible for Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans being forcibly fed.

The worst part of all is this, that every time I have had an interview with Sir James Doughtery, he has told me that he thinks Mrs. Leigh must be mad, and he has now given me to understand that she may be put in a lunatic asylum. Do you not think that immediate steps should be taken in the matter?

I do not know what Sir James Doughtery means when he says of Mrs. Leigh that "the woman must be mad." He knows that Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans have not been offered full political treatment, and that their attitude is of protest against the outrageous sentences which have been received.

The way in which Sir James Doughtery harps on this suggestion of madness makes me feel that the way is being paved to put her in an asylum. They probably think that it will be harder for us to get her released from a criminal lunatic asylum than from an ordinary prison.

GREAT PROTEST MEETING IN PHENIX PARK, DUBLIN

A great meeting to demand the release of the prisoners is being organized in Phoenix Park, Dublin, to take place on Sunday next, September 8, at 3 p.m. There will be three platforms, and among the speakers will be Miss Sylvia Paikhurst, Miss Georgina Brackenbury, Miss Kathleen Jarvis, Miss Geraldine Lennox, and others.

SPECIAL CAMPAIGN IN ENGLAND

So urgent is the matter that the W.S.P.U. has decided to hold a special open-air campaign throughout the country. The local W.S.P.U.s have once more risen splendidly to the occasion, and are organizing meetings at which the release of the prisoners will be demanded.

Miss Garrett is in charge of the campaign in London; street-corner meetings will be held in central London, and every Sunday, beginning on September 8, a meeting will be held in Hyde Park with the same object at 3.30. Next Sunday the speakers will include Mrs. Barbara Whyte and Miss Gwen Richard.

MEMORIAL FROM SHOP ASSISTANTS

A memorial, signed by 233 employees at Messrs. Selfridge's, Oxford Street, has been sent to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to the following effect:—

"My Lord,—We, the undersigned employees in the firm of Selfridge, Ltd., being fellow workers with Gladys Evans, who was sentenced to five years' penal servitude at the Commission Court, Dublin, on August 7, 1912, do hereby respectfully urge upon you that a remission of the sentence be granted.

"We would further urge upon you that as the offence for which she was convicted was committed with no criminal intent, but from a political motive, namely as part of an agitation to obtain the enfranchisement of women, you will order that while in prison she shall be treated as a first-class misdemeanant."

THE HATCHET CHARGE

The London correspondent of the Manchester Guardian (September 3) writes, and truly says, that if the treatment of these women is known to them, they are guilty of a crime in not bringing it to the notice of the public. That is so, and we are glad to see that the Standard ("Women's Platform"), Manchester Guardian, Daily Herald ("Women and Citizenship") and Daily News have all printed Miss Roe's letter in full.

The following appeared in the Times on Wednesday. We reserve comment until next week. An official statement was issued yesterday from Dublin Castle with reference to a letter in which various statements and opinions regarding the imprisoned suffragists are attributed to the Lord Lieutenant and others.

The following letter (says the Morning Post) has been addressed to the hon. secretary of the Irish Women's Franchise League by Sir J. B. Doughtery, Under Secretary for Ireland:—"Dublin Castle, Sept. 3, 1912.

LETTERS ON FORCIBLE FEEDING

The following letter appeared in the Freeman's Journal on Thursday in last week:—"Dear Sir,—Mrs. Leigh is being done to death, surely but not slowly, by torture in Mountjoy Prison. This may afford satisfaction to those who have devoted themselves to exciting prejudice and hatred against Suffragists, but it probably starts in the general public, and possibly even Judge Madden, who hardly intended to pass a death sentence for burning a hole in a theatre carpet.

"Forcible feeding by means of a nasal tube is a best, risky operation, even when performed under hospital conditions—is literally torture when performed on a strenuously resisting patient under the rough-and-ready conditions of a prison, with no adequate hospital equipment in absolutely lacking. When initiated in England it was condemned by 117 of the most distinguished medical men in Great Britain as attended by inevitable risk to life, as well as permanent injury to health and what is most serious—to brain. It is not long since a healthy, athletic man was driven insane in Pentonville Prison, by being forcibly fed for a week. And even where the worst results do not present themselves immediately, the ultimate consequences are of the gravest character. For a full statement of the medical view on the subject I refer your readers to the current issue of the Lancet.

"This torture is now being inflicted on Mrs. Leigh and Gladys Evans in Mountjoy Prison. It is inflicted on them because they maintain their right to full political treatment in prison. It appears reasonably probable—to put it no more strongly—that the result will be to kill Mrs. Leigh, and to shatter for life the constitution of Miss Evans, the less weakly of the two prisoners. Does the Irish public approve of prison torture?"

THE HATCHET CHARGE

The London correspondent of the Manchester Guardian (September 3) writes, and truly says, that if the treatment of these women is known to them, they are guilty of a crime in not bringing it to the notice of the public. That is so, and we are glad to see that the Standard ("Women's Platform"), Manchester Guardian, Daily Herald ("Women and Citizenship") and Daily News have all printed Miss Roe's letter in full.

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WRITE FOR DAINTY ILLUSTRATED BOOKLET. The Misses ALLEN-BROWN, F.R.H.S., Violet Nurseries, Hentfield, Sussex.

A STAFFORDSHIRE NOVEL AND OTHER REVIEWS

Mrs. Garnett's new novel has a strong and somewhat unusual atmosphere. She has not merely placed her story and her characters in the desolate grey district of North Staffordshire; she has made them part of it, so that, on laying down "Amor Vincit," one is conscious of having for a while shared the lives of a set of countryfolk who could have been born nowhere else, who are as much the product of "a country desolate rather than beautiful; wild without grandeur; hilly without charm."

The prologue strikes the note of the book. In it we meet the two whose sane and calm affection for each other, at the end of many years of storm and stress, lightens the almost unrelieved gloom of the story, and is the sole justification for its title. The scene in which Richard Hollinslough, a boy of fifteen, takes a bad beating at the hands of a bullying elder brother for daring to protect Ellen Brindley, the little daughter of a neighbouring farmer, is one that implants in the boy that fierce sense of injustice that colours his whole life.

Whether as "Resisters" or otherwise women will do well to make themselves familiar with the National Health Insurance Act, and Mr. J. T. Richards' little pink paper book ("National Health Insurance") William Pull and Co., Clapham Junction is certainly worth 2d., even though Government pamphlets explaining the Act are obtainable free. Mr. Richards' regret that he is "not a lawyer" will probably not be shared by his lay readers. In any future edition, however, the Note on p. 2 (relating to casual employment and payment of insurance by one of several employers) should be amplified.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Inheritance." By Stuart Martin. (London: John Ouseley, Ltd. Price 6s.) "The Religious Aspect of the Women's Movement." Report of Meeting Held at Queen's Hall on June 19. (London: The Collegium. Price 6d.) "Modern Woman: Her Intentions." By Florence Farr. (London: Frank Palmer. Price 1s. net.) "The Magpie." September. (London: Everett and Co. Price 3d. net.) "Prostitution: Its Nature and Cure." (London: Penal Reform League. Price 2d.) "Life Understood." By F. L. Rawson. (London: The Crystal Press, Ltd. Price 7s. 6d. net.) "September." (Boston: Twentieth Century Co. Price 15 cents.) "Five Songs." By I. Hearne. (London: Schott and Co. Price 3s. net.) "The Westminster Review." September. (London: E. Marshborough and Co. Price 2s. 6d. net.) "The English Review." September. (London: 17-21, Tavistock Street, Covent Garden. Price 1s. net.) "Make Way for the Prime Minister." By Mrs. Arcliffe Sennett. (Bastbourne: T. R. Beckett, Ltd. Price 1d.) "The Englishwoman." September. (London: Sedgwick and Jackson. Price 1s. net.)

THE SHOP ASSISTANT

The bitter cry of the shop assistant finds stirring expression in "Shop Slavery and Emancipation," by William Payne (P. S. King and Son, one shilling net). In an introductory note Mr. H. G. Wells recalls his own seventeen-mile tramp one Sunday morning when, at fifteen, he ran away to his mother and told her he would rather die than go on being a draper. The whole book is of exceeding interest, and the chapter entitled "The Way Out" can hardly be read without a reminder of "The Walk Whitman."

L'AFFAIRE STEINHEIL

A terrible story is that which Mme. Steinheil lays before us in "My Memoirs." (Everleigh Nash, 10s. 6d. net.) The happy girl of Belfort became the leader of a section of Paris society, and found herself in the prime of her life committed for trial on a charge of murdering her husband and her mother. For a year she was kept in prison awaiting trial, while France rang with various versions of L'Affaire Steinheil. On her account she made her residence in England, and here she wrote this book, which is concerned chiefly with the tragedy of her life. If her account of her prison life is correct, some Suffragettes are needed in Paris to improve the conditions. She describes the prison as decaying and foul-smelling, devoid of light and air, full of vermin, damp, and dirt.

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The W.S.P.U. holds Regular Weekly Meetings on MONDAYS & THURSDAYS

They are discontinued for the holidays, but will be resumed at the London Pavilion on

MONDAY, OCTOBER 7, at 3.15 p.m., and at the Steinway Hall, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 10, at 8 p.m.

On 19th September at 8.30 p.m. A MEETING will be held in

THE STRAND LECTURE ROOM, 15, ADAM STREET, STRAND. To deal with the future of the INTERNATIONAL SUFFRAGE SHOP. The issue of the above terminates on September 20th next, and unless ways and means can be arranged at this meeting this unique Feminist enterprise must close down on that date—in spite of its undoubted Propaganda Value.

All who are interested are urged to attend and help to extend the work so effectively begun.

VOTES FOR WOMEN

4, CLEMENT'S INN, STRAND.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1912.

IN DEFENCE OF MILITANCY

The case for militancy, like the case for Woman Suffrage itself, has to be argued over and over again, for the objections to it often destroyed are as often repeated. Just now a fire of criticism is being directed against militant methods which would be better directed against the Government's reactionary and treacherous dealings with the question of Votes for Women.

Perhaps the most curious, and we may even say amusing, argument ever advanced against militancy is to be found in the statement that the "excesses" of the French Revolution deferred Parliamentary reform in Great Britain. Supposing this to be true, it is a circumstance which is quite beside the mark. If we want to discover whether the French Revolution provides an argument for or against militancy as a political weapon we must ask ourselves what effect that Revolution produced, not in Great Britain, where it did not take place, but in France, where it did.

Now whatever fault may be found with the French Revolution, no one can deny that it was marvellously effective. Incidentally, it secured Manhood Suffrage, which the men of this country with their milder militancy did not get some thirty years later.

How many events more epoch-making, as the saying goes, have ever occurred in the history of the world? The establishment of Manhood Suffrage was only one of the results of the French Revolution. Considering the transformation wrought in France by the Revolution, it is idle to attempt to deter militants from their militancy by telling them that it had some contrary effect in another country.

It cannot be denied that if a like Revolution had taken place in this country, a transformation on a corresponding scale must have been effected here. Universal Suffrage for men would no doubt have been achieved, and with it many other changes very alarming and distasteful to the ruling classes of that day.

To those of us (and we may claim to be the majority) who have always believed that the Reform Bill of 1832 was the fruit of militant methods, the statement that it was the fruit of mere peaceful persuasion comes with a positive shock. It sends us back to our history books for confirmation of our view. Especially do we have recourse to the testimony of Lord John Russell, the father of the Reform Bill. He tells us that Lord Grey's reason for consenting to the introduction of the Bill was that only by that means could a revolution be averted. It has been said that all the members of Lord Grey's Government were, with the exception of Lord John Russell himself, anti-reformers at heart, but because of the popular unrest, they became the advocates of Reform.

Lord John Russell's account of the matter is as follows:—

"The Cabinet of Earl Grey contained very few men who had supported proposals for Parliamentary reform. Lord Palmerston and Lord Grant had, with Lord Melbourne, followed Mr. Canning in his opposition to Parliamentary reform, and Lord Lansdowne and Lord Holland had never been very eager on the subject, but the circumstances of the country required decisive measures, and Lord Grey was persuaded that nothing but a large reform of Parliament would ward off revolution. In this opinion the Cabinet participated, and adopted our plan."

Referring to the situation created by the Lords' rejection of the Bill, Lord John Russell says:—

"Nine years ago I had said that if Reform were not allowed to follow its course with the majesty of a river, it would rush on with the madness of a torrent. I had been laughed at by my Tory friends for the phrase, but they and others were now carried away by that torrent, the approach of which they had so little foreseen. This was indeed a moment of peril. It was the only time during my political life in which I have felt uneasy as to the result."

This plain statement of fact sweeps away the fanciful theory that militancy hindered the passage of the Reform Bill whose enactment was, as Lord John Russell has recorded, the result of militancy. Those people who, while the struggle for the Reform Bill was in progress, busied themselves in deploring the militant methods so soon to triumph, were wrong, as contemporary observers so often are.

Another objection in use just now is that militancy "cuts at the very root of the argument that physical force is not the ultimate resort by which to induce a Government to act." We would point out that there is some slipshod thinking here—a confusion of what actually is with what ought to be but is not yet.

Militant Suffragists believe that moral and not physical force ought to be the basis of Government. Mr. Asquith and the Liberal Cabinet think otherwise, and they prefer to rule women by brute force. For that is precisely what the denial of the Vote means. Let any woman who doubts it take the slightest effective action to vindicate her claim to citizenship (for example, ask a question at a Cabinet Minister's meeting, or call upon the Prime Minister at Downing Street), and brute force will at once be employed against her.

Since it is physical force that Suffragists have to overcome, they, like all other revolutionaries, have found it necessary to employ a certain degree of physical force themselves. They would infinitely have preferred to use only moral force, but in this duel between women and the Government, it is the Government who have the choice of weapons, and they have chosen the weapon of physical and not moral force. Women have had to abide by that choice, and to wield as best they can this weapon that they like so little. It may seem to the unthinking that in such a conflict women must be worsted, but ever since David there have been times when the weak have been made strong to conquer.

Who takes the sword shall perish by the sword, and it is one of the greatest of moral fallacies to urge that no challenge must be offered to a forcible domination such as the Government of this country exercises over women. No one ever knew so well as Joan of Arc, that greatest of all militants, how to slay a moral fallacy, and she has slain this one. We have quoted her before, but we will do it again because the message she has left to us should be always in our mind.

She was questioned by ecclesiastics as to her mission before she was allowed to enter upon its performance.

"You assert that God has willed to deliver France from the English bondage?"

"Yes, He has willed it."

"You wish for men-at-arms so that you may go to the relief of Orleans, I believe?"

"Yes—and the sooner the better."

"God is all powerful and able to do whatsoever He will so do, is it not so?"

"Most surely. None doubts it."

"Then answer me this. If He has willed to deliver France, and is able to do whatsoever He wills, where is the need for men-at-arms?"

"He helps those who help themselves. The sons of France will fight the battles, but He will give the victory."

Have the critics of present day militancy any answer to make to Joan of Arc? If they cannot prove her wrong, neither can they prove the militant Suffragists wrong.

P.W.W. AND THE W.S.P.U.—A COMMENT

Under the heading of "Militancy and the Reform Bill," Mr. P. W. Wilson, Parliamentary correspondent of the *Daily News* and *Leader*, and an ex-Liberal M.P., discusses in the *Englishwoman* the situation of the Votes for Women cause.

After trying to defend the action of those Liberals who have for years past resisted the enactment of a special sex disability removal bill, and have thereby brought the present Manhood Suffrage peril upon us, Mr. Wilson comes to the heart of his subject as follows:—

I can imagine Mrs. Pankhurst saying, "What guarantee have you that the amendments to your Reform Bill will succeed?" My reply is that in the whole course of history it has never been possible for any individual, be he powerful or be he humble, to guarantee the wisdom whether of nations or of Parliaments. Statesmanship consists in producing the conditions, social, moral, and mental, in which wisdom can best thrive. Assuming, as we may do, that the amendments will be considered not earlier than December, and most probably at the outset of the New Year, it is absurd to waste our energies upon arguments as to probabilities which time alone can determine. The one critical controversy is concerned with militancy, whether it can be suspended, and, if so, whether suspension would be wise.

This whole passage shows that Mr. Wilson speaks, as it were, a different political language from the W.S.P.U. "The personal opinion of a Liberal politician" is Mr. Wilson's description of his article. We could easily have mistaken it for "Bait for the Government's hook to catch guileless Suffragists."

Mr. Wilson confesses that he can point to no guarantee that a Woman Suffrage amendment will be carried, and he denies that any guarantee is possible. There he is wrong. Government support for such an amendment would guarantee its adoption. Time alone, says Mr. Wilson, can determine whether or no the women are to be included in the "Reform" Bill, but the fact is that an announcement that the Government will introduce the Woman Suffrage clause would settle the question instantaneously.

The one critical controversy, we are told, is concerned with militancy. That, again, is not true, because the continuance of militancy is an absolutely settled question. The W.S.P.U. is quite immovable on that point. If critics and counsellors would strike at the cause of militancy instead of abusing or cajoling the militants, they might hope to see some result of their endeavours. The cause of militancy is the Government's refusal to introduce and carry a measure of Votes for Women, and it is not within anyone's power to "palm off" upon the W.S.P.U. Mr. Asquith's sham pledge or any other pledge of that description as a substitute for a Government measure.

Mr. Wilson concurs in "regretting" that the Government do not comply with the W.S.P.U. demand. The cooler Liberals wipe out from their vocabulary the word "regret," the better. As soon as we find them "regretting" anything, we know that they mean meekly to swallow it. If Mr. Wilson thinks that the Government ought to introduce and carry a Woman Suffrage clause, why does he not set about compelling them to do it? It is simply a question of applying sufficient pressure. The Cabinet responsible for introducing the Reform Bill of 1832 was composed almost to a man of Anti-Reformers, but pressure compelled them to concede Reform. Pressure will compel the Liberal Government of our own day to concede votes to women. Forty or fifty men in the House of Commons could "convert" and "unite" the Government in the twinkling of an eye. How is it that Mr. Wilson, whose Parliamentary influence must be considerable, does not urge Liberal and Labour Members to the number of fifty to deliver an ultimatum and to say that their fifty votes shall be cast against the Government in Committee on the Home Rule Bill and in all other Divisions until the Government assume full and direct responsibility for enfranchising women. If the House of Commons does not contain fifty Liberal and Labour Members willing to carry out this policy, then we are forced to the conclusion that the House is just as weak, just as unreliable, and just as false in its friendship as it has shown itself during the whole forty-two years of the Parliamentary history of Woman Suffrage.

It is really the last straw to be told by Mr. Wilson that to have Votes for Women left to a "free" vote of the House of Commons is a positive advantage. We remember only too well that when in 1910 and 1911 we asked the Government to leave the House free to proceed with the Conciliation Bill, they refused to do so, and when we now find them offering to leave the House free to vote on the question, we know that they do so with sinister intent. The position is this. When the Government were asked to remove the gag and fetters from the House of Commons, they would not do it. Now we ask them to drive the House of Commons forward, and they will not do that, but accord to it an appearance of free-



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.—Admitting that the underpayment of women is responsible for driving many to an immoral life, how would the vote remedy this?

Answer.—The question is really, How will the vote affect women's wages? and was answered in this column on August 23. We advise our questioner (a working man) to read "Women's Votes and Wages," by F. W. Pethick Lawrence (Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, price one penny). Mr. Lloyd George said at the Albert Hall in December, 1908, that when women had the vote, "and therefore the same right to call the Government to account as men have," it would be impossible for any Government to maintain this inequality between women's pay and men's for the same work. It must be perfectly clear that a decision of the House of Commons, acting under pressure from constituents (women as well as men), would compel the Government directly to raise the wages of its own women employees. If these were few, such a change might be considered negligible, but they number more than 50,000, and it would affect not only these, but two large classes for whom the Government has special responsibility: (1) the teachers; (2) the employees of Government contractors. When once the example is set by the Government it will form a standard for other employers.

Question 2.—But would the women voters use their influence in this direction?

Answer.—Even if only one woman were enfranchised, and that one Mrs. Humphry Ward, we think she would bring pressure to bear first of all in order to help her sweated sisters!

Question 3.—Do you expect the result of women's enfranchisement in increasing wages to be immediate?

Answer.—No, it will be gradual, and it will not be finally complete until all the artificial hindrances have been removed and the status of women has acted and reacted upon all the conditions of life. But we believe that some improvement will be seen immediately, and that it will extend throughout the whole industrial world of women.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Prisoners' Secretary

Miss Winifred Mayo, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, W.C., will be glad to answer all enquiries with regard to prisoners.

Royal Albert Hall, London, Thursday, October 17. Members who have returned from holidays and have not yet secured their tickets for the welcome meeting at the Royal Albert Hall on Thursday, October 17, at 8 p.m., should apply to the Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, at once. The Arena seats are all sold out, and only a few Amphitheatre stalls at 2s. 6d. and a few Grand Tier boxes (5 to hold ten) £1 10s. remain. The prices of the other tickets available are as follows:—Boxes, Loggia (to hold eight), £1 1s.; second tier (to hold five), 12s. 6d.; balcony, first six rows, 1s., two back rows, 6d., all numbered and reserved; upper orchestra, unreserved, 6d. Tickets can only be had through members.

To Demand Release of Dublin Prisoners. The attention of our readers is called to an important announcement of a demonstration to be held in Phoenix Park, Dublin, on Sunday next, to protest against the treatment of Mrs. Leigh and Miss Gladys Evans in Mountjoy Prison. A demonstration, with the same object, will be held in Hyde Park, London, at the same time, and meetings are being organised throughout the country. Miss Grace Roe's letter on her interview with Lord Aberdeen, which has appeared in the Press, is being issued as a leaflet, and may be had free for distribution at these meetings. Applications should be sent at once to the Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C. The striking new Poster announced last week, headed "Penal Servitude or Votes," may be had on application to the Women's Social and Political Union, 4, Clement's Inn, London, W.C., at the following prices: (1) Four-crown size, 3d. each, post free; (2) double-crown size (30in by 20in), 14d., post free.

The Christmas Fair

The Union is relying on its members to make the Christmas Fair, in connection with the opening of the new office, a brilliant success. They have never failed yet!

THE CABINET MINISTERS' HOLIDAY

ON THE GOLF COURSE

A correspondent sends us the following account of the Prime Minister's golf at Aboyne.—

Golf courses seem rather fatal to Cabinet Ministers just now. So many militant suffragists are fond of the "royal and ancient" game that I suggest it would be wise for Ministers of the Crown who value their peace of mind to abandon their favourite pastime until women get the vote.

The papers had announced Mr. Asquith's arrival at Ballater, and most people thought he was safely ensconced as Minister in Attendance. Mr. Balfour, but there is always a little bird to tell suffragists the truth, so we knew very soon afterwards that he had really got out at Aboyne and driven off to that quiet country house, Donside. Then Mr. Asquith tempted Providence by playing on the Aboyne Golf Course. I met him near the pavilion; it was Saturday, and rather late in the afternoon, so quite a number of people were assembled there, among them several Liberal aristocrats, who take large annual salaries out of the public purse. Just the right audience for a protest.

Mr. Asquith had assumed his game, and was making for his motor; I was going in to get my clubs when we came face to face, so I said in a very loud voice, "When are you going to do your duty and give women the vote?" He shrank, turned his eyes away, as cowards do, and hurried on; but his car was standing quite near, so I thought I had better give him a few more home truths while he was being hurried into his coat. I thought of Mrs. Leigh being strapped down in prison while they fed her by force, and shouted out, "You ought to be ashamed of yourself, taking holidays, while women are being forcibly fed in prison. You should remember that you are a paid public servant, and do your duty, instead of torturing women. I am one of the public, so I have a perfect right to speak to you and reprove you if you do wrong—remember this: Votes for Women."

Mr. Asquith looked very confused indeed, and as for the rest they seemed too startled to say anything. Then we played our balls to the first hole, out and sent him off with "Votes for Women" ringing in his ears. X. Y. Z.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER

To the Editors of Votes for Women. Dear Sir,—I think it will interest you to know that I had the chance on Sunday, September 1, of reminding Mr. Lloyd George that he had a question to attend to which he would like to forget.

On reaching Claring Cross by the Dover express, I was told that he had travelled by the same train, and immediately happened to see him standing in a group with half a dozen men, so without waiting to lose courage I went up to him. I told him I could not resist the temptation of reminding him of an urgent question. His only answer was an embarrassed attempt at a laugh. I added that I hoped he would remember what was expected of him, but with another forced laugh he passed on quickly.—Yours, etc., HAYDEN WARD-HIGGS, 23, Queensborough Terrace, Hyde Park, W.

CHASING THE FIRST LORD

In rain does Mr. Winston Churchill seek to fly from the pursuer by keeping to the sea? In one weak moment he came too near the shore—and

As we came up the river from Tynemouth to Jarrow (writes a correspondent), we had a good go at him with the megaphone. We got quite close to the yacht, so I think he would have the Tyne knowing Votes for Women is still very much alive.

The Shields Gazette throws further light on the affair. It says:—

"The 'Enchantress,' which is by no means a stranger to this part, did not take up her customary berth off the New Quay Pier, which is recognised as the berthing place for Admiralty yachts. This departure caused a good deal of disappointment and surprise, a large number of spectators having gathered on the New Quay, North Shields, in anticipation of witnessing the landing of the First Lord. In order to prevent any visits from intruders a number of bluejackets were stationed in a small boat lying alongside the 'Enchantress.'"

"Suffragists were about and doing. They had been waiting for the arrival of the First Lord, and a good deal of interest was centred in their movements. They had engaged three small boats, and laden with suffragists, these craft had been hovering about the Mill Dam since the early hours of the morning awaiting the arrival of Mr. Churchill. On the approach of the 'Enchantress' there was a regular hail-bath with megaphones, and for some minutes the noise was deafening."

Then comes a description of a pressman's difficulties in approaching Mr. Churchill, and how he got safely past a sentry, and it appears that the pressman referred to the proposed "welcome" by suffragists. "We have not seen anything of the suffragists yet," said one of the officers. The account proceeds:

"The yacht was escorted by two launches belonging to the Harbour Master's department, the North Shields launch with Captain Frith, the Harbour Master on board, preceding it. It was anticipated that the suffragists might make an endeavour to take advantage of the occasion, and the Swing Bridge was consequently well guarded by police. The bridge itself was cleared of the general public, of whom a large number had assembled, and specific advice the passage of the yacht, although the latter could easily have passed underneath. This precaution was doubtless taken to prevent anything being thrown from above. Two suffragist ladies who had been ashore early eventually took up their position on board the Aberdeen passenger boat, which was lying at the quay close to the Swing Bridge. The women in question, however, were recognised, and a police officer promptly made his way on board the steamer and kept in close attendance. As the yacht was passing the Aberdeen boat the two women in question rushed to the deck and 'Votes for Women' was wafted across the water."

Press Accounts The Evening Chronicle (August 28) says:—

Amongst the Jarrow residents to welcome the First Lord was Mrs. Crowe, a leading local suffragist. In order to draw near to the Enchantress, Mrs. Crowe had hired a row-boat, and armed with the flag of the Women's Social and Political Union and a powerful megaphone, she reached the side of the Enchantress just as the First Lord was stepping from the yacht into the launch. Mrs. Crowe, using the megaphone, addressed Mr. Churchill, and asked him how he dared to put the women of England into prison. No response was made by the First Lord, who, as he took his seat in the launch, smiled pleasantly on Mrs. Crowe, who, seeing this, told him that the condition of the women of England was not a laughing matter.

Other local papers gave similar accounts, and the Evening Chronicle added:— "Just before Mr. Churchill came back, Palmer's row-boat was again rowed to the vicinity of the landing stage in a sculler boat, which, however, was towed away by order of the management."

MR. CHURCHILL AT ROSYTH A correspondent sends us the following account of how Mr. Churchill was caught also when he came on shore:—

"No passes to the Docksyard at Rosyth are, we learnt, being granted at present, and as there are no motor-boats or launches to be hired at any of the ports here, we made up our minds that the only way was to approach Mr. Churchill on land. Two women and a member of the Men's League went off to Queensferry to lie in wait for him as he disembarked. It was a long wait, many launches came up to the little jetty and steamed away, but the right one came along at last, and Mr. Churchill and another gentleman landed. One of the women walked quietly up to him, and said in a loud voice, 'Mr. Churchill, I am a member of the Women's Social and Political Union, and we, the women of that Union, demand a Government Measure for Women Suffrage this Session.'"

"He looked at her in a very annoyed manner, and said, 'No! I won't do anything for you!' and then walked rapidly away."

"The meeting was watched by an interested crowd, including the police, who made no attempt to interfere in this conversation."

"Two hours later, when he came back in a hired taxi, he was again saluted by a woman who reminded him of his refusal to help, and asked if this refusal was a challenge, and the Men's League man cried, 'Was't Dublin enough?' Mr. Churchill was evidently under the impression that the Dublin incident was going to be repeated, for he shrank back into the taxi, and his companion rose in obvious consternation to protect the badgered Minister from the supposed missile. Mr. Churchill was evidently hoping to avoid further attentions by travelling in a hired taxicab."

Secrecy—Why? The local Press bewails the impossibility of making out a programme of Mr. Churchill's visit. The Newcastle Chronicle says:—

"Particulars of his intended movements in the two days' sojourn among us were known only to very few people. Even at the shipyards he is to visit very little seemed to have been communicated by the Admiralty to assist the several attempts to complete programmes for the entertainment of the First Lord. The reason of official reticence in making public the times of Mr. Churchill's arrival and departure, and how he proposes to spend his time while on Tyneside, may be accounted for in a way that will occur to everybody. Members of the Government are subjected to the attentions of the militant suffragists wherever they may be, and as the idea may be to keep the First Lord's present visit as private as possible. The Evening Mail says:—

Indeed the movements of the First Lord of the Admiralty seem to be wrapped completely in mystery, whether, as has been suggested, in order to avoid the

militant suffragettes or not, it is difficult to state.

Painting a Battleship with "Votes for Women"

The following letter appeared in the Evening Chronicle:—

Sir,—In passing up the Tyne to-day I noticed that "Votes for Women" had been twice chalked on the bows of the new battleship, "Queen Mary," now under construction at Palmer's Yard. Surely the suffragists have not got on board a battleship for the purpose of advertising their craze.—Yours, etc., C. BOHERS, 16, Windsor Terrace, Whitley Bay.

WHO DID IT?

In last week's paper we referred to the writing on the gate of Lord Haldane's residence, Clarendon Park, Perthshire. The Aberdeen Free Press says:—

"So far no clue has been obtained which may lead to the capture of the bill-posting Suffragist; but it is stated that a lady answering to the description of the redoubtable Miss Christabel has been seen in the neighbourhood lately."

To this Miss Kenney replied as follows:— "Mrs. Fawcett explains that in her opinion the rejection of the Conciliation Bill was not wholly, but was largely due, to militancy. In our opinion, militancy is the very last thing in the world to which that defeat can be attributed. Mrs. Fawcett's friends the Labour members were responsible for the hostile majority of fourteen votes, because seventeen of them were absent from the division, and fifteen of these were not even paired in favour of the Bill. As I stated in my reply to Mrs. Fawcett's first letter on militancy, the fact that the Conciliation Bill was not to be immediately shelved, but was destined after passing its second reading to get into Committee, was the cause of much pledge-breaking by false friends, and Government intrigue against the Bill was yet another cause of its defeat."

"I remain firmly persuaded that Lord John Russell is the final authority upon the question of whether militancy helped or hindered the passing of the Reform Act of 1832, and he has distinctly stated that what prompted Lord Grey to bring in that measure was the conviction that only by that means could a revolution be averted. Lord John Russell has also made it absolutely clear that it was militancy that necessitated the surrender of the House of Lords and their acceptance of the Bill."

"No doubt it was said in 1831 that militancy was injuring the cause of reform, but that opinion was falsified by the event. In future days, when women have got the vote, those who read the records of this present time will see that militancy was condemned by 'constitutional' Suffragists, though they will also see (the militants of these days being more articulate than the militants of 1831) that a great many other Suffragists regarded militancy as indispensable. I venture to think that posterity will decide that the militants were right, and that the history of women's suffrage will prove anew the truth of Gladstone's saying that 'if the only instruction issued to the people of this country in political crises had been to love order and hate violence, the liberties of this country would never have been attained.'"

Mr. Borden's reply should be of considerable interest, for it may influence some of the sister States where Women's Suffrage is becoming militant. It is sincerely to be trusted that he will have his dialectical defences in perfect order, for the leaders of the Cause are potent with tongue as well as with hammer and hatchet.—The Western Mail.

Mr. Borden had to do with people who have specialised in the petty tricks of Cabinet Ministers. The Women's Social and Political Union has, I am told, many faults. It has certainly one very commendable virtue: It attaches as much value to the word of a politician as it would to the head of an overripe pear with a brown skin. . . . The only necessary comment on that statement is that, if the right honourable gentleman has not yet made up his mind whether Women's Suffrage is one of those interests, then he had better return to school.—G.R.S.T. in the "Daily Herald."

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Deputation to Mr. Borden (Miss Wylie, Miss Winifred Mayo, Miss Rachel Barrett, B.Sc., and Miss Evelyn Sharp)

W.S.P.U. ANSWER TO MRS. FAWCETT

Further correspondence has taken place in the Manchester Guardian since our issue of last week between Mrs. Fawcett and Miss Annie Kenney. On August 27 Mrs. Fawcett wrote that her opinion with regard to the defeat of the Conciliation Bill in March, 1912, was that "six years of militancy, culminating in the window smashing raids on March 1 and 4, had their share in bringing about this defeat," and that the intense resentment caused by the window smashing produced a frame of mind which made it easy for any member who wished to back out of his promise to support the Bill to do so. She further drew attention to Miss Martineau's "Thirty Years' Peace" on the question of whether violence and crime promotes or retards political reform. She concluded:—"I do not for a moment allow . . . that the cause of women's freedom can be killed by a few wrong-headed enthusiasts; but I do say that our chance of winning a great advance in it this session will almost certainly be destroyed if militancy is persisted in."

Miss Kenney's Reply To this Miss Kenney replied as follows:— "Mrs. Fawcett explains that in her opinion the rejection of the Conciliation Bill was not wholly, but was largely due, to militancy. In our opinion, militancy is the very last thing in the world to which that defeat can be attributed. Mrs. Fawcett's friends the Labour members were responsible for the hostile majority of fourteen votes, because seventeen of them were absent from the division, and fifteen of these were not even paired in favour of the Bill. As I stated in my reply to Mrs. Fawcett's first letter on militancy, the fact that the Conciliation Bill was not to be immediately shelved, but was destined after passing its second reading to get into Committee, was the cause of much pledge-breaking by false friends, and Government intrigue against the Bill was yet another cause of its defeat."

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OUR HOLIDAY CAMPAIGN

The Holiday Campaign goes on apace, and meets with continued success and interest; impression is being made even on those who have hitherto held up their hands in horror at the "awful militant methods." The reports sent in from several of the places where the campaign is being carried on speak for themselves.

In far Dumfriesshire one of our members has been selling VOTES at Maniaue with great success, and has indeed the newsagent there to keep it for sale; she has also succeeded in obtaining two regular subscribers. We hope that this plan of inducing newsagents to show our posters and keep the paper in stock will be adopted by everyone on the Campaign, and also by those members who are nervous of trying other methods of propaganda or of carrying on any other work. To get our paper widely read is the most necessary work of the moment, and casual readers nearly always become permanent subscribers.

Another Glasgow member, who is spending her holidays on the shores of Loch Lomond, is doing a brisk trade with VOTES at Portnacole and Gareloch. This country is decidedly new, and we thank Miss Florence Robertson for her help in making our paper known.

Over a dozen papers per day are being sold by Miss Craig (Glasgow member) at theatre queues in Glasgow. At Palling, Norfolk, a member has been selling pamphlets and papers in dozens and distributing leaflets. This last is another good way of advertising our paper and work.

In Wales From Miss Valerie Yeoman comes a most interesting account of her campaign at Llandridwell Wells. She writes:—

"Armed with my bag of papers and a supply of handbills, I took up my position just outside the gates of the Pump Hotel, so that all those going to drink at the springs were bound to pass me. This proved to be an excellent ploy. I came with a great deal of sympathy and interest, and disposed of a dozen copies in a little more than an hour, two-thirds of my customers being men. I had not been standing more than three minutes when a man and his wife stopped. I gave him a handbill, which he crushed in his hand with a snort of disgust. 'Come on,' he said angrily to his wife, 'I don't believe in that rot,' but she was evidently one of our 'Rebel Women,' for before he stalked away she announced her intention not only of stopping, but of buying a paper for him, which she did. Next came two men. One said he thought the paper was very dangerous, and he was afraid to buy it. 'You're afraid of being converted,' I retorted, which had the effect of making him and his friend take a copy each. Two ladies expressed gratitude to me for doing such work, but I told them it was very interesting and quite enjoyable when one was accustomed to it. They had evidently never done any themselves, or they would have known that the compensations far outweigh the few drawbacks. One lady asked pitiously if we were going to do any more damage. I answered that depended upon the Government, at which her husband chuckled, and she went on, sadly shaking her head."

From Torquay we hear that in spite of rain eighteen meetings have been held in nineteen days, and the paper has been selling very well. Thanks to Mrs. Collyer for her successful drawing-room meeting and "At Home," also to the Babbanabe ladies who got up a popular entertainment and procession from St. Mary's Church Town Hall to Babbanabe Downs, where a well-attended open-air meeting

was held. On this occasion Dr. Ethel Smyth's "March of the Women" was played for the first time in Torquay by the brass band escorting the procession, and was greeted with great approval by the audience. Miss Randall and Miss Ward have just finished their very successful campaign at Newquay. The Newquay Express reports:—"The Votes for Women holiday campaign continues to go on bravely in Newquay, and the sale of VOTES for WOMEN is going up very considerably. Meetings have been held every evening at Cheltenham Place, and have for the most part been attentively listened to, though there have been occasional interruptions which have only increased the interest."

This from a local paper, independent of any promptings from our members, is quite promising. Miss Randall reports that last week 93 out of 100 papers were 40 papers ordered in the one day. They had ten short meetings in Cheltenham Place, and each night had a larger and more sympathetic crowd. They have sold numerous copies of the "Dock," and other literature has been in great demand. Lastly five members have just joined the Newquay W.S.P.U.

We have had a great many talks with passers-by, and the usual remarks, but one rather amused us. While I was standing at the exit from the beach with the poster, an earnest little girl about seven years old said softly and seriously to her younger brother, 'Shouldn't he to tell her how ashamed she ought to be,' but 'she' was only much amused." Miss Randall tells us this amusing episode. As this terminates the campaign at Newquay, we thank both Miss Randall and Miss Ward for their splendid work during the campaign, especially Miss Randall for her speeches at the street meetings, and Miss Ward for her successful address given at the drawing-room meeting so kindly got up by Mrs. Bryan-Daunt.

At Aldeburgh, Miss Jacob writes to tell of the regatta that is being got up there, in which she hopes to take an active part, advertising Votes for Women. She writes: "People express great surprise when they hear what I have to sell. 'Oh! I thought I had left you behind in London.'" This is just the good about VOTES FOR WOMEN—it never is left behind anywhere.

An Opening At Herne Bay one member has been able to persuade Smith's bookstall to display our poster. She has also been doing good work advertising our paper, and explaining our work and methods; she tells us that Herne Bay is very backward as to their knowledge of the movement, and that as their only chance of hearing about us is from the daily papers, it is not likely that they could get even a glimpse of the truth. Here is an opening for any members in Herne Bay to do what they can to get Votes for Women widely known and generally read.

Miss Goodman writes a good account of the Blackpool campaign, which was organised by Miss Markwick, and which terminated last week. In spite of the rain they had good meetings every day, and even the meetings during the dinner-hour were well attended.

"One gentleman refused to believe that there were any other Unions besides the W.S.P.U., and he'd 'look us all up for our behaviour.' He shouted, 'I don't believe it' when I gave him a list of the other Unions working for the same end. The crowds have been most kind, and the men take an intelligent view of things, and argue well."

Will any members wishing to do work for the campaign write to Mrs. Ayrton, Gould, Clement's Inn? All workers are welcome, and suggestions will be given to everyone needing them.

Advertisement for WOLSEY UNDERWEAR, featuring a portrait of a man in a cap and the text "Wear WOLSEY" and "PURE WOOL UNDERWEAR". It includes a testimonial about the quality and fit of the garments.

OPINIONS OF LABOUR MEN

In a letter to the Labour Leader, Mr. T. E. Phillips, Tunbridge Wells, writes:—"I wish to add emphasis to the views that have recently found expression in the columns of the Leader over the signatures of George Lansbury, J. Beanland, and Tom Norris touching the present and future action of the I.L.P. with regard to woman's franchise. It seems to me that we are at the parting of the ways."

"It is only a few months ago that these same columns were replete with articles and information in which the duties of the party were set forth with energy and precision. Many of us—and I believe the party as a whole—rejoiced in the prospect of a revision of a combination of forces that would prove irresistible in the battle of right against wrong. There was some talk of the woman movement being the rightful wife of the Labour movement, but, if so, our step has not been in front, nor abreast, but behind, and a hesitating one at that. If we have failed to a relative silence and inaction in the matter it is not that the women have failed in one jot or tittle of their purpose or programme. They stand to-day in the very forefront for social righteousness. They beat against and break through a ring of legal inequities by striking right home at the face of the offence. Like Arnold Winkelried, they made way for liberty by gathering the spears of the enemy into their own bosoms. We may lack such wit or courage, but let us at least follow the assault, provide the rear guards, and prevent betrayals."

"The action of the Irish Party was a base betrayal, and should be met by counteractive forces by the Labour Party to reverse the issues. The sectional liberties of Irish Home Rule are not worth the price—no sectional advantage is worth the betrayal of principle. We need a clear note. I trust that the eyes and feet of the party will not veer in the direction of compromise. Should it do so— from any consideration of sectional advantage to itself or the Liberal Party— I shall consider that supremely vital interests will be best secured by an undivided service to 'Votes for Women!'"

"There is a dare, a final dare, Sleeps in the soul of Time's despair; 'Tis might for womanhood's redress, The doom of man's ungodliness."

Mr. J. Beanland, Urmoston, writes to the Clarion a letter, in the course of which he says:—

"There is one live question which, from every point of view, deserves to be made our next step, and that is the enfranchisement of women, not in any holo-and-corner fashion, but on equal terms with men."

"In a fight for the equality of the sexes, for the recognition of women as equal human beings, with equal human rights, the Socialist movement ought not to lag behind the Salvation Army, which has taught it practically, for thirty years. If we fail them now, just when there is some little hope of their success; if we accept the one-sided 'Reform' Bill, and leave them to be under the intolerable insult which that Bill offers to all women, then Russell Lovell's words will apply to us: 'They are slaves most base, whose love of right is for themselves, and not for all the race.'"

"Sooner or later, with our help or without it, the women will win their cause, because they are willing to pay any price for it. But are we going to make them pay it? If there be still any vision amongst us, any chivalry, any hatred of oppression and wrong, let us tell Mr. Asquith and his medieval crew of woman-torturers that we will not have men's rights at the cost of women's wrongs; and let us show the women of England, now that at least a section of their countrymen put justice and honour and freedom before place and power and personal ends; and that because they also fight for these things which we hold dear, henceforth they will march with them, and fight with them, and 'dam the consequences.'"



Selling "Votes for Women" in Mrs. Humphry Ward's Village

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS.

Single insertion, 24 words or less, 2s. 1d. per word for every additional word

Four insertions for the price of three.
All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than *Tuesday afternoon.*
Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

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

Table listing items for sale such as 'GIVEN TO BE SOLD FOR THE FUNDS' with prices in £ s. d.

BOARD RESIDENCE, ETC.

ABSOLUTE Privacy, Quietude, and Refinement. At the Strand Imperial Hotel...

A BEAUTIFUL HOLIDAY HOME (altitude 600ft) - Dean Forest, Severn and Wye Valleys...

A MEMBER has Two Rooms, furnished, to let to Gentlewoman...

BOARD RESIDENCE, superior, from 30s. Close Baker Street Underground and Tube...

BRIGHTON - TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade...

BROADSTAIRS - Dickens' Old House. Visitors for change, rest, or nursing welcomed...

BROADSTAIRS - Nicely furnished House to let in sheltered position...

FOLKESTONE - Trevanna, Bouverie Road West. Board residence. Excellent position...

FOLKESTONE - Board Residence. "Rocwood," Castle Hill Avenue...

HOSTEL FOR LADIES - 10min. from University and British Museum...

LONDON, W.C. (113, Gower Street) - Refined HOME (ladies). Bed, breakfast, dinner...

ON Heights of Udimore (300ft) near Winchelsea. Restful holidays amidst beautiful country...

RESIDENTIAL Club for Ladies - Cabioles from 18s. 6d. per week with board...

SANDGATE - 1 1/2 miles Folkestone; constant motor service; airy, comfortable house...

SKEGNESS - Vegetarian. Board Residence; situated amidst hills, 25 minutes from sea...

SUFFRAGETTES, spend your Holidays at BRIGHTON. Revolving Shelter in garden sleeping home-made bread...

TO LET AND SOLD.

CHARMING detached Cottages and joining magnificent golf course; 25 minutes from City...

FLAT, FURNISHED, in Private House; large sitting-room, two bedrooms, kitchen, bathroom...

KENSINGTON - To Let, at once, comfortable, furnished, four-room flat...

LARGE BED-SITTING-ROOM to Let, furnished, to business lady or friends...

LARGE ROOM to Let, suitable for Meetings, At Homes, Parties, Lectures...

SOUTH KENSINGTON - To Let, October 1, in lady's house (three minutes to Gloucester Road Station)...

SYDENHAM HILL (London) - Only Freehold Mansion purchasable. Fine views, 3 1/2 acres...

TO LET - Compact, pretty London House; paneled square hall, dining-room...

TO LET - Flats, Rooms, and Houses, The Minerva Publishing Co., Ltd., 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

UNFURNISHED CHAMBERS for Gentlewomen; two now vacant; from 7s. 6d. each weekly...

WELL-FURNISHED FLAT to Let in Notting Hill, 4 bedrooms, bath, piano, electric light...

WEST HAMPTSTEAD - Two Rooms and a Bath, in a very quiet house...

WANTED.

LADY possessing Furniture, Plate, Linen, Connection. Business experience, skilled in catering...

MEMBER will exchange for six months pretty furnished house in Cornwall...

WANTED - Boy or Girl to Educate with Toys of 10 and 12. Healthy country home...

PROFESSIONAL & EDUCATIONAL LADIES suffering from Neglected Education specially benefit...

LONDON - High-Class, Comfortable Nursing Home for Accommodation Cases. Terms moderate and incidental...

LOVEGROVE'S DAIRY AND POULTRY FARMS - Chiltern Hills; 100 acres; pupils received for dairy, poultry...

MRS. MARY LAYTON, F.R.C.O. (Hon. Organist to the W.S.P.U.). Voice Culture for Singers and Speakers...

MRS. MARY OATES'S Dental Surgery, 10, Sydney Place, South Kensington, S.W. Telephone: R. 1289...

POULTRY FARM - Vacancy for Students; variety of breeds stocked; utility and exhibition - M. and F. Spong...

SPLENDID OPPORTUNITY for Girl wishing to learn gardening, thorough practical training...

THE LITTLE SALON SOCIAL LITERARY MEETINGS - reasonable shortly. For Membership, write L. Salon, 29, Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C.

THE HEALTH CENTRE, 122, Victoria Street, S.W. - Perfect health by natural means through vital electricity...

TO SUFFRAGIST SPEAKERS - Miss ROSA LEO, Honorary Instructor in Voice Production and Public Speaking...

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BUSINESS, ETC.

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HAND-LAUNDRY for Sale, in lovely village, near growing Midland town...

SITUATIONS WANTED.

A MEMBER wants Domestic Work in a Flat or Club in London, aged 23 years...

LADY, qualified, wants engagements; good plain cook; would train maid or would take orders...

SITUATIONS VACANT.

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