

# VOTES FOR WOMEN

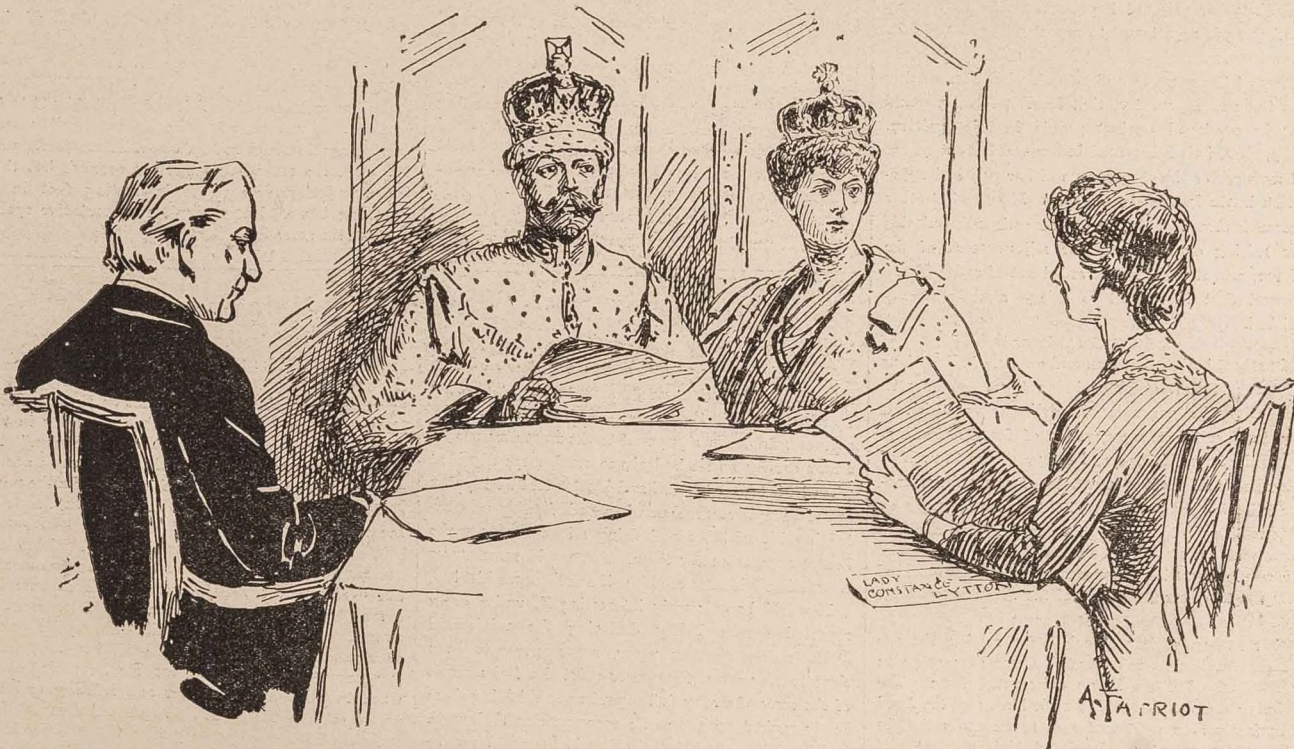
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## THE KING'S CONFERENCE



### If a Conference on Home Rule, why not one on Votes for Women?

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#### DEDICATION

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

#### THE OUTLOOK

The King is taking an active and open part in the Irish controversy. By summoning to Buckingham Palace a conference of leaders of various shades of opinion he has demonstrated his refusal to acknowledge the theory of the "puppet" king.

#### A Revival of the Royal Prerogative

There seems no reason to doubt that this step is a revival of part of the Royal prerogative. If it is

to be justified it can only be on the ground that the politicians have got the Irish problem into such a hopeless tangle between them that some vigorous and unusual action on the part of the Sovereign is the only way of straightening it out. And there is reason to think that public opinion on the whole accepts and endorses this view.

#### Application to Woman Suffrage

A similar justification is identically applicable to the interference of the King in the problem of woman suffrage. There has been for a long time past an overwhelming majority both in the country and in the House of Commons in favour of the enfranchisement of women. But this wish of the majority has been thwarted for party reasons by a minority of political leaders, and in consequence grave disorders have arisen throughout the land. We claim that if the King is prepared to interfere in the Irish situation with the sanction of public opinion, it is equally incumbent upon him to interfere in the women's question to bring about a satisfactory settlement.

#### The Doctors and Forcible Feeding

We announced last week that the deputation of doctors who were to wait on Mr. McKenna on Wednesday had refused to be content with a private interview with him, and had accordingly withdrawn. We are able to publish this week a *procès* of the

speeches they had intended to deliver, from which the strength of their position will be appreciated. We hope that the doctors will not be content with this statement of their case, but will continue to insist upon being received in public deputation, not merely by Mr. McKenna, but also by the Prime Minister himself.

#### The Case of Miss Gordon

The abominable story of the treatment in prison of Miss Frances Gordon was raised in the House of Commons on Thursday last by Lord Hugh Cecil, Mr. Pratt, and Mr. T. M. Healy in the form of questions. Mr. McKinnon Wood, in his reply, did not attempt to deny the main fact that injections were made into the bowel three times a day by the prison doctor. He contented himself with explaining that these operations were performed for medical reasons, and that the grave condition of the prisoner on leaving the prison had been exaggerated. He further alleged that Miss Gordon had been indulging in a course of systematic drugging before entering the prison. For this entirely unfounded allegation, which is emphatically denied by the prisoner and her medical attendant, he did not offer the slightest evidence. We deal further with this case in our leading article, and hope that all decent men and women will unite in insisting upon further investigation, and in bringing upon Mr. McKinnon Wood the expulsion from public

life, which is the only fitting punishment for this dastardly crime.

#### Mr. McKenna's Lunatic

Another serious outrage has been brought to light by the doctors who have been investigating the case of a Mr. Humphries, a man not in any way connected with the suffrage agitation, who has been consigned to Bucks County Lunatic Asylum, and is being detained there by Mr. McKenna, without appeal to the Lunacy Commissioners, in consequence of his refusal to take food in prison. The doctors report that he shows no sign whatever of insanity. We hope that a searchlight will be cast upon this case, and that the true facts will be made public all over the country.

#### Miss Arabella Scott

Another case that demands especial attention is that of Miss Arabella Scott, on whom forcible feeding is being adopted in Perth Prison, in spite of the fact that while released under the Cat and Mouse Act since her original imprisonment in May, 1913, she has made no attempt to repeat militant methods. It will be remembered that Mr. McKenna gave the House of Commons to understand, when introducing the Cat and Mouse Act, that forcible feeding would not be employed against people in this position. Why, then, is it being used in her case? Is it an act of revenge for the effectiveness of her political opposition in the Ipswich-by-election? If not, what other reason is there? This is a matter eminently suitable for raising on a motion for adjournment of the House, and it could not be ruled out of order on the ground that it related to things already accomplished.

#### A Great Moral Issue

Surely it is time that men and women of all sections of thought took steps to bring home to those in authority the grave moral delinquency which is involved in the whole practice of forcible feeding. Several of the Bishops and clergy of the Church of England and leading members of other denominations have already expressed themselves strongly on this matter, and we hope that they will find effective means of giving a lead to the thinking public by pronouncing with no uncertain voice in the name of religion their condemnation of the whole proceeding.

#### The Age of Consent

The Bishop of London's Bill for raising the age of consent has passed through Committee stage in the House of Lords in an evanescent form. The debate showed a thoroughly male bias, and the Lord Chancellor even went so far as to maintain that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred it was the girl who was the temptress. The principal amendments adopted were those retaining the age of sixteen as the age of consent for the girl where the man is under twenty-one, and retaining in the case of indecent assault the defence that the defendant had reasonable grounds for supposing the girl to be over sixteen, provided she be over fourteen. Even in this reduced form the Bill has still to face the Report stage in the House of Lords, to say nothing of its prospects in the House of Commons. And then we are told that women are amply protected by the legislature at the present day, in spite of the fact that they are voteless!

#### A Dangerous Bill

Mr. McKenna's Bill dealing with summary jurisdiction has passed through the House of Commons with nothing but slight modifications of its most objectionable features. In spite of some opposition the clause (aimed specially at suffragettes and other political offenders) empowering magistrates to impose fines without the option of imprisonment was carried with only a slight amendment which will be of no value. Police cells are to become available instead of prison for short sentences, and though nominally they have to be certified as suitable, in practice they will be left just as they are at present. The Bill also extends the powers of police magistrates to deal with cases of damage to property of over £5 up to £20, and gives them power to impose upon the prisoner and to collect from him or her the amount of the damage.

#### Two Good Provisions

We are glad, however, to see that the House insisted upon an amendment empowering magistrates to collect from men against whom maintenance or bastardy orders have been made money found on them to pay

for arrears on these orders, instead of merely sending them to prison. This provision, coupled with the section of another clause, by which such money can be ordered to be paid to an officer of the court, to be handed over to the woman, may perhaps provide some measure of relief to a very hardly pressed section of the community.

#### The Tax on Marriage

Mr. Lloyd George carried through the House of Commons last week his unjust provisions with regard to the income tax of married couples. In spite of all appeals he refused to alleviate in any particular the marriage tax claiming that the present method of taxation was quite just, and that the money could not be spared from the revenue. It will be remembered that Mr. Lloyd George's proposals specifically include the aggregation of the incomes of husband and wife, and that only a single abatement is given to the couple. Moreover, both husband and wife become liable for the first time for the failure of either to pay income tax.

#### A French Parallel

Mr. Lloyd George held out a vague promise of additional abatements in future years in the case of married people with children, but apart from this refused to promise either to separate the incomes of husband and wife or to give them an increased abatement on account of the aggregation. It is interesting to note that the French Income Tax Law just passed allows a man to deduct from his income a sum of £80 a year if he has a wife, as well as other sums if he has children or other persons dependent on him.

#### Items of Interest

The failure of the Government to amend the Truck

Act to protect women workers was the theme of a vigorous speech by Miss Mary Macarthur at a demonstration of the South London Workers. The Amending Bill was promised last February, but promises by politicians to voteless women are made to be broken.

The *Daily Graphic* is carrying on an interesting correspondence on the question of the enfranchisement of women.

Up to the time of our going to press Mr. Asquith had not condescended to reply to the request from the women of the Overseas Union for an interview to discuss the Nationality Bill and other kindred questions.

Mr. McKenna stated in the House on Thursday last week that he was advising the Public Prosecutor and other prosecutors on behalf of the police not to resist bail in the case of suffragist prisoners who were willing to give an undertaking as to their conduct pending trial. The appalling scenes connected with the trial of Miss Grace Roe and Miss Hall have been necessary to bring about this modicum of reform. And in Belfast we learn, as we go to press, that bail is still being refused.

According to the *Times* the question of the admission of women for ordination to the priesthood is likely to be discussed at a special conference to be held in the autumn.

The Lower House of Louisiana has voted by 61 to 40 in favour of an amendment to the constitution conferring equal suffrage. As a two-thirds majority was required, the amendment was not carried, but this large majority vote is an interesting fact in a Southern State. Not a single representative spoke against the amendment.

## WHAT IS INTIMIDATION?

The plain answer to this question (judging by current political speeches) would seem to be: "Owning up when you're in the wrong." But this is, of course, a process naturally repugnant to the masculine mind; a man considers that he looks so much more dignified when he is trying to bluff and bluster and lie his way out of a stupid error, than when he is frankly acknowledging his mistakes and doing all he can to make honest reparation for them. Ah, would some power the gift give him, to see himself as others see him!

It would be extremely interesting if, under every reported speech boldly declaring the ministerial Briton's determination never, never, never to be a slave to his nerves, there were printed a full account of the sums of money daily spent upon shielding those hardy souls from the perils encompassing their path in life. They are not intimidated! they will not be intimidated; that stalwart bodyguard of plain clothes policemen is there for ornament—what else do you suppose? But, if ever they had the courage to dispense with the bodyguard, and stand up and claim ordinary public respect and consideration as decent citizens and statesmen who had done the right thing at last—why, then they would be intimidated—don't you understand? Dear me, how very stupid you are!

Somehow, one is reminded of the delightful dustman in Pygmalion, shamefacedly confessing, after his sudden accession to wealth, that he had been intimidated by sheer force of social opinion into washing himself for the first time in his life. For, when you come to think of it, it would be perfectly easy to prove that every action of our daily life was the direct result of intimidation in one form or another. We eat because we fear hunger; we dress because we fear cold winds and public ridicule; we earn our living because we fear destitution; and we manage to behave ourselves pretty well upon the whole because we fear our conscience. And if ever there was a body of men deliberately set up to be controlled by pure intimidation, it is our Members of Parliament assembled. When they stand for election they are intimidated by fear of coming out at the bottom of the poll into making certain promises and professions to their constituents; and their subsequent conduct in the House is determined by the rival forces of this form of intimidation, and the intimidation of the Party Whips. Our whole electoral system, in short, is nothing but a rather imperfect piece of machinery for securing the greatest power of intimidation to the greatest number of people.

Few electors realise, I am sure, just what this latest Ministerial dictum means. Put into simple language, it is this: "If any group of disfranchised or enfranchised persons wants anything badly enough to make a fuss about it, they must on no account be allowed to have it; for fear that some day in the distant future they should want something else." As if the whole purpose of the British constitution was to preserve the mind of the British nation (like the mind of Stevenson's Cautious Man) for ever "in a state of accurate balance and blank!"

We shall soon be forgetting that our Ministers are not our rulers in any sense of the word; but merely our paid servants, kept at considerable expense because the actual technical work of government is as much outside the scope of the ordinary busy man or woman as fetching up the coals is. And when our servants begin to get "too big for their boots," when they begin cheeking us and refusing to bring up the coals on the ground that when that scuttle-full is finished we may possibly ring the bell for some more, and they ain't a-going to be so put upon, not if it was ever so—why, then, there is only one thing to be done, and that is to intimidate them further by a month's notice on the spot. The next lot may be no better; in which case there will have to be another month's notice; but during those first weeks (when they are always on their best behaviour) we may at least get those coals upstairs.

T. O'Meara.

## LEST HE FORGET

When I come to the Feast of Jesus Christ, and in spite of your words I love it,  
You class me with donkeys and chattels and tell the neighbours not to covet.  
When I come to be wed to a son of God, you just hand me over like butter  
Across God's Table with careless words and a priestly salesman's mutter.  
When this son of God forgets his vows and of marriage love would cheat me,  
You let him off, saying nothing at all, so long as he doesn't beat me.  
You make me a slave on half the pay because you think it's cheaper,  
You take me away from the home though you say that I'm its proper keeper.  
You tell me to give you children strong for the house, the shop, and the navy,  
But you maim the babes unborn and curse the hooligan and the slaver.  
And when I ask for my voice to be heard in the councils of the Nation,  
You stamp and swear and bluster and shout in your righteous indignation.

James Adderley.

# THE MEN'S PARLIAMENT

## In the Commons Mr. Lloyd George insists on the Retention of the Tax on Marriage—The Lords and the Age of Consent

In the House of Commons on Wednesday last week Mr. Lloyd George moved the new clause relating to the payment of income tax by married persons. This clause was given in full in our issue of July 10, page 628. Briefly, its effect is to enable husband and wife to be assessed separately, but the principal of aggregation is to apply in all cases. It was debated that afternoon in a rather thin House, and the debate was postponed on the following afternoon, when the amendments were discussed.

Mr. P. Cassel covered familiar ground when he said that the anomalous position of the law arose from the fact that the Income Tax Act, 1842, was passed before the Married Woman's Property Act, and when women were still incapable of owning property, and the property of a wife was in fact and in law considered the property of the husband.

It is reasonable to treat the joint incomes as the incomes of two persons. Married women carried on businesses from which they received considerable incomes, and they were now recognised by the law as having independent control of their property. The income tax had not been brought into conformity with these changes in the law. A wife was treated as a mere appendage as far as the income tax was concerned. The return was made through her husband, and she could not make any claim for abatement. The new clause did something to meet this injustice, but nothing at all to meet a special penalty on marriage.

#### Penal Taxation of Marriage

We still treated the income of husband and wife added together as if they were the income of one person, although it was the income of two persons with the requirements of two persons. The result was that husband and wife were called upon to pay more income tax in proportion to their ability to bear taxation than a bachelor or spinster, or any two persons living together whose relationship was other than that of man and wife. He submitted that the law was grossly unjust to married persons, and that it was impolitic and unjust for the State to select marriage as the one relation for special and penal taxation when it was to marriage the State looked for the bringing up of the citizens of the future. The only grievance that the clause met was in connection with the collection and recovery of income tax. Not a single married couple would be relieved of a single farthing of the Marriage Tax. Every obstacle had been placed in the way of married persons getting such benefits as were provided. Why was six months' notice necessary? The principle embodied in the clause should be carried to its logical conclusion by giving the abatements and exemptions on the basis of the Married Woman's Property Acts, for unless that were done the administration would be driven into many difficulties. Under the Act of 1907, where the joint income was under £500, and on both sides was earned in separate businesses, there was power to claim exemption and abatement as if there were two incomes. The new Clause took away that right. For the first time also it gave the right to distraint on the wife's goods for the tax for which the husband was liable, and to distraint on the husband's goods when the wife was liable. If that were carried out, it would be a great hardship. It also made it compulsory for the husband and wife to make known the exact amount of his and her income.

#### The Tax brings in £2,000,000

In reply Mr. Lloyd George said that in regard to three of the main issues the separate assessment of married persons, the question of rebates and of recovery, Mr. Cassel's position was unassailable, and the Government intended to consider favourably any amendments that might be necessary, but he was altogether opposed to the suggestion that the incomes ought to be treated as if they were separate. He cheerfully pointed out that death came in to redress the balance of the income tax injustice, and money left to the other by husband or wife was not subject to the deductions which would be made if they had not been married. Who would make up the deficiency—£2,000,000 he reckoned—if Mr. Cassel's amendment were carried and the incomes considered separately? It

would be possible for married persons to make arrangements between themselves for evading the tax, and then the deficiency would be much greater. The relief asked for could only be met by imposing additional burdens on other classes in order to make up the deficit. But he did agree with Mr. Cassel that there should be special exemptions for married people, and in some small adjustments which he had introduced into the income tax he had drawn a distinction between married people with children and bachelors. To treat husband and wife as separate persons would be to cut at the root of the principle of married life, which was that of identity of interest.

Mr. Rawlinson said the concession the Chancellor had made was hardly worth talking about. The new clause would not reduce by one penny the amount people had to pay, and while possibly avoiding anomaly in the recovering of taxes, it was likely to raise more, especially in the provision for making distraint upon the husband's property for the income tax of the wife, and on the wife's property for the husband's tax. There was only one way of dealing with this question of elementary justice, and that was not the way put forward by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

#### While Women are Voteless

The tax on joint incomes, said Lord Robert Cecil, was really a tax of £2,000,000 upon marriage. He felt that as long as women were not enfranchised, an injustice complained of by them ought to be dealt with by the House with the utmost generosity. He thought the Government would behave very wrongly if they did not make a serious effort either to remove or to mitigate an injustice which had been so fully established.

The Attorney-General made much of the fact that the clause entitled a married woman to make a return of her own income in her own name, and that every abatement or exemption due to her income was to be paid to her.

Speaking the following day on his amendment that where the total joint income did not exceed £500, the income of husband and wife should be treated separately, Mr. Cassel said that this concession would be a great benefit to many middle-class people. Unless the amendment were accepted, the position of married persons with joint incomes under £500 would be made worse.

The argument about separate interests and separate establishments had been carried too far, said Mr. Lloyd George. This was not a trivial matter. There would probably be collusion between husband and wife to evade the tax, and the deficiency loss to the revenues might easily amount to three-quarters of a million.

Mr. Leif Jones thought the Chancellor should make some concession to the justice of the case.

The Amendment was lost by a majority of 128.

**Liability for Spouse's Refusal to Pay**  
Mr. Cassel's amendment to provide that only the wife's goods should be liable for distraint for her tax and the husband's for his was again opposed by Mr. Lloyd George, with talk of the collusive arrangements that might be made by husband and wife.

Mr. Rawlinson thought the Chancellor's proposal indefensible. He cited the case of husband and wife living permanently apart, and each with separate incomes. It was unfair to make the husband liable to distraint in the event of the wife's failure to pay. Mr. Montagu said that the Government were advised that the clause as drawn did not apply to married persons living separately. The matter should be dealt with on the report stage.

The amendment was lost by 166 votes to 271, and the new clause as amended was added to the Bill.

#### THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" ON THE FUTILITY OF THE AMENDMENT

In a leading article criticising Mr. Lloyd George's amendment to the Finance Bill as affects the married woman's income-tax, the *Manchester Guardian* of July 17 says:—

In effect, all that the amendments of this year do is to say to the married pair: "Make whatever arrangements you like between yourselves; if you like we will

assess you separately; but either of you is to be liable for the tax of the other, and in no case are we to receive a farthing less from the two of you than we should have done before."

As a concession this is quite worthless. And Mr. Lloyd George's speeches have shown that he never intended to make a real concession. He has never touched the equity of the question as between husband and wife; all that he is concerned with is the incidence of the tax as between earned and unearned incomes.

We do not see how one can legitimately, in assessing the tax, go behind the legal ownership and the legal responsibilities without taking into account all sorts of

other details which at present are disregarded. If you add the wife's income to that of her husband, why not subtract allowances made to parents or other dependants, which may quite as fairly be regarded as deductions from income as the income of the wife as an addition? Since the Married Women's Property Act the logical, and also, we think, the right plan is to assess the tax on the income of each person separately. If there is a resultant loss to the Treasury, then the difference should be made up by a still higher tax on unearned income or by an extra tax on incomes which is genuinely unearned as being derived from the exertions of another.

## THE AGE OF CONSENT

### Government's Weakening Amendments to the Bishop of London's Bill

The Criminal Law Amendment Bill, introduced by the Bishop of London, passed through Committee in the House of Lords on Monday last. A number of amendments were carried weakening, in many respects, the fundamental provisions of the Bill. The principal of these were introduced on behalf of the Government.

The Lord Chancellor moved to leave out Clause 1 (the object of which was to raise from thirteen to sixteen the age at which the consent of a young person of either age is a defence to a charge of indecent assault), and to insert a clause providing that:—

(1) Any person over the age of sixteen who commits any act of gross indecency with a girl of thirteen, or over and under sixteen, shall be guilty of misdemeanor, and liable to imprisonment unless he proves he had reasonable cause to believe that the girl was of or above the age of sixteen years, and that she was, in fact, of the age of fourteen or upwards.

No person is to be found guilty under this section on the evidence of one person only unless there is material corroborative evidence.

Lord Haldane said that if they were going to make it an offence to commit an act of indecency with a girl who was under sixteen, the offence was one which ought not to apply to a boy under sixteen. He also pointed out the importance of the proviso requiring corroborative evidence, and expressed the view that the proposed clause would be much more effective than the clause of the Bill as it stood. He had been in communication with some of the most experienced authorities on the matter.

The Bishop of London said there was a very strong consensus of opinion in support of the Bill as it stood, and the great number of cases of criminal assault against children made a more stringent clause than that of the Lord Chancellor essential. The excuse which the proposed clause permitted to an accused person as to the girl's apparent age was not allowed in other countries, and he felt bound on the grounds that he had mentioned to resist the clause. He characterised the term "gross indecency" as rather vague.

Lord Parmoor, who supported Lord Haldane's clause, urged the dangers of blackmail which might be levied on young people under conditions making their lives a torture, and possibly wrecking their whole future. He welcomed the safeguards suggested, but with regard to the term "gross indecency," which was a new term in criminal law, he hoped the Lord Chancellor, before a later stage of the Bill was reached, would consider whether it was a term properly appropriate, having regard to the existing conditions of the criminal law.

It seemed to him that indecent assault, necessarily implied gross indecency. The Archbishop of Canterbury said that nobody was advocating the raising of the age had the slightest objection to the judges insisting on whatever they thought right in regard to corroboration. The Lord Chancellor spoke of the doubt which existed in cases where the age was nearly sixteen, and said that he had consulted the best authorities on the subject, and was informed that there were many prostitutes under that age on the streets of London. In such cases he believed juries would not convict. He admitted

there was some ambiguity in the clause, but he proposed to amend that at a later stage. They were dealing with a very great evil, and the Government desired to give such assistance as they could with prudence to the right reverend prelate. He did not think his proposal would cut down the beneficial operation of the Bill.

On a division the Lord Chancellor's clause was carried by 52 votes to 12.

#### The Age of Consent

Clause 2 raises from 16 to 18 the age at which a girl may consent to unlawful carnal intercourse.

The Marquis of Salisbury (U) considered that a young man of 21 or under should not be liable under the section, as there were many cases in which a girl of 18 might lead astray a boy of her own age or even a year or two older. He therefore moved to raise the age of a male offender to 21. In the case of a young prostitute persuading a boy to commit an offence, was the boy to be made criminally responsible for that?

The Bishop of London undertook at some stage of the proceedings to move an amendment to safeguard the blackmailing of young men, but in his opinion the noble marquis's proposal went too far. It meant practically that anyone under 21 was free to do as he liked. He preferred to meet the difficulty by some such clause as that when both were under the age of 18 the case might be dealt with under the Children's Act. He asked the noble marquis not to be frightened too much by the bogey of blackmail.

Lord Barnard said that social reformers failed to note the fact that very often the girl was perhaps the greater offender. He asked the House to pause before they made a criminal of a boy for an offence into which he might be led by the wiles of a girl, and he said that before making such enormous changes in the law as the Bill proposed it would have been a better plan to appoint a Select Committee or Royal Commission on the subject and ask them to make recommendations for legislation.

#### Boat Race Night

The Lord Chancellor doubted whether the amendment went far enough. In 90 cases out of 100 the crime that would be dealt with was that of a precocious prostitute in Piccadilly, very likely looking above 18, who met a young fellow up from Oxford for the Boat Race and led him into mischief. The young man was liable to be charged with a crime which carried with it two years' imprisonment with hard labour. Therefore, when they talked of ruin, it was the young man that was ruined in 99 cases, to the one case in which the girl was ruined. It was an extraordinarily difficult matter to deal with, and he thought that if the clause were passed they would not only give a wholly new field for the scientific practice of blackmail, but they would give rise to a class of offence which really was an offence on the part of the woman and not an offence on the part of the man. It was so easy for people who had real moral force but who were ignorant of the difficulties of the question to propose amendments, but it was so hard to get the right amendments.

The amendment was carried without a division after the Bishop of London had intimated his intention not to divide the House but to bring forward another proposal later on.

The clause as amended was carried. The Bishop of London held over a new clause down in his name, dealing with power to send young prostitutes to rescue homes until he saw what the House decided with regard to the man.

The rest of the Bill was agreed to, and the Bill reported to the House.

# PRISON OUTRAGES

### Mr. McKinnon Wood Does Not Deny Principal Facts About Miss Gordon, but Makes Unfounded Allegations Against Her. New Statement by Dr. Jones—Male Hunger-striker Sent to a Lunatic Asylum—Prime Minister Denies that Forcible Feeding is Used as a Deterrent

The abominable outrage perpetrated upon Miss Frances Gordon in Perth Prison, which we print in full below, and which you women are already familiar with, was raised in the House of Commons on Thursday in last week, questions being put by Lord Hugh Cecil, Mr. Pratt, and Mr. T. M. Healy.

Mr. McKinnon Wood, in his answer, which we print in full below, could not deny any of the grave allegations which have been made, but, as will be seen, he attempted to prejudice the case of the prisoner firstly by recapitulating the offences for which she was sentenced; secondly, by bringing a charge against her of systematic drugging before her imprisonment; thirdly, by asserting that she was in a serious condition of health on entering the prison; and fourthly, by contending that her condition on leaving the prison had been very much exaggerated.

With regard to the offences committed by the prisoner, the statement is correct, but as Mr. McKinnon Wood knows quite well, that has nothing whatever to do with the charge of abominable treatment in prison. With regard to the second and third suggestions, we are in a position to state that they are entirely without foundation. Miss Gordon was in good health when she went to prison; in fact, her friends state that she was never in better health. Miss Gordon gives an absolute denial to the manufactured statement of the prison doctor that she had been drugging herself before going to prison, and this is substantiated by the testimony of Dr. Mabel Jones, which we print below. When she went to prison she started the hunger and thirst strike, and suffered severely from the first, and it is not surprising or unnatural that she was sick from the first.

As to Mr. McKinnon Wood's fourth allegation, Dr. Mabel Jones was in constant attendance on Miss Gordon from the night of her release, and in her report has described the patient's condition as she observed it when she came out. Dr. Jones, in dwelling upon Miss Gordon's statements of the treatment she received in prison, was satisfied that this treatment accounted for her condition.

We further understand that by orders of the prison doctor Miss Gordon was held down for an hour and a half after the forcible feeding, the assistant doctor holding his hand over her nose and mouth during that time to prevent vomiting.

It is true that, when released, she was made to walk to the cab, and also had to walk on the platform at Perth Station, presumably in order to create a good impression locally, but on arrival in Glasgow she was placed in an ambulance and taken in it to the nursing home, where she was seen by Dr. Jones.

### MISS GORDON'S CASE QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

Mr. T. M. Healy, on Thursday in last week, asked the Secretary for Scotland whether Miss Frances Gordon, suffragist prisoner in Perth, was released on July 3, having been in prison from June 22; whether he was aware that on June 24 forcible feeding began and continued twice a day on the 25th, 26th, 27th, and 28th, by injections into bowel; that subsequently, until released, injections were made into the bowel three times a day, as well as forcible feeding once or twice a day; whether the prisoner was not allowed to see what was injected, but told it was salt and water to do her good; whether matter was not retained and stained the clothes which she brought out with her with a dark green stain; why she was allowed to see soap-and-water enemas which were given but never this; whether, when she was asleep, she was dragged to the edge of the bed on the side and the injections given by wardresses; whether the quantity of food given by the tube had to be diminished every day but was never retained; whether he was aware that after her release Dr. Mabel Jones, M.D., certified that on July 3 her appearance was like that of a famine victim, the skin brown, her face-bones standing out, her eyes half shut, her voice a whisper, her hands quite cold, her pulse a thread, her wrist joints slightly swollen, stiff, and

painful, the breath most offensive, and the contents of the bowel beyond control; and would any inquiry be held into this case.

Mr. McKinnon Wood (Secretary for Scotland) stated in his reply that Miss Gordon was sentenced to one year's imprisonment for breaking into the mansion house of Springhall, near Rutherglen, with intent to set fire to it. Among the articles found on the premises were three flasks of paraffin and other combustibles, and a revolver. The prisoner admitted her intention to set fire to the house. He had asked for and received a report from the prison doctor, which contradicted a number of the allegations contained in the question, of which the most important were the statement as to her treatment when asleep, and the statement that the quantity of food was diminished day by day and never retained. The doctor stated that he was convinced that she had undergone a course of systematic drugging before entering the prison. She was found to be suffering from sickness and vomiting shortly after admission, and before she had been fed or received any medical treatment in the prison. She was not fed till June 25. On admission she was at once put to bed, and treated as a sick prisoner. Her condition required the administration of enemata, and he had no reason to doubt that in the circumstances the doctor treated her case properly and humanely.

The doctor stated that there was very little difference in her appearance when she was discharged. She was carefully examined before leaving the prison, and the doctor stated that there was no swelling of the wrists, that she made no complaint of pain, that she was able to converse and did converse freely with the doctor's assistant, who accompanied her on the journey to Glasgow, that it was true her breath was offensive, but that it had been offensive from the date of admission, and that generally the statement as to her condition was exaggerated.

Lord H. Cecil asked whether the reports of the prison medical officer would be laid on the table, and whether in his answer the Secretary for Scotland had been guided wholly by the opinion of the medical officer whose action was called into question, or whether the answer was based on any independent information.

Mr. McKinnon Wood said he must be guided by the report of the medical officer who was responsible for this woman's health. The question of laying the medical officer's report on the table he would consider.

In answer to a question by Mr. F. Whyte, Mr. McKinnon Wood said the reason why suffragist prisoners had in all recent cases been sent to Perth was that we have there doctors who are accustomed to deal with those cases, and are thoroughly skilled.

In reply to Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. McKinnon Wood stated that Miss Gordon was on her release "able to walk to the cab and from the cab to the railway station, and in the railway train she was able to sit up and, as the doctor puts it, admire the scenery, and chat with the doctor's assistant."

### STATEMENT BY DR. JONES

In reference to the allegations of Mr. McKinnon Wood, we are authorised to publish the following important statement:—"There is no foundation whatever for the allegation that Miss Frances Gordon had undergone a course of drugging before admission to prison. She was in remarkably good health at the time of her trial, and various friends commented on the fact. "MABEL JONES, M.D. Lond."

### THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN'S" STRONG CONDEMNATION

"It does not appear clearly from Mr. McKinnon Wood's reply whether or not there has been a departure in this case from the usual method of forcible feeding, or whether a method fundamentally indecent and intolerable has been in part adopted, as Mrs. Pughick Lawrence

believes; but we trust that in this she is mistaken. But why, we may well ask oneself more, should forcible feeding be retained at all? It does not vindicate the law, for as against a resolutely resisting prisoner it is wholly ineffective; it does not deter from the commission of crime in any degree like the same degree as, by the feeling it arouses, it incites to it; it is, in fact, though not in intention, a form of torture, and torture is no longer accepted as a tolerable expedient by the English criminal law, or the criminal law of any civilised country. . . . The plea that it is adopted in order to save life does not hold good, because it will not save life. . . . So long as there was no power of arrest after release the whole case of resolutely prolonging to the utmost the time during which it was possible to continue the period of imprisonment. But deter from the commission of crime by a special Act of Parliament this excuse disappeared. The Cat and Mouse Act may carry with it its own disadvantages, but at least it is not all necessity for forcible feeding, and it was under the impression that it would serve as a substitute that it received much of its support. The continuance of forcible feeding under such circumstances, we believe, a public mischief and a blot on the administration of justice."

### MR. HUMPHRIES Committed to Asylum for Hunger-striking

The possibility that prisoners if they did not give up the hunger strike might be certified as insane and incarcerated in an asylum was one of the points that the Medical Protest Committee had intended to make, had their deputation been received by Mr. McKenna as they wished. Now the Committee have issued a report concerning the extraordinary case of a man named Harry Humphries, who is confined in the Bucks County Asylum, near Aylesbury, and who had adopted the hunger-strike in prison because he felt strongly he had been unjustly convicted and sentenced by Mr. Justice Avory to twenty months' hard labour.

Writing to Dr. McIntosh, Chairman of the Protest Committee, Humphries stated that he was not a suffragist, that wishing to compel the authorities' attention to his case, he adopted the hunger-strike, and was forcibly fed through the nose 221 times, that a throat specialist was then called in, who said the process was very dangerous, and should be discontinued, as it caused his throat to be very much inflamed and swollen, and his nose to pour with blood; that he was threatened by the magistrates with commitment to an asylum, and that, on his persistent refusal to take food, he was sent on May 23 to the asylum, where he had remained ever since.

The Chairman of the Protest Committee, Dr. McIntosh, the statement continues, "visited the asylum on Friday, July 17, examined the prisoner, and found him sane, and of sane mind. On Saturday, July 18, he was also visited by Sir Victor Horsley and Dr. Haden Guest, both of whom reported that he exhibited no sign of insanity."

Inspection of the receiving order showed that the prisoner had been certified by the prison doctor, who forcibly fed him, and another doctor as insane, on the ground that he refused food. In our opinion such evidence is worthless, and, moreover, it was immediately destroyed by the prisoner voluntarily taking food directly he entered the asylum.

"A week after the prisoner was transferred to the asylum, the medical superintendent made a report, which not only contained no evidence of the prisoner being insane, but also definitely stated that he talked quite coherently, that his memory was good, and that he had eaten his food since admission. In addition the prisoner had made application to the Commissioners in Lunacy, who replied to him that they could not interfere as he was detained under the order of the Home Secretary."

"The Protest Committee consider that forcible feeding and forcible injections into the bowel (enemata) are abominable outrages. If to these we have now to add the possibility of a sane prisoner being transferred to a lunatic asylum, the liberty of the people is being very gravely compromised."

"JAMES W. MCINTOSH (Chairman).  
"L. HADEN GUEST.  
"SIR VICTOR HORSLEY.  
"C. MANSELL-MOULLEN.  
"FRANK MOXON.  
"Westminster Palace Hotel, July 10, 1914."

### PRESS COMMENT

Mr. Humphries is certainly not insane now, as his letter shows (says the *Manchester Guardian* commenting on this case),

and except for the certificate of the doctors there is no reason to think that he ever was. Was his refusal to take his food in prison the sole ground, as he says, on which he was certified to be insane? If so, the order committing him to prison was an abuse of the Act of 1884, and the Act will need amendment to prevent such abuses in the future. There ought at the least to be a right of appeal to the Lunacy Commissioners.

### MR. ASQUITH REPLIES To the Protest from Free Church Ministers

The Prime Minister's reply to the letter addressed to him by the Rev. R. J. Campbell, Dr. R. F. Horton, Dr. W. E. Orchard, the Rev. J. H. Shakespeare, and the Rev. J. M. Lloyd Thomas, protesting against the forcible feeding of Suffragette prisoners, is published in this week's issue of the *Christian Commonwealth*. The letter, signed by the Prime Minister's private secretary, is as follows:—"The Prime Minister desires me to say that he has consulted the Home Secretary with regard to the memorial on the subject of forcible feeding which was enclosed in your letter of the 6th inst., and to refer you to the answer published in yesterday's press which the Home Secretary has caused to be sent in reply to a similar memorial received by him."

"The Prime Minister desires me, further, to add that Mr. McKenna entirely repudiates the statement which appears in the memorial as follows: 'Mr. McKenna has denounced forcible feeding in the House not only as a means of deterring people in prison, but also as a deterrent (Hansard, vol. 50, No. 7, columns 889 and 890), as a means of repressing people away from the hunger-strike, and so presumably from offences which are normally in the case of Suffragists, followed by the hunger-strike.'"

In support of this statement passages are referred to from Mr. McKenna's speeches on March 18, 1913, and June 11, 1914. In neither of these speeches is there any suggestion whatever that forcible feeding has been used as a deterrent. It is true that forcible feeding in some cases actually deters prisoners from adopting the hunger-strike, as they realise that the strike will not secure their release, but it has never been used as a deterrent or for any purpose except to preserve the life and health of a prisoner, and this has never been defended on any but this ground."

Replying to this in the *Christian Commonwealth*, the signatories said that the statement of the Prime Minister is in every way unsatisfactory. The memorial was based on Christian and humanitarian grounds, and on these grounds no reply in any form should be given.

Quoting extracts from Mr. McKenna's speech of March 28, 1913, they add:—"We are unable to see what these passages mean, unless they mean that the Home Secretary is personally gratified to discover that forcible feeding is an effective deterrent, and that this is the reason for continuing it."

The fact that Miss Grace Roe is being forcibly fed on a sentence of three months for conspiracy, whereas those convicted of conspiracy last June, and sentenced (presumably as worse offenders) to much longer terms, were not forcibly fed, but were released after a few days' hunger-strike, is enough by itself to establish the truth of the assertion that forcible feeding is used as a punishment, a deterrent, and a torture. If the Government is daring to extend the torture, and to use it in cases for which it has specifically promised not to use it, that is because the public is supposed to be more acquiescent, less humane, less Christian than before. It is for us to prevent the Government continuing to act on any such supposition."

### UNCONVICTED PRISONERS

In the House of Commons on July 16, Mr. Wedgwood asked the Home Secretary whether he will issue a circular to magistrates advising that Suffragette prisoners had better be admitted to bail pending trial, in view of the objections to forcible feeding."

Mr. McKenna: I cannot interfere with the magistrates' discretion in the matter of bail as regards these prisoners. I will, however, inform the prosecutors, whether the Director of Public Prosecutions or the police, that in my opinion applications for bail in these cases should not be opposed by the prosecution provided that the bail is in a sufficient amount, and in some cases the defendant gives an undertaking that she will not in the meantime commit other offences.

### A VALIANT PIONEER

A new edition of this valuable book appears opportunely. To some the name of Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell is familiar as one of the great pioneers of the Woman's Movement fifty years ago, and they know that after unceasing and self-sacrificing labour she won recognition and a position in the medical profession.

Her letters and journals are full of the grave enthusiasm, the earnest purpose and unswerving faith in a cause which had as object the raising of the status of her own sex. Like all true pioneers, she sought to cleanse and simplify; she hated what she finely calls the "blind atheism" which sees authority in custom, and finds the justification of evil in selfish acquiescence. In medicine she was avers to vivisection, and averse, too, to the use of serums:—

I am strongly opposed to every form of inoculation of attenuated virus, as an unfortunate though well-meaning fallacy of medical prejudice.

In spite of every difficulty, she worked her way forward fearlessly, secure in the knowledge that her way was true; she was in advance of her time, and to our shame as a nation, is still in advance; though the path that she trod in comparative solitude is now a thoroughfare crowded with the pioneer womanhood of to-day.

Her life history is singularly free from controversial bitterness. She had, as she says, no medical friend, but she never lost hope of an adjustment of labour between men and women in all work, and especially in her own profession:—

When the novelty of the innovation is past, men and women will be valuable friends in medicine, but for a time that cannot be.

Some words written towards the end of her life are as significant now as when she wrote them:—

No one who was not alive sixty years ago can realise the iron wall hemming in on every side any young woman who wished to earn her living or to do anything outside of the narrowest groove. Such a woman was simply crushed. Those who were of a character not to be crushed without resistance had to fight for their lives, and their fight broke the way through for the others to follow.

Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell little knew that the fight she and others inaugurated would, ninety-two years after her birth, have grown into a struggle whose end is not yet in sight. Ev.

"Pioneer Work for Women." By Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell. (London: Published by J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd.; and in New York by E. P. Dutton and Co.)

### A NEW EDITION

A new and very attractive edition has been issued of Mr. E. J. Schuster's "The wife in Ancient and Modern Times" (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, price 1s. net). In his preface to this second edition of his work the author says: "If in telling my story, I have tried to 'speak the truth with a smiling face,' I have never lost sight of the seriousness of my subject. The position which the commonly received views allocate to woman is one which does injustice to her powers, and which, while it deprives public affairs of a useful and almost necessary element, causes many human lives to be wasted in frivolous and degrading pursuits. This is the doctrine which I have attempted to develop."

### BOOKS RECEIVED

"Euripides and Mr. Bernard Shaw." By Gilbert Norwood, M.A. London: The St. Catherine Press. Price 1s.  
"Laughing Lyrics and Others." By Atwath Eversley. London: Heath, Cranston and Co. Price 1s. net.  
"The House of Lords and Women's Suffrage. Speeches by the Earl of Lytton in the House of Lords Debate, May 6, 1914." (London: P. S. King and Son. Price 3d.)  
"Woman Under a Liberal Government." By Winifred Holday. London: New Constitutional Society for Women's Suffrage. Price 3d.  
"First Causes." By L. A. M. Priestley. Reprinted from "The Irish Citizen." Price 1d.

## DOCTORS ON FORCIBLE FEEDING Speeches that were to have been delivered to Mr. McKenna

When the deputation from the Forcible Feeding Protest Committee of medical men waited on Mr. McKenna last week they found that the proceedings were to be private, the Home Secretary considering it undesirable that names and details of cases should be published. Dr. McIntosh, the leader of the deputation, asked that the Press should be admitted. Mr. McKenna refused. He further refused to allow the deputation's own reporter to be present, whereupon the deputation withdrew, saying they would not proceed with the interview unless it was to be in public.

The following are excerpts from the speeches which the doctors had intended to deliver:—  
Dr. McLachlan (Oxford)  
Speaking as a medical man, I regard forcible feeding as grossly illegal. No medical man for any purpose whatsoever has the right to perform a surgical operation on any person without that person's consent, provided, of course, that that person's mental faculties are intact. Further, to the medical man, as a medical and legal status, are alike so far as the question of "consent" is concerned. Whether the intention of this surgical operation (forcible feeding) is to save life or not makes no difference so far as the consent is concerned.

As a medical man, I know of no alternative to forcible feeding. Rectal feeding is still more objectionable, and is at best a form of slow starvation. There is only one way out, and that is to remove the cause. This cause must surely be a grave one, since it compels His Majesty's Ministers to act in this illegal manner and to violate a principle that lies at the very root of English law.

Mr. Frank Moxon  
The fact that the operation of forcible feeding is used as a punishment and deterrent is best indicated by Mr. McKenna's own statement in the House, on March 18, 1913. It reads as follows:—"Thirty-two out of thirty-five of those who completed their sentences took food in the ordinary way. If you were to banish forcible feeding I do not think those figures would hold, as the fact that it was known that the Medical Officers would forcibly feed prisoners had a considerable effect upon the majority of them—not all. I have described some of the pains and tortures to which these prisoners will voluntarily submit themselves, but not all of them are like that. The majority of them, like the majority of human beings, under great stress, take the easiest course."

Moreover, the marked differentiation that is shown in the medical treatment of these Suffragist prisoners is more than enough to fully establish the statement. As a medical man, I strongly protest against the unequal and discriminating treatment of these brave and determined women. If I am asked, as I have no doubt you would wish, what treatment would I, as a medical man, suggest in the place of forcible feeding for sane and resisting hunger-strikers, I would emphatically state that there is no treatment which can or ever will be effective or permissible which does not also seek to remove the cause of the trouble. Torture, such as forcible feeding, is the inevitable result of the denial of justice.

Sir Victor Horsley  
Forcible feeding by the prison doctors is not medical treatment to preserve life and health, but a form of torture. It has proved to have nearly caused the death of the prisoner in three cases in which the food injected passed into the lung.

It has caused gross injuries to the nose and throat in many cases, injuries to the heart, lungs, and nervous system, and prolonged injury to the general health. (See report, *British Medical Journal*, Bill, 1914.) It has caused gross injustice, many prisoners being allowed to escape their sentences altogether, others favoured by imprisonment only for a few days, and others by being excused from forcible feeding altogether.

It is clear that the statement made from time to time, chiefly by anonymous medical writers, that prison forcible feeding is the same as that of hospitals and asylums is untrue.

The answer to the Home Secretary's question in his letter of July 8 to the Medical Protest Committee, what other remedy against military doctors would propose is simple, namely, that forcible feeding, not resisting their defence, shows. The only course for the Home Secretary to take is the medical one of giving up a cruel and foolish dealing with a symptom, and to treat the cause of the disease, not by introducing legislation for the equal enfranchisement of men and women.

Dr. McIntosh  
The question must be largely a medical-legal matter. Lord Alverstone's judgment, which states that "it is the duty of a medical officer to feed a prisoner who starves," cannot be held valid, because no evidence of the extent of a prisoner's consent to any operations, which Mr. McKenna states is invariably obtained, was brought before the Lord Chief Justice. This customary practice gives the prisoner a right to refuse operation, quite apart from the "Cat and Mouse" Act, which was specially introduced to avoid the necessity of forcible feeding. A medical officer of a prison is in exactly the same position as a doctor outside a prison in regard to operations. Any operation must be done with the intention of benefiting the patient. Any treatment designed to compel a patient to serve a sentence of imprisonment conflicts with this important fact. Forcible feeding can only be described as torture, and is performed without the patient's consent.

Dr. Haden Guest  
The prison doctors are employed to inflict forcible feeding on untried prisoners against their will. This is contrary to the constitutional right of the prisoner to fair play. A prisoner is admitted in English Law to be innocent until proved guilty, and for the purpose of establishing his innocence is allowed access to documents and to the services of lawyers. The services of a lawyer is allowed in order that the prisoner may have his mind properly directed to the duties at issue. A fortiori, it is still more important that a prisoner should not be subjected to such treatment as renders him physically or mentally incapable of adequately conducting or directing his defence. Forcible feeding is calculated to reduce prisoners to a state of physical, nervous, and mental exhaustion, in which they are incapable of properly conducting or directing their defence. Miss Nellie Hall, who was examined by Mr. Dr. Haden Guest, was in a state of

grave physical prostration, unable to walk without support, unable to sit up straight on a chair. Her body was bruised, her digestive functions disordered, the heart enfeebled and dilated, the nervous system in a state of exhaustion. Her mind, she described herself when saying, "I have tried for hours and hours to think and could not do so." The speech made in court was read from a written paper, and the prisoner could not concentrate her mind on the evidence being given. In these circumstances her trial was a gross miscarriage of justice, and of the constitutional rights of an English citizen as she was incapacitated for the proper conduct of her defence by treatment inflicted on her by the prison authorities.

Mr. Mansell McNeill  
Mr. Mansell Moulin intended to state that they were there to protest against torture, and especially against torture by forcible feeding as carried out in His Majesty's prisons. They had not yet perhaps reached in London the refinement of torture practised in Perth where the prison authorities were reported to have committed the grossest and most indecent outrages upon the body of a woman under the pretence of sustaining her strength, but such is the effect of familiarity with cruelty, he has no doubt they would. As medical men they wished also to protest against the degradation and prostitution of the medical profession by compelling its members to act as torturers and executioners. There was no question that the Home Office were responsible. What would happen if a Person Medical Officer declined to carry out forcible feeding? The Home Secretary had said that no prison medical officer had ever refused, but the reason was obvious.

The Home Office discriminated. They selected who should be forcibly fed. They forcibly fed Mary Richardson after it had been shown that she was suffering from apoplexy and that it was dangerous to do so. The Home Office who were responsible and made the prison medical officers watch their victims dying inch by inch, and torture them by forcibly feeding them until at last it was clear that their endurance was at an end and that the prisoners must be discharged, once if they were to leave the prison alive, was a disgrace and a scandal that such duties should be imposed upon the medical profession.



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FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1914.

## DEVIL'S WORK IN PRISON

Forcible feeding has been condemned as torture by representatives of the people in the House of Commons, by representatives of the Church, including many Bishops, by representatives of the medical profession, including distinguished surgeons and physicians, and by the most reputable section of the Press. But the worst facts about forcible feeding as an instrument of torture and coercion have not yet penetrated to public consciousness. Very ugly doings have come to light during the past few days; so ugly indeed that people will do well to call for the fullest investigation of all the statements which we publish this week with regard to the three cases to which we direct special public attention. If these statements concerning Miss Frances Gordon, Mr. Harry Humphries, and Miss Arabella Scott are in the main substantiated, we believe that public opinion will organise itself and sweep away the practice of forcible feeding for ever.

The story of Miss Gordon was first told in the issue of this paper of July 10, on page 627, where the medical report of Dr. Mabel Jones (M.D. Lond.) was reproduced in full. The clauses of this medical report were categorically put in the form of questions to Mr. McKinnon Wood on Thursday in last week, and we refer our readers to page 656 of this issue, where a full account will be found of what was said in the House. The reply of Mr. McKinnon Wood is a tacit admission of the facts made public by Mr. Healy's questions; but into the substance of his answer he introduces a wholly unwarrantable and unsubstantiated suggestion—made by the prison medical officer who was responsible for the treatment—namely, the suggestion that Miss Gordon had undergone a course of systematic drugging before entering prison. This suggestion is not only absolutely denied by Miss Gordon herself, but is also repudiated by her own doctor, who states that there is no foundation for it whatever. The method of forcibly injecting a tube into the bowel three times a day in the case of a resisting and protesting prisoner is a new departure connected with the practice of forcible feeding which is fundamentally indecent and intolerable, and unless the facts now made public can be definitely denied they constitute an atrocity that leaves a terrible stain upon the people as a nation, a stain that can only be cleansed by full publicity and instant repudiation of the terrible system of forcible feeding under whose aegis it has been perpetrated.

There is no time to be lost. The names of electors who are prepared to canvass their Parliamentary representatives immediately should be sent in without a moment's delay to the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN, so that they can be supplied with the latest information with regard to these specific cases. If the Parliamentary Session is allowed to come to an end without forcing from the Government a declaration that Forcible Feeding as an intolerable and sickening system of torture is to be henceforth abolished, God only knows what devil's work will be done in the prisons of Great Britain before the criminals in office, who are responsible for these atrocities, can be made to bring their deeds of darkness to light.

The action of the authorities in the case of Mr. Harry Humphries is a scandal of another kind, but no less serious a crime against a prisoner helpless in the hands of the State. The story will be found on page 656. The facts are attested by the signatures of distinguished medical men who have personally investigated the case. This man, who is not a suffragist, adopted the hunger strike to draw attention to his case and as a protest against what, in his opinion, was an unjust sentence. Because the authorities could not, after feeding him 221 times through the nostrils, break his will nor continue to feed him with safety, they consigned him out of hand to an asylum, disallowing any appeal to the Lunacy Commissioners on the ground that he was detained under the order of the Home Secretary, though, as the *Manchester Guardian* says, "Mr. Humphries is not insane now, and except for the certificate of the (prison) doctors there is no reason to think he ever was." This is the method the Government tried to adopt in the case of the suffragist prisoner, Mr. William Ball, but the militant organisation was too strong and its adherents were too powerful, and Mr. Ball was unconditionally released from Colney Hatch Asylum after twenty-four hours' agitation—an unprecedented proceeding and a warning to the Government that they could not deal in this way with any individual who had the backing of a political organisation behind him. We look to see what the men who elected the present Government have to say as to the retention in office of a Home Secretary who in so dastardly a manner plays fast and loose with the most sacred personal rights and liberties of the King's subjects.

We turn now to a case that has been brought to our notice immediately before going to press—we refer to Miss Arabella Scott. Miss Scott was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment in May, 1913, for an attempt, which was unsuccessful, to set fire to Keelo race stand. She was released after a hunger strike, and since then she has done nothing militant, but has confined herself to constitutional work only. Three times she has been rearrested as a "mouse" and imprisoned in Edinburgh. Each time she adopted the hunger strike and was released in a weak condition. Ipswich election was in progress when she was released on the last occasion. She took an active part in that election, and as she is an excellent speaker no doubt she was responsible for turning votes against Mr. Masterman, the Government candidate. She challenged the police openly to arrest her at the election, but she was left at liberty. She was rearrested subsequently in London and brought back to Perth, where she is now being forcibly fed.

Mr. McKenna has led the public to believe that forcible feeding is only used in the case of criminals who, released under the Cat and Mouse Act, revert to acts of destruction. Miss Scott has committed no act of militancy whatever since May, 1913. Why has she, after fourteen months of law-abiding constitutional suffrage work, been forcibly fed during the last four weeks? Is it an act of retaliation for her speeches at Ipswich and for the votes she turned against the Government? If not, then let Mr. McKinnon Wood announce the cause and reason why this form of torture is being applied. After the agonies endured by Miss Gordon nobody can know what Miss Arabella Scott is suffering now. What nameless humiliations and tortures are being put upon her to induce her to give an undertaking that she will not speak again in connection with the suffrage cause? Mr. McKinnon Wood alone can give the answer. But these and many other questions the public must insist on putting, and the answers must be sifted to the bottom to ascertain the real truth. During the coming days the lobby of the House of Commons should be filled with electors calling upon their representatives and refusing to be satisfied until the matter has been threshed out to the uttermost in the House of Commons.

There is no time to be lost. The names of electors who are prepared to canvass their Parliamentary representatives immediately should be sent in without a moment's delay to the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN, so that they can be supplied with the latest information with regard to these specific cases. If the Parliamentary Session is allowed to come to an end without forcing from the Government a declaration that Forcible Feeding as an intolerable and sickening system of torture is to be henceforth abolished, God only knows what devil's work will be done in the prisons of Great Britain before the criminals in office, who are responsible for these atrocities, can be made to bring their deeds of darkness to light.

# THE LAND OF PROMISE

By Margaret Hodge

In speaking of the effect of the woman's vote in Australia and New Zealand, I was often met by the assertion that all new countries under the British flag showed social conditions equally favourable, and that it was most unfair to compare the Commonwealth or the Dominion with an old country such as the British Isles, that had inherited its problems from the ignorance or the tyranny of the past. I determined, therefore, to make myself acquainted with South Africa and Canada, and not merely to tour through these lands, but to spend some time in each great centre of population, to study social life in every rank, and to visit the law courts as well as to become acquainted with the laws.

I have spent three months in South Africa, where I addressed every variety of audience on forty occasions, and where, in street meetings, I came in contact with the coloured as well as the white population. I have just returned from a three months' tour in Canada, where I held fifty-five meetings, and although I was unable to go further west than Winnipeg, I had the inestimable advantage of staying in the houses of women doctors and women probation officers, so that I had opportunities of learning much of social conditions in Eastern Canada during my stay. I am now in a position to contrast and compare those dominions under the British flag, which have had the wisdom to build up a nationality by admitting the co-operation of men and women, and those which have continued the bad, old-world system of confining the power and privileges to one sex, while both must bear the burden of the responsibility for the race.

### Overcrowding as Bad as Europe

Canada is, indeed, a land of promise. The magnificence of her great rivers—the highways of commerce—the vast stretches of her fertile fields, the height and grandeur of her stupendous mountains kindle the imagination to a perfect fervour of expectation. The potentialities of the country are so great that the traveller stands aghast at the contemplation of them. Then the infinite variety of landscape and climate at the different seasons of the year strikes very forcibly a denizen of Australasia, accustomed to evergreen trees and sober colouring. Yet the Canadians have so trumpeted abroad all their advantages that they have created a terrible problem for themselves, not wholly dissimilar from the monster to whom Frankenstein gave life, in the continual influx of immigrants—desirable and undesirable—from all the countries of the old world. The Californians attribute much of their prosperity to the fact that they exaggerate the merits rather than deprecate the defects of their State—they are boosters and not knockers. The Canadians imitate their neighbours in this respect, and, as a result, we have great towns which have grown up with the rapidity of the prophet's gourd, and yet afford inadequate and, therefore, insanitary accommodation for the incoming thousands. Overcrowding is appallingly common, and in Toronto and in Montreal we find slums as bad as in the old cities of the Eastern hemisphere.

### Disenchanted Immigrants

On one occasion, when over 1,100 immigrants were expected in Toronto, there were only two houses to accommodate them, and this in a climate so severe in winter that housing accommodation of some sort is essential to preserve life. Into Australia and New Zealand the immigration is, of course, on a much smaller scale, partly because of the immense distance of these countries from the Motherland and partly because of the caution of the Governments in the Commonwealth and the Dominion. Indeed, these Britons of the Southern hemisphere are too fond of emphasising their droughts and advertising their strikes and other disadvantages of their climate and labour conditions to lure the vast hordes that pour yearly into Canada.

In 1912 the total number of arrivals in the latter country was 395,804; the proportion of British and American immigrants were 72 per cent. of the total. The misery suffered by some of these immigrants last winter was very terrible. Zola's contrast of the condition of the poor in the freezing cold of Paris with their circumstances in the milder climate in Rome came to my mind when I heard of the hundreds of newcomers fed by the Toronto people in the bitter

months of January and February last year, when the temperature was 20 degrees below zero and work impossible to find. The variety of the seasons may be stimulating to the imagination; and the frozen lakes, the trees glittering with hoar frost in the sunlight, do present a fairy landscape when viewed from a well-warmed observation car, but an almost arctic winter assumes quite another aspect to the workless, half-starved, homeless immigrant in the cheerless streets of a great city.

In Fort William (Ontario) I saw a great square filled with men in search of work, and the sight was a very pitiful one, as although it was May, the day was cold and the men shivered as the keen wind blew on them from Lake Superior, still partly covered with ice. Canada is herself responsible for this indiscriminate immigration. Shipping and railway companies carry their advertisements for this land flowing with milk and honey into the remotest parts of the United Kingdom, and the tired, sweated worker finds the bait irresistible, and, in blind faith, expends his all in order to get a new chance in this land of miracles.

### The Inefficient Englishman

Again and again I met with the (to me) surprising statement that Englishmen were no good as workers, and occasionally an employer advertising for hands will add the clause, "No English need apply." Yet the reason for this is really obvious. The Englishman comes out expecting an easy time, and imbued with the old patronising spirit that considered anything good enough for the Colonies, puts forth little effort,

and is very free with his criticisms. He too often makes himself generally objectionable, and proves himself practically inefficient. Last winter, when the Toronto citizens distributed food and fuel to the destitute newcomers into their town, the generous donors met with no gratitude. "They are only doing what they ought; they belong to us," was frequently repeated. The Englishman is so superior, even yet, because of the feats of his forebears, that Michelet's words often occur to me, "Would that the Englishman in Paris could keep Poitiers out of his mind." It was quite a delight to me to find in Montreal that Englishwomen were showing themselves so very competent that they are eagerly sought for as typists and clerks. Miss Caroline Kenney, too, and others like her, are mainly responsible for the high repute in which English teachers are held, and, possibly, for the suggestion for an interchange of teachers between these islands and Canada—a proposal that would be of infinite benefit to both the Dominion and the Motherland. Therefore, in Canada, women are found to be building up a reputation for the inhabitants of the old land and cementing in the only way, which is durable, the bonds which bind the daughter to the Motherland—"Ties light as air, but stronger than links of iron."

The Empire builders in the eyes of posterity will not be all of the so-called stronger sex, and tardy justice will be done to the women, who, in spite of heartache and home-sickness, and without thought of the world's praise, gave of their best to this new land—the home of the nobler British race that is to be.

## NEW PAMPHLETS

### Excellent Propaganda

We are very glad to see that Lord Lytton's moving speech in the House of Lords, during the debate on Lord Selborne's Suffrage Bill on May 6 of this year, has been issued in pamphlet form, with the title "The House of Lords and Women's Suffrage" (P. S. King and Son, Orchard House, Westminster. Price 3d.). Extracts from it appeared at the time in VOTES FOR WOMEN; doubtless many of our readers will be glad to possess the whole speech, which is incidentally very good propaganda for the unconverted.

### The Marriage Tax

In view of the recent debates in the House of Commons on the income tax of married persons, it is useful and instructive to be able to obtain the full report of the married women's deputation to Mr. Lloyd George on the subject, in June of last year. It has just been issued by the Women's Tax Resistance League (98, St. Martin's Lane, W.C. Price 10d.), and affords excellent reading, the speeches by Miss Lena Ashwell, Dr. Elizabeth Wilks, Mrs. Cecil Chapman, and others being brilliant as well as instructive. Not the least interesting part of the report is the dialogue between the Chancellor and the woman whose husband had put in prison—of which we can only say in comment that we are glad we were not the Chancellor!

### IN HISTORIC CANTERBURY

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I think the enclosed might interest our readers. We sold the suffrage papers of the societies represented outside the Missionary Exhibition held last week in Canterbury with great success.



The "Irate British public" was on the whole, sympathetic, though, of course, we had various amusing encounters with some of our antiquated "survivals."—I am, yours, &c.  
A. E. BURCH.  
(Member P.L. Fellowship.)

### Local Government

The report of a lecture delivered by the Rev. Canon Masterman to the Hendon Women's local Government Association has just been issued in pamphlet form, and may be obtained from Miss L. M. Thompson (88, Hogarth Hill, N.W. Price 2d.). It is called "The Importance of Local Government to the British People," and is a very interesting historic account of local government and the reasons why it should occupy an important place in the national life. After tracing it from the beginning of things in Anglo-Saxon times down to the present day, Canon Masterman proceeds to discuss local government in its connection with national government, and shows very clearly the relation between legislation and administration. This section will be of particular interest to suffragists who are anxious to combat the "Anti" argument that women's share in political life should be confined to the administrative section, afforded her by participation in local government alone.

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCE Assault on Girl The Times (July 7) reports the case of a professional football player, a Belgian subject, charged with behaving in an improper way in the presence of a girl of thirteen, and further with assaulting the girl on Millfields. Mr. Hedderwick said he had no reason to doubt the girl's story. Sentence: Three months' imprisonment and expulsion.

HEAVY SENTENCE The City Press (July 18) reports the case of a man convicted of stealing from a doorway of a house a parcel containing ladies' underwear. Sentence: Two months' imprisonment.

A TERRIBLE ASSAULT

The extraordinary inadequacy of the penal law was demonstrated once more when, at last week's Assizes at Swansea, a man who had made the most violent attempt at criminal assault on a woman, received a nominal sentence on that charge, while for the lesser crime of robbery with violence, he was sentenced to five years' penal servitude. The evidence, as reported in the Western Mail (July 16) showed that the headmistress of an infants' school was passing through a plantation on her way home from school when the prisoner attacked her savagely. She offered him her watch and purse if he would let her go without further molestation, but he said he would take them afterwards. He blackened both her eyes, broke the bridge of her nose, and though she displayed the greatest courage, had almost exhausted her, when she pretended that she heard someone coming, when he at once released her and ran off with her watch and purse. The judge, in passing sentence, described the assault as a terrible one—one of the worst, he supposed, that had been heard there for a very long time. It was only owing to the pluck and spirit of the prosecutrix that prisoner did not achieve his purpose. On an indictment for robbery with violence he was, fortunately, able to give proper punishment, which would be five years' penal servitude. For the other offence he was only able to impose a term of hard labour, and so he would add the nominal term of three days' imprisonment.

It is a curious fact while penal servitude may be imposed for theft, imprisonment with hard labour is the maximum penalty for any case of attempted assault, however aggravated.

Brother and Sister

The Irish Citizen comments on the Fay case, where a boy of 7½ years killed a sister aged six; the young culprit was acquitted, and his mother advised to look after him. We believe, says the Citizen, that in a matter of this nature a "Court of Domestic Relations" might be instituted, to conduct of the parents, and, if necessary, remove the child from their custody. The evidence published suggests that the boy may have been indulged at his sister's expense. Was he adequately corrected for beating her? Two sentences were imposed in Limerick—eighteen months for nearly killing a mother, and nine months for stealing a donkey. And yet women complain!

The case reported in the Bournemouth Directory (July 18) is of a very different character. The father of the boy and the aunt who gave evidence clearly realised the horror of the story. But here again the Bench treated the offence lightly, and let the boy off with a sentence which might have been appropriate for a conviction for petty theft, and which certainly could have given the boy no idea of the gravity of his action. The boy of sixteen had indecently assaulted his sister, a child of twelve. The father, as soon as he heard the offence had been committed, took the boy to the police station. He said he had nothing against the boy except that he came home late at night. The Bench said it might have sentenced the boy to six months' imprisonment, but it preferred to give him another chance. It put him on probation for twelve months, and bound him over in £5. What protection was there in this for the boy's sister?

Why Imprisoned?

An odd story comes from Bournemouth of a respectable married woman who was sent to gaol for a week for no other offence apparently than that of sitting on the window-sill of a house in a main street at midnight when she had only twopenny in her pocket. She was charged with having lodged in the open air without visible means of subsistence. When found by a policeman, she said she had been looking for lodgings all day. The medical evidence showed that though eccentric, she was not of unsound mind, and that she recovered 7s. 6d. a week under the Insurance Act.

PASS THE TRUCK ACT

PROTEST AGAINST GOVERNMENT DELAY "To strike terror into the heart of Mr. McKenna and make him hurry up with the Truck Act which was promised to us last February," was the object of the South London Workers' demonstration in Southwark Park on Saturday, as explained by Miss Mary MacArthur. There were many representative speakers—Miss Lawrence, L.C.C., Mrs. Salter from Rotherhithe, Mr. Mallon, and men and women representing various trades. In reference to the Truck Act, Miss MacArthur told the story of the Irish knitting women, the old dame who, at the end of three months' work, was paid in tea, and the older woman, who worked six months and was then paid with "bunches of blue ribbon." Many stories were told of preposterous fines levied on sweated women, the 8s. 6d. fine for being five minutes late levied on one girl whose wages were 3d. an hour, of such cruel deductions made that other workers found they had earned nothing at the end of a twelve hours' toil. The speakers emphasised the fact that it was the women and youths who suffered, that the employers dared not victimise or discipline men in the same way, for men had votes and organisation.

They protested against the Commons going on holiday while these urgent injustices were still unredressed, and the crowd suggested, with some bitterness, that here certainly was a case for "deductions," that a fine should be levied on the £400 salary.

A resolution was carried demanding that the Government should redeem its promise, and introduce the Truck Bill forthwith, and further demanding the abolition of fines, deductions, and the living-in system. Miss MacArthur said a deputation would probably wait upon the Home Secretary with this demand.

THE WOMEN'S THEATRE

The Woman's Theatre, which was such a brilliant success during its brief season last autumn, announces that this year it will hold a second season of one week at the Coronet Theatre, beginning on November 30. So far only one of the two plays to be produced has been selected; that is, Miss Cicely Hamilton's adaptation of Miss Elizabeth Robins' powerful story, "Where Are You Going To?"

As before, the expenses of the enterprise will be met by shares of £1 and upward, the money being returnable in tickets, to the value of twenty-five shillings for the £1, so that all shareholders who sell their tickets for face value may swell the funds of some society to the amount of 5s. on each share allotted. This arrangement was found to answer very well last year.

It has been deemed advisable to offer further facilities for taking out the seats, and therefore shareholders will have the choice of various combinations of tickets.

Seeing that on the last season the shareholders were repaid 57½ per cent. of their shares as well as getting the seats, it is not very surprising that the share list of £500 is filling up rapidly, and intending applicants who desire to help their societies should therefore apply for shares at once to the Hon. Organising Secretary, Woman's Theatre, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

WOMEN AT PRIZE FIGHTS

Ten years ago the resolution put before the Wesleyan Conference condemning pugilism, and especially condemning the presence of women at prize fights, would probably have passed without comment, but last week Mrs. Hugh Price Hughes and Miss Hovey were quick to point out that this implied a double standard for men and women. "We may feel that from the point of view of good taste," said Mrs. Hughes, "there is something more terrible in a woman being there, but from the moral point of view there is no difference."

UNPRECEDENTED OFFER OF £7,000 worth of LUXURIOUS LINGERIE AT STARTLING PRICE REDUCTIONS

from former prices COMPRISING the whole of the Stock from the Bond St. Premises including LUXURIOUS Lingerie, Blouses, and Gowns offered at startling reductions.

A Unique Opportunity which you cannot afford to miss commences Monday next, July 27th.

YOU cannot realize the beauty or the value of this stock unless you come here. The Premises have been entirely reconstructed and redecorated by Waring & Gillow

and this Establishment is now the most beautiful Lingerie shop in Europe.

MAUDE TAYLOR

223A & 223, REGENT ST., LONDON, W. (Opposite Dickins & Jones) Post or Telephone orders can be filled. An early visit is desirable—Come on Monday, the 27th.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE DANGER TO SUFFRAGE

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors.—The Suffrage movement is in grave danger. The one thing which Suffragists are anxious to obtain is the vote for women. It is essential to state this simple fact, for it appears to me that most Suffragists have forgotten it. They have surrendered to the wiles of the enemy, who has successfully driven a wedge into their ranks, and laughs contemptuously while Suffragists engage in the occupation of destroying each other.

There is no answer to the demand for the vote; there is no argument against it either from the point of view of morality or expediency. The opponents were beaten and they had to surrender. One desperate card was played by them, and they won. They started the Suffragists discussing among themselves the value of methods. When the demand was put forward by anyone for the vote, it became fashionable for the propagandist to declare his or her faith in some particular way of obtaining the desired end. Suffrage audiences were intolerant of a speaker who did not wholeheartedly back any particular method. Suffrage societies withdrew or withheld support from advocates of the cause unless they supported the society's method.

Members went about like the Pharisees of old, thanking God they were not as other Suffragists. Law-abiding women wallowed in their devotion to constitutional methods. Militants sniffed at law-abiding. Each stood in the market-place pointing out that they were different to their fellow Suffragists.

The whole thing was pitiable, and is a crime, for it still goes on. Because it goes on women can be tortured at will, because Suffragists allow themselves to be drawn into a discussion as to why they were there, and what is also important the demand for the vote is allowed to be obscured by this banal discussion on method. Let this feeling cease once and for all. Nothing will scare and defeat the enemy as to answer him when he wants to discuss method as follows: "My dear Sir,—Each of us fights according to our own con-

science. Conscience is given us by God, and is not under the control of a Liberal Government. When are you going to give votes for women?"

No other answer, no side-tracking should be allowed. In Suffrage circles let there be no discussion with anyone concerning leaders, methods, or policies. Let each fight in his or her own way for "Votes for Women," and permit discussion on no other matter.

If not, we shall wander in the wilderness for another half a century.—Yours, etc., JOHN SOUKR.

TO HELP THE PAPER

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—There are many Suffragettes who would gladly buy, and give away, half a dozen copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN every week, if they only knew to whom to give them. There is one simple and excellent way of disposing of papers, whether old or new. For a year or two past now I have regularly given away at least a dozen copies every week. I write the words "Free copy" on each, and then drop them into the letter-boxes of any houses in any roads near by; or, if the outer doors are open, I throw them into the vestibules. Shy Suffragettes could do this at dark, though no one has taken any notice of what I was doing, even in the day-time. I am sure that the inmates of the houses will look at the paper, if only out of curiosity. And thus it will reach persons who would never dream of buying a paper. I also dispose of Suffrage pamphlets in the same way.

I find that any newspaper shops will display a poster of VOTES FOR WOMEN regularly if I agree to take half a dozen copies every week. Thus two birds can be killed with one stone. I leave one copy in the shop, in case anyone seeing the poster should wish to buy one. At the end of the week, if this copy is not sold, I leave it at some house in the same way as the other copies. It does not matter how old the papers are.

I write this because, when I press sympathisers to take more than one copy, they say often that it would be useless, as they have no friends who would care to accept a copy. The idea of leaving papers at the houses of strangers has not occurred to them.—Yours, etc., DOROTHY M. C. GRANVILLE.

11, Tenbyson Avenue, Scarborough.

THE AMERICAN SITUATION

Louisiana Big Majority in Lower House

Further details have reached us of the interview which the clubwomen had with President Wilson. Apparently the President was polite and courteous, but said that the question was one for the States to decide. He declined to help forward the Congressional Amendment which would secure the vote for women simultaneously throughout the States.

Replying to this statement, Dr. Anna Shaw, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, says: "The question of woman suffrage is certainly one for the States to decide. But in what manner shall the States decide it? How shall the question be presented to them? If Congress takes no action each State will have to amend its own constitution in order to provide for the enfranchisement of its women."

Vermont can do this only by a constitutional convention, and its next convention will be in 1920.

New Hampshire must wait for a constitutional convention, which will be held in 1919 if a majority of the voters approve.

In New Mexico a suffrage amendment must have a three-fourths vote in each House, and, when submitted to the electors, must be approved by three-fourths of all those voting in the whole State and at least two-thirds of all voting in each county.

In Illinois an amendment must have a two-thirds vote in each House. Only one amendment may be submitted at a time, and the same one not oftener than once in four years.

One can go down the list of States citing constitutional difficulties in the way of expressing popular sentiment in favour of suffrage.

Federal action is needed to enable many of our States to take State action on woman suffrage within a reasonable time after a reasonable amount of public opinion is known to be in favour of such action.

Progress of the Congressional Amendment

We are informed that the Rules Committee of the National House of Representatives did not, as planned, meet on July 1 to consider the resolution which would make possible a vote on the Congressional amendment. Mr. Henry has, however, given assurance that the resolution will be reported favourably this year.

The Vote in Louisiana

The Louisiana House of Representatives has voted 61 to 40 in favour of a constitutional amendment granting full suffrage to women. The vote fell short of the needed two-thirds, but so large a majority in a far Southern Legislature is a striking proof of the growth of suffrage sentiment in that section.

Women packed every inch of available space in the House and galleries. Many members of the Legislature spoke for the measure, and not one against it. The New Orleans Item says: "The political ramifications of the House are in the minority, but still enough to prevent the necessary two-thirds vote, sat silently and stolidly in their seats."

SUFFRAGE OUTPOSTS IN THE UNITED STATES

The following table may interest our readers as showing the outposts of the present Suffrage position in the United States.

Fully Enfranchised States Washington, Oregon, California, Idaho, Utah, Arizona, Wyoming, Colorado, Kansas, and the territory of Alaska.

Partially Enfranchised Illinois (Presidential and Municipal vote).

Campaign States Nevada, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Missouri.

These are the States whose fate will be decided by the Referendum of the voters next November. It is possible that Ohio may be added to their number by means of the initiative petition, now being circulated for signatures.

Waiting for 1915 Iowa, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts.

In these States the Suffrage amendment has passed one Legislature and must pass another before going to the voters in the autumn of 1915.

In all the other States of the Union vigorous Suffrage campaigns are being carried on with a view to getting the Bill passed through the various Legislatures.

CHIVALRY IN THE LABOUR MARKET

"I am now 25," said an American girl. "When I was 18 I thought that if women voted they would always have to be strapped. Now I can see no connection between tram-car seats and votes except that women will probably insist on their being plenty of trams to provide seats

when they have got votes. In any case, after seven years of earning my living, I would rather have chivalry in the labour market than in the tram-car, if I cannot have it in both places."

Chivalry in a Suffrage State

An instance of what chivalry can do in the labour market when women are recognised as men's political equals comes to us from California, where some men went on strike not long ago to back up the women garment workers who were agitating for a higher wage. After a time the employers gave way and raised the women's wages by taking something off the men. The women promptly went on strike to assist the men, and eventually the wages of both were pulled up to a higher level. This is more like the kind of chivalry that suffragists believe in, and it is no more limited to one sex than to the other.

TEMPERANCE AND WOMEN'S VOTES

The Nova Scotia Anglican Synod accepted a report, on June 5, of the Temperance Committee, which contained the statement that the enfranchisement of women would aid temperance and moral and reform movements. A warm debate took place over this statement, the only Anglican clergyman wishing it deleted. His objections were overruled, however, and the statement adopted.

BRITISH WOMEN VOTERS

We are asked to note that the Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association will not be merged in the wider union of the British women from the Overseas Dominions, but will retain its identity as the society representing the only enfranchised women in the Empire. Miss Newcomb has resigned the secretaryship, and Mrs. Merivale Mayer has consented to fill the position.

SOUTH AFRICAN INDIGNATION

At a meeting of the Natal Women's Enfranchisement, held at Maritzburg on June 14, the strongest indignation was expressed at the treatment of Suffragettes by the British Government, and a resolution was carried with enthusiasm, empowering the executive of the League to send a protest to the Prime Minister of Great Britain against the treatment of women by the British Government, and asking him to remove the reproach placed upon civilised humanity by the long-continued and unnecessary brutality to women.

One of the speakers, Mr. Lister, is reported in the Times of Natal as having said that every man, woman, and child in South Africa had been deeply moved of late by the cruel and brutal treatment meted out to women in the Homeland. He was ashamed that he belonged to a nation that treated its women in such a cruel and despicable manner, and that he suffered cruelty simply for asking for their rights, and at the same time men were unmolested who would openly arm to defy the law and the Government."

AN ANGLO-FRENCH SUFFRAGE SOCIETY

The Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes is forming a branch society in London under the able management of Madame Gustave Rudler, who organised the Versailles Branch of the Union.

Lady Barclay and Madame de Coppet have kindly consented to associate themselves with the Society as presidents, and many distinguished Suffragists and friends of "L'États des Femmes" are on the committee. The "Groupe de Londres et de Grande Bretagne" composed of French and French-speaking British Suffragists, hopes to bring the British and French movements into close touch; to form a bureau of information for both countries; to organise lectures in England by French Suffragists, and in France by British workers in the cause, and to arrange for the publication of articles in the Press of both countries.

The Hon. Secretary, Miss Paul, 36, Upper Bedford Place, London, W.C., will be glad to hear from anyone wishing for further particulars.

The address of Madame Rudler, President of the Committee, is 61, Haverstock Hill, N.W.

THE NEW WOMAN IN TURKEY

Their association with the Turkish Red Crescent organisation, for which they have worked manfully and made many great sacrifices, has perhaps done more than anything else to set the Turkish woman free from her timid conventions, and to bring to her more folk-like qualities of courage, resource, and endurance. It seems peculiarly fitting that the first time a wife of the Sultan or a lady of the Palace was present at a public ceremony it should have been in connection with the Red Crescent. A telegram from Constantinople to the Press says that the Sultan's first wife, accompanied by a number of ladies of honour from the Palace and two Princesses, was present at the distribution of diplomas awarded to students at the Turkish Hospital School, which is under the auspices of the Turkish Red Crescent organisation.

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NOTICE

Last Weeks of Summer Clearance Sale, July 20th to Aug. 1st. Remnants and Oddments Thursday, Friday and Saturday each week. Uncovered 9.30 a.m.

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v.v.

THE NEED FOR POLICE-WOMEN DEPUTATION TO THE HOME OFFICE

As an outcome of the agitation in favour of appointing women policemen a deputation representing twenty-four different institutions was introduced to Mr. Ellis Griffith, Under Home Secretary, on Thursday, July 16, by Mr. Donald Maclean, M.P. (Deputy Chairman of the House of Commons) to press this reform.

The excellent work done by police-women in Canada and other countries has for long been so well advertised that it was curious to hear Mr. Griffith asking for "some information" about the working of the system in those countries.

In answering the deputation Mr. Griffith said the question of the appointment of women with the full status of police officers with power of arrest must come before the Home Secretary. Special arrangements would be required to compel every local authority to appoint two women constables, but the matter might be considered when the Criminal Administration Bill came before the House.

Recognising that Liverpool has already appointed one female police constable, the Liverpool School of Police carried by eleven votes to nine a resolution to the effect that such appointments should be made in all populous centres.

WOMEN AND THE PRIESTHOOD

According to the Times there is a possibility of a conference being held in London in the autumn to consider the possibility of the entry of women into the priesthood. Preliminary inquiries have been made among women interested in the matter, and quite fitly replies have been received in favour both of the conference and of the ordination of women to the priesthood.

It does not seem likely, says the Times, that the more revolutionary suggestion of the ordination of women as priests will at present meet with much support within the Church. The Guardian also, in a leading article this week, makes a very strong protest against the suggestion.

W.S.P.U. MEETING AT HOLLAND PARK

Holland Park Hall was filled on Thursday night, when the W.S.P.U. held a mass meeting there, at which Mrs. Pankhurst was announced to speak. Miss Annie Kenney and several other "mice" were present. Over £15,000 was raised by the collection, this sum including the amount collected during self-denial week.

who was not hostile, but there was apparently a small organised gang of hoodlums of the same class as those who interrupted meetings in Hyde Park, who were bent on mischief. They made one or two rushes, and a certain amount of glass was broken, with the result that one man's forehead was cut and another had his hand slightly cut.

NEW USE FOR HYMNS

When Mr. Gerald France, M.P., rose to speak at the annual meeting of the Wesleyan Conference at Leeds last week, a woman, "presumably a Suffragette," in the gallery stood up and shouted, "Gerald France, I demand!" Her other words, says the Yorkshire Post, were rendered inaudible by the shout of protest from the audience, and while she was being ejected, the audience joined in the singing of a hymn, which was begun by "Gipsy" Smith.

ULSTER SUFFRAGISTS

At the Belfast Assizes last Tuesday, three Suffragists—Miss Dorothy Evans, Miss Madge Muir, and Miss Mary Larnour—who had been committed for trial on a series of charges, failed to appear. It was stated that the women had been committed in custody, but had been hunger-striking, and were released under an order of the Lord Lieutenant. In the afternoon, however, Miss Evans was arrested under curious circumstances.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following incident has been attributed to Suffragists in the Press during the week: Friday, July 17.—Portrait of Thomas Carlyle, at National Portrait Gallery, damaged.

IN THE COURTS

Thursday, July 16.—At Bow Street Police Court, before Mr. Graham Campbell, charged on remand with obstruction, five Suffragists giving the names of Smith and Smyth. Two fined 40s. or in default seven days' imprisonment, and the others fined 20s., with the option of five days' imprisonment. Friday, July 17.—At Bow Street Police Court, before Sir John Dickinson, charged with damaging a picture at the National Portrait Gallery, Miss Anne Hunt. Committed for trial.

NEWS OF PRISONERS

Mrs. Pankhurst Released Mrs. Pankhurst, whose four days' licence expired on Thursday in last week, was re-arrested on her way to the meeting held by the W.S.P.U. at the Holland Park Skating Rink. She was again released on

Saturday in a very weak condition, this time on a twelve days' licence.

Other Prisoners Mrs. Walker was released from Holloway Prison last Wednesday week, having served her term of one month's imprisonment.

Forcibly Fed It is believed that the following are still

being forcibly fed:—Miss Gertrude Ansell, Miss Ivy Bonn, Miss Hilda Burdett, Miss Eileen Casey, Miss Nellie Hall, Miss Georgina Lloyd, Miss Phyllis North, Miss Rachel Peace, Miss Mary Richardson, Miss Grace Roe, Miss Arabella Scott, Miss Florence Tunks. All these are in Holloway Gaol except Miss Lloyd and Miss North, who are at Carnarvon, and Miss Arabella Scott, who is at Perth.

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ACTRESSSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE

2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C. President: Lady Forbes-Robertson The first of our Hyde Park Meetings will be held next Sunday, July 26, at 6 p.m. Miss Janette Steer will take the Chair, and Miss Annie Somers and Miss Benesuan will be among the speakers. The League will take part in performances at a Garden Party, held in aid of the funds of the International Suffrage Shop, at 1, Fitzjohn's Avenue, Hampstead, on Saturday afternoon, July 25. An Allegory, by Vera Wentworth, will be given, also a scene from Olive Schreiner's "Story of an African Farm"; Miss Annie Spong's children will dance, and Miss Decima Moore will recite. All our supporters who go to the White City are invited to visit our Stall in the Social Economy and Education Section of the Exhibition, and see how the work is getting on. Members have been most assiduous in giving their time, and all find the work most interesting. During next week the following will be in charge:—Miss Benesuan, Miss Edith Carter, Miss Emma Stockley, Miss Edith Craig, Miss Dorothy Warren, Miss Janette Steer, and Miss Nina Boucault.

UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

3, Adam Street, Strand, London, W.C. Telephone: Regent 5150 Colours: Purple, White and Orange Committee Mrs. Lena Ashwell, Mrs. Agnes Harben, Mr. A. W. Evans, Mrs. Patrick Lawrence, Mr. Gerald Gould, Miss Edith Carter, Mrs. Elaine Whelan, Mr. Henry W. Newson, Mr. J. J. Gillopie, Hon. Treasurer, Mrs. Ayton Gould, Hon. Secretary, Mr. Charles Gray, Secretary.

Join US (United Suffragists) Members' Meetings.—The last members' meeting before the holidays will be held at the U.S. offices (3, Adam Street, Strand) on July 23, at 8.15 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Ayton Gould and others. The members' meetings will be resumed on Thursday, September 17.

Speakers' Class.—Every Tuesday, in U.S. offices, 8.15 p.m. Conducted by Miss Winifred Mayo. Fees: Members, 2s. 6d. for ten lessons; non-members, 3s. 6d. Single lessons, 6d. Last class before the holidays: Tuesday, July 28.

Amersham Branch (Hon. Sec., Mrs. Drinkwater, Fieldtop, Amersham).—A large and enthusiastic meeting was held at Chessham last Friday, at which the Rev. J. M. Maillard was the speaker; the chair was taken by Mr. J. H. Jackson. This is the first Suffrage meeting the hon. Sec. held in Chessham, and it certainly aroused great enthusiasm and interest, and at the end a number of members were made.

United Suffragists, Scotland.—It has been decided to call the Branch started in Edinburgh, United Suffragists, Scotland, as it is hoped that the work will be extended to all the chief towns and political centres in Scotland. Arrangements are being made for the holding of a Synod Hall Meeting in the autumn, but members are already being enrolled in large numbers. The preliminary list of vice-presidents includes the names of the Rev. C. Black, Dr. Chalmers Watson, M.D., Mrs. Chalmers Watson, M.D., F. Morley Fletcher, Esq., and Mrs. Morley Fletcher, Dr. H. Gibbs, F.R.C.S., Mrs. A. Gibbs, M.B., Ch.B., Rev. Raymond Holt, B.A., B.Litt., Mrs. Kennedy-Fraser, C. G. Knott, Esq., D.Sc., and Dr. Otto Schlapp. Meetings have been held in Tranent which have been very well supported, a number of members having joined U.S. All communications should be addressed to the Hon. Sec., 50a, Frederick Street, Edinburgh.

Bank Holiday Recess.—The offices will close on Friday, July 31, at 6 p.m., and re-open on Wednesday, August 5, at 10 a.m.

COMING EVENTS

"Votes for Women" Fellowship Lancashire Centre Organiser: Miss Phyllis Lovell, Wingate, Amsdale, Lancashire.

There will be a meeting on Saturday, July 25, on the sands at Waterloo, at 8 p.m. Speaker: Miss Patricia Woodcock.

Other Events

A Garden Party, in aid of the funds of the International Suffrage Shop, will be held at 1, Fitzjohn's Avenue, Hampstead, on Saturday, July 25, from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m. A performance will be given by the Actresses' Franchise League, and among the artistes will be Miss Decima Moore and Erik Tscholkowski. Tickets: Reserved, 5s.; unreserved, 2s. 6d. inclusive.

TAX RESISTANCE

On Friday evening, July 17, goods belonging to Miss Helen Smith of Streatham, were sold at Messrs. Phillips' Auction Rooms, Balham High Road, owing to her refusal to pay Imperial taxes. A protest meeting at the corner of Caister Road was held immediately after the sale, and the crowd was addressed by Mrs. Cobden Sanderson and Mrs. Tyson. The crowd listened with great interest, with the exception of the usual interrupter who wanted to know why the speaker was not at home washing the baby. A resolution was passed acknowledging the justice of Miss Smith's action.

The Tax Resistance League are holding a series of meetings in Ireland at which Mrs. Kinross Parkes is the principal speaker.

HONOURS FOR WOMEN

The Women's Freedom League has sent the following telegram to the King:—"His Majesty the King, Buckingham Palace. Women's Freedom League respectfully regrets your Majesty has only included ladies of the Royal Family of all your women subjects in national honours."

THE CHURCH AND SUFFRAGE

At the half-yearly General Council of the Church League for Women's Suffrage, held this month at Manchester, delegates from all parts of the country were present. Resolutions were passed, and are to be published in the monthly paper of the C.L.W.S. for August, Canon Peter Green, who was the preacher at the Evensong, conducted in the Derby Chapel, Manchester Cathedral, laid stress on the value of the individual, and pointed out that the enfranchisement of women was a present-day battle-field for an old conflict.

AN ANNUAL REPORT

The Scottish Churches League for Women Suffrage have recently issued their annual report, from which interesting facts relating to the year's work may be obtained. Copies of the report may be had from the Secretary, at 11, Howe Street, Edinburgh. Price, 1d.

FRIENDS AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE

The second annual report of the Friends' League for Women's Suffrage informs us that the membership has risen in the past year from 534 to over 1,000 and the number are now nineteen branches as against ten branches last year. The report ends with the following fine words of Mazzini, written to the editor of Josephine Butler's work on suffrage:—"You have the same duty to perform on earth—the progressive discovery and the progressive fulfilment of His law. You cannot renounce that task without sinning against the God who appointed it, and gave to you, as to us, faculties for its accomplishment. You cannot fulfil your task without liberty, which is the source of responsibility. You cannot fulfil it without equality, which is liberty for each and all."

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" PAPER-SELLING REPORT

Miss de Cadix sends a most gratifying report from Dublin this week. "The sale is increasing rapidly, and people look out for us, and are only too anxious to buy the paper; but we are hardly in need of more sellers, especially now, when so many will be away for their holidays." Who will come forward and volunteer to sell the paper? There are several important pitches waiting to be filled in the streets of Dublin. Please communicate with the organiser, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

A SUFFRAGIST LAUNCH

Amusement was caused on the river on Thursday in last week by the manoeuvring of a motor-launch with a party of suffragists on board, intent on addressing members of Parliament on the Terrace. A police launch was also on the spot, and the suffragist's boat was promptly taken in tow. After several efforts on the part of the women to carry out their plans a race took place between the two boats to Battersea, where the police-boat stopped, and further attempt was abandoned.

REMODELING JEWELLERY

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**HIGHER THOUGHT CENTRE**, 40, Courtfield Gardens, S.W.—11.30, Miss Faith Chevallier, of Los Angeles; 7, Miss Grace, Doré Gallery, 35, New Bond Street, W., 11.15, Miss Harriet Rix.

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- Actresses' Franchise League, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- Artists' Suffrage League, 259, King's Road, S.W.
- Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association, 10, International Women's Franchise Club, 9, Grafton Street, W.
- Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, 55, Barnard Street, Oxford Street, W.
- Church League for Women's Suffrage, 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.
- Civil Service Suffrage Society, 19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.
- Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, 48, Dover Street, W.
- East London Federation of the Suffragettes, 321, Roman Road, Bow, E.
- Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies, 31, Alfred Place, Tottenham Court Road, W.C.
- Forward Civic Suffrage Union, 63, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.
- Free Church League for Women's Suffrage, 15, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, W.C.
- Friends' League for Women's Suffrage, Walden, Gloucester.
- Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society, 2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.
- International Suffrage Shop, 11, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- International Woman Suffrage Alliance, 7, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- International Women's Franchise Club, 9, Grafton Street, W.
- Irishwomen's Franchise League, Westmoreland Chambers, Westmoreland Street, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Reform League, 29, South Anne Street, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association, 165, Rathgar Road, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation, 29, South Anne Street, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Suffrage Society, 27, Donegal Place, Belfast.
- Jewish League for Woman Suffrage, 32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.
- League of Justice, 22, South Molton Street, W.
- Liberal Men's Suffrage Society, 31, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge, S.W.
- Liberal Women's Suffrage Union, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge, S.W.
- London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage, Chester Gate, Ealing.
- Marchers' Qui Vive Corps, Duncton, Peisworth, Sussex.
- Men's Federation for Woman's Suffrage, Temp. Address: 19, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

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- Men's League for Woman Suffrage, 15, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.
- Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement, 15, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.
- Men's Society for Women's Rights, 65, Avenue Chambers, Southampton Row, W.C.
- Munster Women's Franchise League, 83, Grand Parade, Cork.
- National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society, 5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.
- National Political League, Bank Buildings, 14, 1, James' Street, S.W.
- National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.
- New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage, 8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.
- Northern Men's Suffrage and Women's Suffrage, 6, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.
- Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage, 11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.
- Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage, 2, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh.
- Spiritual Militancy League, 46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.
- Suffrage Atelier, Studio: 6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.
- Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, St. James', S.W.
- "Suffrage First" Committee, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.
- Suffrage Service League, 29, Broadway, Westminster.
- Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee, 21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.
- Theosophical Suffrage Society, 19, Tavistock Square, W.C.
- United Religious Women's Suffrage Societies, 15, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.
- United Suffragists, 3, Adam Street, Strand, W.C.
- Votes for Woman Fellowship, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C. Lancashire Organizer: Miss Phyllis Lovell, Wingate House, Ainsdale, Lancs.
- Women Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society, 83, Sutherland Avenue, W.
- Women's Freedom League, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom, 10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.
- Women's Social and Political Union, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.
- Women's Tax Resistance League, 10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.
- Women Teachers' Franchise Union, 27, Merril Road, Lee, S.E.
- Women Writers' Suffrage League, Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.