

# VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

VOL. III. (New Series), No. 93.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1909.

Price 1d. Weekly. (Post Free.)  
1d.

## AND STILL THEY ARE NOT SATISFIED!



**CONJUROR ASQ—TH:**—"Ladies, you will remember what I promised you should get from the 'Expiring Parliament,' and you will remember, when I took off the cap, what you found there." (A Voice: "Nothing!") "I now promise you that in the coming Parliament you shall find something equally good."

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

### THE OUTLOOK.

The action brought by Mrs. Leigh against the Home Secretary and the governor and doctor of Winson Green Gaol was heard on Thursday in last week, and was decided against Mrs. Leigh by the judge, Lord Alverstone, the Lord Chief Justice, who refused to allow the main issue to go to the jury at all. The vital question was one of what instructions a doctor is bound to obey. An ordinary person, who is a free agent, is entitled to prohibit

an operation upon his body. The Lord Chief Justice decided that a prisoner has no such right.

#### Not Morally Reasonable.

The *Manchester Guardian* comments adversely upon this decision. After dealing with the way in which Sir Victor Horsley was "driven by the Lord Chief Justice to say that if a person must be kept alive willy-nilly the way actually employed was the one he would have employed himself," the *Guardian* shows that the jury, within the limits set them by the judge, could not have come to any other verdict as to the "reasonableness" of the action pursued. It then proceeds:—

But we still think that the treatment was not politically or even morally reasonable. The original offences of the prisoner were exceedingly grave; but the offences for which she was punished by being forcibly fed were not, after all, those that she had committed against public safety, but prison offences. There is a limit to the amount of punishment that may be inflicted for this class of offence, and this limit was exceeded in her case. The punishment, again, was impolitic, because its severity was calculated to produce a revulsion of feeling in favour of the prisoner, and therefore to weaken the respect for the law which it is one of the objects of punishment to strengthen.

We give elsewhere our views upon the decision. The further case on behalf of Miss Ainsworth of criminal proceedings against the authorities has been withdrawn, in view of the decision in the case of Mrs. Leigh.

#### A Great Meeting.

The great gathering at the Albert Hall to welcome Mrs. Pankhurst on Thursday in last week was fully worthy of the Women's Social and Political Union. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's witty speech was received with delighted applause, Miss Christabel Pankhurst gave a rousing explanation of the election policy of the Union, and Mrs. Pankhurst once more found her way into the hearts of

her hearers. The audience responded generously and magnificently to the appeal to take their part, and a sum of £2,000 was promised towards the Election Campaign Fund.

#### Mr. Asquith at the Albert Hall.

In spite of the innumerable precautions of detectives and Liberal stewards, two Suffragettes succeeded in entering the Albert Hall and putting questions to Mr. Asquith as he was about to leave the speakers' room after his meeting. Mr. Asquith was terribly taken aback at the apparition. During his speech, which was several times interrupted by male sympathisers with the Cause, Mr. Asquith stated that with regard to Woman Suffrage he renewed his declaration made in 1908, and that the position in the new Parliament, if he were retained in power, would be the same as though the general election had not taken place. It will be remembered that in May, 1908, he stated to a deputation of Liberal M.P.'s that it was his hope and intention to bring in, before the close of the existing Parliament, an Electoral Reform Bill, and to this a Woman Suffrage amendment might be moved by a private member, and would not be opposed by the Government as a Government provided it was on democratic lines, and that the Government had evidence of the support of the majority of the men of the country and of the overwhelming support of the women of the country towards this change. In the leading article this week Miss Pankhurst gives the answer of the Women's Social and Political Union to this statement of Mr. Asquith.

#### The General Election.

The rapid approach of the General Election makes active preparations necessary. The policy of the Women's Social and Political Union of fighting the Government will be taken up on all sides. Already a large number of

constituencies have been mapped out for special operations. The issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN for December 21 will contain a special page of "Facts for the Electors," recalling the elements of the demand for Woman Suffrage. This number will be especially useful for sale in constituencies. Meanwhile, the election posters announced last week are expected in a day or two, and an election manifesto and other special election leaflets are being prepared.

The Weak Point in the Liberal Armour.

The following significant paragraph appears in the Weekly Times (Liberal) last week:—

The weak points in our armour are, first, that we have, needlessly and foolishly, made enemies of the women in every constituency. We regret, and cannot understand the verdict of the jury on Thursday in the case of Mrs. Leigh. We such evidence as that given by Sir Victor Horsley, has regret still more the lack of real Liberal principle that has blinded the party to the justice of the woman's claim to the vote. We might have had the women on our side through this fight. No one who was present at the Albert Hall on Thursday night at the great meeting of welcome to Mrs. Pankhurst can doubt that their hostility is going to cost us more seats than all the assaults of the Tariff Reformers. Is it not time that official Liberalism awoke to a realisation of the folly of attempting to preach democracy and act at the same time oppose the enfranchisement of women?

The Policies of other Suffrage Societies.

The policies of the other Woman Suffrage societies to be pursued at the General Election are many and various. That of the National Union of Suffrage Societies consists in an approach to the candidates themselves and questions addressed to them as to their support of Woman's Enfranchisement and their opposition to any measure of franchise reform from which women are excluded. Their action will be based on the replies of the candidates. The Women's Freedom League are preparing a diverse campaign in the constituencies of Cabinet Ministers and in opposition to well-known Anti-Suffragists. The Women's Liberal Associations are supporting Liberals, but confining themselves to candidates who are favourable to the suffrage, and finally, the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association is demanding that the question of Woman Suffrage shall rank with the other party cry at the General Election.

Release of Miss Marsh.

On joy at the release of the heroic Charlotte Marsh from Winsor Green Gaol on Thursday last is overshadowed by the terribly sad death of her father. She reached home only to find him unconscious, and on the same day he passed away. We can only offer to the stricken family on behalf of ourselves and of all the members of the Union our deep and heartfelt sympathy for them in their terrible loss. The full story of what Miss Marsh suffered in prison has yet to be told. Her glorious fight can never be forgotten. We know that our readers will appreciate the portrait which we are presenting in our next week's issue of this heroic girl who has dared so much on account of the faith that is in her.

Release of Miss Garnett.

On Tuesday last Miss Theresa Garnett was released from Bristol Gaol, after serving a sentence of one month's imprisonment for her vigorous reminder to Mr. Churchill that he can no longer afford to deceive the women of the country. Miss Garnett has already on so many previous occasions endured the hardship of prison that our readers will not be in any way surprised to learn that her spirit never weakened in the face of the almost rigorous of prison treatment and of the barbarous forcible feeding to which she was subjected. To the word of the magistrates who said that they had had to deal with unruly prisoners, but had always broken their spirit, Miss Garnett replied, "You may defile my body, but you cannot defile my soul." Many other women have kept the flag flying in prison. We refer our readers to the accounts in detail on page 131.

A Fortnight for Damage of Sixpence.

For petty meanness and spite it would be difficult to beat the action of the authorities in arresting Miss Clarkson. It will be remembered that in August Miss Clarkson and several other Lancashire prisoners broke the glass in their cells in prison. Owing to the hunger-strike, however, they were shortly afterwards released. A little while after that Mr. Gladstone decided to use forcible feeding on Suffrage prisoners, and determined on the vindictive course of bringing back the Lancashire women to prison. Warrants were issued, but most of them have been allowed to remain dormant until now. But the occasion of a burglary in the W.S.P.U. offices in Manchester, when Miss Clarkson summoned the police, was taken advantage of to effect her immediate arrest, and she has been sentenced to one fortnight's imprisonment.

Conclusion of Mr. Churchill's Tour.

The concluding stages of Mr. Churchill's tour in Lancashire were marked by scenes similar to those in the early part, and effective protests were made. At Liverpool Mrs. Jones and Miss Atheling were arrested and sentenced to three days' and five days' hard labour. Meanwhile, outside the Sun Hall great crowds collected, and Miss Flatman addressed the throng, in spite of the efforts of the police to drown her voice. Mrs. Jones was released on Saturday, and Miss Atheling on Monday. A great number of other protests have been made at Cabinet Ministers' meetings in different parts of the country, during the week.

Echoes of Mr. Churchill's Visit to Southport.

Southport is still exercised over Mr. Churchill's visit, and according to the Southport Visitor there is a good deal of feeling about the cost, amounting to £250, or a farthing rate, which the town will have to pay for his

protection. It is suggested that the Liberals might be asked to foot the bill themselves, and the question is put whether if the Suffragettes require similar police protection a similar sum will fall upon the town? For our own part we have no hesitation in saying that Suffragettes do not require elaborate police preparations. A few hooligan boys may sometimes require to be overawed by the presence of a constable, but speaking broadly the crowd is entirely on the side of the Suffragettes. If it were not so there would not have been much left of them by this time after the inciting language of Cabinet Ministers. At a meeting of the Southport Women's Liberal Association the behaviour of the Liberal stewards to the women in Mr. Churchill's meeting was severely reprimanded.

Liberal Hypocrisy.

Yet another case is to hand showing the hypocrisy of which Liberal papers are guilty when they reprimand women for disturbing Cabinet Ministers' meetings. On Thursday in last week the meeting of the Earl of Dunmore was deliberately broken up by opposition, and the Daily Chronicle refers to it in the following headlines:—Driven Back to the Woods! Hilarious Scene! The paper adds that the Earl of Dunmore "went away a sadder and a wiser man."

How Women are Treated Differently from Men.

On Tuesday night, at a meeting addressed by Mr. Ure, a number of men tried to rush the door. Several windows were broken, and fragments of glass falling in showers injured some of the people standing within reach. There were no arrests. Our Liberal friends will find it difficult to explain this differential treatment. We offer three explanations. Firstly, the actions of the men represent mere hooliganism, whereas women are naturally law-abiding, and when they break the law it is only because of a deep-seated feeling of real grievances, and they are therefore more dangerous. Secondly, Liberals have a bad conscience on the question of Woman Suffrage, and are therefore apt to be hysterical in the matter. Thirdly, men have votes, and their arrest would be bad policy, whereas women are voteless, and therefore do not count. We invite Liberals to take their choice between these explanations.

Interesting Items.

Women have been particularly successful this year in the Royal Academy Schools, and for the first time in history a woman, Miss Marianne H. W. Robilliard, has won the gold medal and travelling scholarship for historical painting, the subject being "Dives and Lazarus."

Franklin Anna Heinrichsdorf, from Moscow, has passed an examination as electrical engineer, with the mark "excellent" in all subjects. She is the first woman to obtain a diploma as engineer in Germany.

Selma Lagerlof, the Swedish authoress, has been awarded the Nobel prize for literature.

The Birkenhead Women's Suffrage Society urge that if women are to be excluded from Mr. Asquith's meeting in Birkenhead it should not be called a "public" meeting, but "a meeting of electors," or "a meeting for men only."

The Manchester Evening Chronicle shows a cartoon in which Mr. Winston Churchill and Mr. Lloyd George are farmers who are feeding with grain suffragist geese whom they are just going to kill. Mr. Churchill is saying, "It seems almost a shame to deceive them." The Chronicle remarks, "It is observed that two members of the Cabinet are going out of their way to be inordinately polite to the militant Suffragists. It is thought that the approaching General Election may not be unconnected with the explanation." The paper fails to add that members of the W.S.P.U. are not so easily taken in.

TREASURER'S NOTE.

Very generous has been the response to the appeal for the £5,000 required for the General Election campaign. The subscriptions received and amounts promised at the Albert Hall, together with the amounts which have come in since, already total up to half the required sum. Most of these come from friends in London. It now only remains for friends up and down the country to do their share, so that the whole amount shall be available for the fight. Our subscription list has overflowed the column available this week, and in consequence the acknowledgment of several of the amounts, including the final contributions to the Mary Leigh Defence Fund, had to be held over till next week.

E. P. L.

KMAS PRESENTS! KMAS PRESENTS!

Come and buy at the W.S.P.U. STALL, 4, Clements Inn, Strand. A BLENDED ASSORTMENT IN THE COLOURS OF Crackers, Calendars, Christmas Cards, Games, Leather Work, Stationery, Handkerchiefs, Scarves, Jewellery, Sweets, Honey, &c.

For the special convenience of those unable to obtain their purchases during office hours the Stall will be OPEN ON SATURDAY TILL 6 p.m., AND ON MONDAY, TUESDAY, WEDNESDAY, and THURSDAY in next week till 9 p.m.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

Table listing names and amounts for the £100,000 fund, including Hon. Mrs. B. Haverfield, Miss M. D. Downing, Miss C. A. West, etc.

FOR GENERAL ELECTION FUND.

Table listing names and amounts for the General Election Fund, including Miss May Sinclair, Miss M. E. Robinson, Miss V. Howard, etc.

WHY?

By Elizabeth Robins. Part III.—Woman's Powerlessness in the Home.

Turning from the question of injustice in the inheritance laws, let us examine the laws governing the life of woman in that home which she is told is her "sphere." Here where she is to "rule as queen" she discovers she has not only no control over any portion of the means of livelihood, nor even over the material contents of her house—she has no legal right in or control over her own children, unless (significant exception) they are born out of wedlock. The children's mother has no legal right to a voice in deciding how they shall be nursed, how or where educated, what trade or profession they shall adopt, what form of religion they shall be instructed in.

A Woman's Religious Convictions of No Importance.

A devoted Churchwoman loses her husband when her children are young. He has never expressed any opinion as to the children's religious education. His family are militant Nonconformists. After the man's death his family are legally justified in insisting upon assuming the bringing up of the children, since the dead father in his youth had been a member of that particular sect, and had not publicly broken with them. The profound convictions of the mother go for nothing.

Another instance: A woman studies medicine. She becomes a convinced homeopathist. Her husband, a stockbroker, insists on subjecting his children to the rigour of old-fashioned allopathy. The mother must stand and look on helpless while the children she is responsible for bringing into the world are treated after a fashion she and many others believe to be pernicious.

Conscientious Objection Permissible Only to Men.

If a father wants his child vaccinated, the mother cannot prevent its being done. If the father does not want it vaccinated, the mother cannot legally have it done.

A Custody of Children Act was passed in 1891. It enables the parent to get back the child from the hands of a third person, but it is only the child's father who can use the law.

"There is no branch of English law," says Lady McLaren, "which more urgently needs attention than that relating to the guardianship of children." And not because men have never had their attention called to the abuses which deface that law.

The House of Commons Refuses Equal Guardianship

The late Sir Horace Davey introduced a Bill which proposed that father and mother should be acknowledged equal guardians of their children. This just and logical reform secured only nineteen votes in the House of Commons. The father remains sole guardian. Even when he is dead he may still, by having taken the precaution to appoint a guardian, be able to override the wishes of the children's living mother.

She cannot, even if she is a widow, appoint a guardian to act for them after her death, if her husband has already appointed one.

The mother may by deed or will provisionally appoint a guardian to act jointly with the father after her death. If the Court is satisfied that the father is not fitted to act as sole guardian, it may confirm the appointment.

This last wears an air of quasi-justice, but, like all other laws, it must be interpreted and applied by one sex only—by the sex to whom the father's interests are those that make inevitably their surest appeal.

The Court is Satisfied.

I will give one instance as to how it works out. A woman, not poor and obscure, but well known in English society, married a man who soon tired of her and transferred his attentions to a rival. I cannot remember now whether he openly went off with No. 2, but I know that after a series of humiliations and heart-breaking experiences which were the common talk of their world the neglected wife was glad to give up the father of her child to the education of her little girl—the only child of the marriage.

After a few years the wife died. She had appointed a brother or sister as guardian to the child, then about ten years old. The husband promptly married his mistress, who was a well-born woman. The man, rich, influential, belonging to a well-known family, was forgiven his peccadilloes, but people hesitated for a while to accept the new wife. She, however, had set her heart on social recognition. The little girl, she saw, was a possible means of rehabilitation. She induced the father to demand the custody of the child. There was an action at law, and the Court actually set aside the provision of the mother, took the child from its guardian and gave it into the keeping of the woman who had wrecked the dead mother's life. The second wife went about parading her devotion to the child, using her as a stalking horse. The device failed by reason of the undisguised antipathy of the little girl for her dead mother's enemy. Nothing would induce her to play up. She was silent and sullen. The second wife presently decided that the unhappy little creature was "queer." Oh! but very queer indeed not to be gay and lively and affectionate with so desirable a stepmother. As the child continued to mope and pine, the second wife wearied of her bargain. She was a resourceful lady. She started the theory that the child was mentally deficient. To make a long and hideous story short, the woman

prevailed upon the father (who was as much as ever under her influence) to put his child into an idiot asylum. The girl was there for several years. She must have been blessed with uncommonly steady wits, for in spite of the peril of such associations she developed no sign of mental lesion. "Paying patient" as she was, the asylum authorities refused to keep her any longer, since after the careful surveillance of years they failed to discover anything whatever amiss. They announced to the father their conclusion that the child ought never to have been placed in the asylum, and she was accordingly sent home. Whereupon the stepmother promptly packed her off to school. Now, the end of this narrative ought to be that the girl was permanently injured by her ghastly experience at the asylum. She happened to be of more enduring stuff. At school she rapidly made up for lost time, and distinguished herself in two widely different directions: by carrying off school prizes, and, as a fellow-pupil has reported, by ministering to the gaiety of the institution. In any dull moment, "Show us what the idiots did," her schoolfellows would say. And this astounding young person, of a surely unshakable mental equilibrium, would oblige amid peals of laughter.

(To be continued.)

W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Will members and friends take note that next week the free meeting usually held at the Queen's Hall on Monday afternoon from three to five will be held at St. James's Hall, Great Portland Street? On the following Monday, December 27, there will be no meeting, but the Monday afternoon meetings will be resumed on January 3 at St. James's Hall, after which they will take place in the Queen's Hall as usual. Miss Brown and Miss Paul, released from Holloway last Thursday (9th), will be publicly welcomed at next Monday afternoon's meeting.

There will be no meeting on Thursday evening in next week, but the Thursday evening meetings will recommence on Thursday, the 30th, in St. James's Hall (8 to 10 p.m.).

The Christmas Number.

The Christmas number (December 24) will be one of special interest, since it will contain, as a special Christmas Supplement, a very beautiful portrait of Miss Charlotte Marsh, who has made such a gallant fight in Winsor Green Gaol in the cause of the freedom of women. As the printing of this plate will take some time to complete, readers are asked to send in their increased orders at once. The number will also contain a leading article by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, a splendid article by the Rev. Hugh Chapman, and one of Miss Evelyn Sharp's charming sketches. In order to facilitate the sale of the Christmas number, it will go to press a day earlier than usual—viz., Tuesday, December 21. The following number (published December 31) will be the first General Election number, and will contain preliminary details and plans for the W.S.P.U. campaign in the various constituencies.

Election Posters and Literature.

As already announced, the Woman's Press has prepared special posters for the coming General Election campaign, and these will be ready in a day or two. The posters are in two sizes; one, 60 ins. by 40 ins., is suitable for railings, and costs 3d. (by post 4d.); the other, 80 ins. by 60 ins., is for hoardings, and the cost is 6d. (by post 7d.). Both are printed in the colours of the Union. Orders should be given to Mrs. Knight, Woman's Press, 4, Clements Inn, W.C., without delay. The Election Manifesto and a number of special leaflets, price 9d. per 100, 6p. for 1,000, are in course of preparation.

Great Public Meetings.

Great public meetings to express the indignation of the women of the country at the Government's treatment of their question, and of their comrades in prison, continue to be held. To-night Miss Christabel Pankhurst will speak in the Sun Hall, Liverpool. A series of meetings in connection with the General Election campaign will take place in January; for preliminary arrangements see Programme of Events, page 187.

At the Fighting Line.

The protests at Cabinet Ministers' meetings recently have resulted in a large number of arrests; and of the women still in prison, Mrs. Rigby will be released on Monday (20th) after fourteen days' imprisonment in connection with Mr. Churchill's visit to Waterloo, and Nurse Bryant, sentenced on December 6 at Haslingden in connection with the General Election campaign, will be released on January 5. Miss Nellie Taylor, arrested at Crews for breaking a window at the Liberal Club on December 9, and remanded for a week, is due to appear at the police court to-day. Miss Florence Clarkson, sentenced on December 13 at Manchester to fourteen days, will be released on December 24.

The Christmas Stall.

The Christmas presents stall at the head office of the W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C., continues to attract large numbers of visitors, who are delighted at the dainty and varied display of articles on sale by the Woman's Press. All members and their friends should visit the stall before choosing their Christmas presents. It is in the general offices on the first floor at 4, Clements Inn, and is open from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. every day, including to-morrow (Saturday). On Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday in next week the stall will be kept open until 9 p.m., and on Christmas Eve until 1 p.m. A charming postcard, with a photograph of the W.S.P.U. Band, is ready, price 2d.

The local W.S.P.U. shops are also showing among many novelties, the articles produced by the Woman's Press.

"Votes for Women" a Christmas Gift.

Readers are reminded that the best Christmas present to give to a friend is a subscription to VOTES FOR WOMEN for the coming year.

HOW TO HELP THE PAPER.

The sales at the street pitches continue briskly, and the true Suffragette spirit, in staying undiminished at the posts in spite of the cold, compels the admiration of the many purchasers of VOTES FOR WOMEN. One seller had just arrived at the Charing Cross pitch, when a man came up with the remark, "I do admire your people! Paper, please!" and was gone, with a bow for the whole woman's cause and all that it means. Shortly afterwards there came a flower girl, who entered into conversation with the same seller. "Lion-hearts, that's what they are," she said, referring to Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughters. "She's fighting for us women, and ain't afraid of anything. And it's time somebody stuck up for us!" Then there hailed in sight a small boy, who paused in front of the Suffragette, and observed with exceeding bitterness, "Women's rights is men's lefts!" which is a truer remark than that small boy imagines. Several members who had never sold before came along and helped splendidly, all of them declaring how interesting they found the work, and that they would certainly come again. And they are right: selling the paper is interesting, as all who have tried it testify.

It has been suggested that many women who want to help, but have not the courage to sell VOTES FOR WOMEN in the street or even canvass from door to door, might undertake a block of flats. Ladies often keep no maid in a flat, and answer the door themselves, and thus an opportunity would be given of a personal interview with the mistress of the house.

A HOME COMING.

(To my wife, on her return from a period of active service with the militant Suffragists.)

What flags are these—what trumpets, oh! what drums? What pride august—what solemn minstrelsy? Hush! drums, ecstatic drums; say who is she? That in the midst majestically comes? Is she some queen whose haughty eye benumbs? Proud potentates—whose word can lift the sea? Of shattering war, and fling red misery Across the world? Speak! drums, oh! aching drums! Hush! hush, wild drums, drums in my happy heart! Not thus she comes, my life's exalted queen, But in sweet silence far outlandish praise. Hers not the flaming sword that puts apart, But right's resistless blade, whose stroke unseen Wounds but to heal and crown with Freedom's bays!

JAMES H. COVINGS.

SHEATH COATS.



The ordinary Furrier is rarely a fashion expert. He is more concerned with the successful working of the skins than in following the latest whim of fashion. We are both manufacturing Furriers and Fashion Experts, with a highly organized business in Paris that keeps us constantly posted in every change of Fashion, so that our Furs are always thoroughly up to date.

SEAL CONEY SHEATH COAT, as sketch, full length, made from first choice skins, lined with satin, 15 Gns. Full length Seal Minkskin Coat, made from selected skins, 29 Gns. FUR CATALOGUE POST FREE.

Debenham & Freebody, Wigmore Street, London, W.

# WOMEN AND CABINET MINISTERS.

## Mr. Asquith Faced by Two Women: Huge Crowds Support the Suffragettes in Lancashire.

### "CHERCHEZ LA FEMME."

Once more the women have outwitted police and officials, and at the Albert Hall, on the occasion of the Liberal demonstration, in spite of the minute and elaborate precautions taken by the authorities on December 10 to prevent Suffragettes from gaining entrance to the building, and members of the Women's Social and Political Union succeeded in interviewing the Prime Minister at the close of the meeting. Walking along the passage leading from the lift to the artists' room, they met Mr. Asquith surrounded by a bodyguard of his supporters. Going straight up to him, they called out, "When do you mean to put your Liberal principles into practice? Practise what you preach." Mr. Asquith immediately threw up his arms as if he expected to receive a whipping, while those around him threw themselves upon the two women and hustled them out of the hall. Inside the hall three men sympathisers made strong protests against the attitude of the Government, and were forcibly ejected. One, after being ejected, contrived to return to the hall, and to bring the women's claims before the Prime Minister a second time.

### The Press on the Search.

"The search is still going on, and Mr. Hilton Carter, the manager, is busily engaged with his staff searching the inner and outer rooms of the hall. It is believed that some of the women will be found during the course of the day hidden in packing cases."

"Thus did the *Pall Mall Gazette* on Friday, December 10, solemnly conclude its account of "a stern game of hide and seek" in the Albert Hall. Perhaps it was not altogether kind of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence to send officials and Liberal stewards scouring the building all night on Thursday and all day on Friday for hidden Suffragettes! For the official mind is conservative, and since it was announced from the platform on Thursday night that they "might be under the platform or on the roof," they must be there! And so the search began. When the Albert Hall officials left off looking for Suffragettes, an Asquith army, awfully afraid, took it up, and not until the meeting was over and the Prime Minister safely away did those valiant stewards know a happy moment. The *Weekly Times* heads a paragraph describing the hunt "Cherchez La Femme"; the *Globe* noted that "with the ingenuity for which they are now noted the Suffragettes stowed themselves away in all sorts of strange hiding places"; the *Daily Telegraph* describes it as "another instance of woman's persistency"; the *Daily Mail* has "some exciting scenes and a good 'bag'"; "Suffragist energy" is the *Standard's* tribute to the women.

The accounts written for **VOTES FOR WOMEN** by the women who showed once more unflinching devotion and self-sacrifice in a struggle many hours in extreme discomfort are exceedingly interesting, but we will not give their secrets away. The captor of the woman discovered behind a curtain by an intelligent dog was outwitted by his quarry, for, having left her locked in a room while he telephoned for instructions, he returned to find the door had dropped from the window and had left the premises. One of the women had the satisfaction of hearing the openly expressed sympathy with their enterprise of the men engaged in preparing the hall for Friday night's meeting.

Miss Jessie Kenner's brilliant enterprise in attempting to enter the hall as a telegraph boy in regulation uniform was only frustrated by a prematurely sharp detective, who recognised her and turned her away from the door.

Outside the hall hundreds of Suffragettes wearing the colours and regalia of the W.S.P.U. distributed leaflets and sold **VOTES FOR WOMEN** to the crowds. Pushed from the formed in line on either side of the road, and when moved on, boarded passing omnibuses, and returned to the scene of activity. Miss Marie Brackenbury and others addressed groups of interested hearers, and a great amount of useful propaganda was done.

The anger of the Liberal men going into the meeting was naturally roused against the women who were there to expose the hypocrisy of the pretensions of the Liberal party, but the remark of a man when requested by one of the women not to tread on her feet was, it is to be hoped, an exception, "I have a woman at home, and I can tread on her as much as I like."

## GREAT LIVERPOOL DEMONSTRATION.

Wednesday, December 8, was the date of the great Sun Hall protest, when Winston Churchill was once more reminded of the women's demand. Elaborate precautions had been taken to guard against the attack of Suffragettes. The Sun Hall was closely guarded, detectives remaining inside the night before the meeting. The roof was covered with tarpaulin and the windows with canvas.

The scene outside the hall on the great night was very animated. Hundreds of police kept the huge crowd moving on. In a stable near by were a body of mounted police and two "black Marias."

Mrs. Violet Jones, not being able to find a place from which to speak, addressed a few words to the crowd where she stood, asking them to help her to get into the hall. With the crowd behind her she made straight for the front door, where she was promptly arrested, after having been brutally attacked by a man.

Meanwhile, Miss Flatman had gained access to a garden opposite Sun Hall, and, being on private property, could not be prevented from speaking. She started a speech, and immediately all the police chimed in, rendering it inaudible. The papers next day spoke of the policeman's chorus. The crowd was kept on the move, and pandemonium reigned. Every time Miss Flatman tried to speak the crowd cheered, and the police endeavoured to drown her voice. The din must certainly have penetrated to the hall. At length the police hit on a brilliant plan. Calling out the mounted police, they managed with much difficulty to clear an open space in front of Miss Flatman, driving the people back to right and left. The mounted police charged the crowd, driving people back even on the foot path, and arousing much indignation. As the audience had been removed the Suffragettes followed, and Miss Fraser Smith held a large protest meeting in an adjoining street.

Earlier in the evening Miss Atheling was arrested for sending her message through a window in the Reform Club. Though the club was closely guarded, she managed to get her message home. "Liverpool's message to Mr. Churchill" was on the label attached to her stone.

Mr. Churchill drove to the club for supper, after his meeting, and precautions were taken to prevent any woman having a word with him there. The place was thoroughly searched, and police outside kept the crowds in motion. In spite of this vigilance several women were near the door when Mr. Churchill arrived, and he heard their message.

Mrs. Jones and Miss Atheling were released on bail. They appeared next morning at Dale Street, and were sentenced. Mrs. Jones to three days' and Miss Atheling to five days' hard labour. Mrs. Jones was released on Saturday, after carrying out the hunger-strike.

### MR. CHURCHILL AT OLDHAM.

Tremendous precautions were taken at Oldham to prevent Suffragettes from getting near Mr. Churchill. When it was discovered that three were in the station to meet the train, the stationmaster telephoned down the line, and Mr. Churchill got off the train before arriving at Oldham, and motored to the theatre. All the roads leading to the theatre had cordons of police drawn up across them, and mounted police were also patrolling the roads. Three Suffragettes were recognised by the crowd, who at once surged round, and the police, fearing a riot, turned the Suffragettes down the forbidden street where the theatre is, and had to call in the assistance of the mounted police to keep the crowd back. The women were followed by detectives after this wherever they went. Having received information that Mr. Churchill was to dine that night at the Reform Club, Manchester, three women went on there. The club was guarded by about twenty-five police in uniform and the same number of plain clothes men. Shortly before Mr. Churchill left the club the police cleared everyone out of the adjoining streets, and the Reform Club was guarded the whole night lest the women should return to do any damage.

### BOLTON PROTEST.

"Vote for Women are still to the fore." These are the words that greeted Mr. Churchill on Wednesday, December 8, on his arrival at Bolton, in spite of elaborate police precautions to keep away the intractable Suffragettes.

A handsome red motor-car was standing with several others outside the station, and a large space in front of the motors was cleared by the police some five minutes before Mr. Churchill arrived; but, in spite of this, Miss Evelyn Wurrice managed to jump on to the step of the red motor in which Mr. Churchill had taken his place, and addressed the above words to him. About the same time Miss Nellie Godfrey threw a small missile, with a label attached, at the motor. On the label was written, "An Englishwoman's protest against the Government's treatment of political prisoners." The police were so engrossed with two very obvious Suffragettes, who were apparently there on mischief bent, that Miss Godfrey was able to throw her message with ease. She was arrested immediately, and taken to the police station, where she was kept till 10 p.m. in the wardroom, when bail was procured. The crowds in the streets were tremendous. One constable was heard to say it was "worse than Mafeking night." There were 300 foot police on duty and twelve mounted. Every

public building was guarded, stout barricades were erected round the Grand Theatre, and traffic in the neighbourhood of the theatre was forbidden for some hours.

### CREWE AWAKENED.

When the Suffragettes arrived at Crewe they found the whole town expecting them and a buzz with excitement as to what they were going to do.

On Tuesday (midnight) they sallied forth with forcible feces posters, and put one over every one of those announcing Winston Churchill's meeting. At the meeting in Market Square on Wednesday, December 8, it looked as if all the population had turned out—noticing but a sea of friendly faces on all sides.

At Mr. Churchill's meeting later the crowd broke the barrier at one end, and the police had to use their staves to beat them back. Mr. Churchill went from one hall to the other in an ordinary cab, a guarded motor going first as a blind. The people continually recognised the Suffragettes, and pointed out to them Mr. Churchill's cab, and made way for them to get as near the barrier as possible. When Winston Churchill came out Mrs. B. Smith said, "Let me through." They opened out like magic, and she ran right round to the other side of the square and caught the car, which had to go slowly on account of the crowd. She had just reached the handle, and was turning it, when a policeman caught her and rushed her into the nearest shop, then shut the shop, and left the crowd cheering outside. As he would not let her out again, she and Miss Wood got over two walls at the back, about 8 1/2 feet high.

When they got back into the street they heard that Miss Taylor had been arrested for breaking windows at the Liberal Club, and had also struck the car with a stone. She was brought up next morning and remanded for a week on bail.

### NO ESCAPE.

Mr. Lloyd George was not allowed to keep his engagements at the Trocadero on Monday night, December 13, without a reminder that the women of the country are getting more and more impatient in their demand for enfranchisement. A gentleman and lady, recognised by detectives as ardent militants, having been ejected from the feast, the ceremony itself passed off quietly, but outside, where every door was guarded by police and detectives, a woman dodged the guard, and the Chancellor was again faced with the women's war-cry.

### MR. BIRRELL REMINDED.

On Saturday, December 11, Mr. Birrell visited Bristol for the week-end. Miss Wentworth, who had just undergone a fortnight's imprisonment for a protest made at the Bristol Liberal Club, approached Mr. Birrell and asked him what he intended to do for the women if returned to power. She was pounced upon by detectives and removed. The station was swarming with detectives, who surrounded Mr. Birrell, and although the women only desired to speak to him he appeared to be so afraid of violence that they were unable to address him except from a distance. In the evening, when Mr. Birrell addressed a meeting, Miss Wentworth eluded the vigilance of the police, and with great skill and agility kept up a megaphone accompaniment for a considerable time.

### MR. BUXTON AT POPLAR.

A large protest meeting was held at Poplar on Wednesday night, December 8, outside the hall in which Mr. Sidney Buxton was speaking. The sympathetic attention of the crowd being held for upwards of an hour by Mrs. Baldock and other speakers. Two men sympathisers who protested inside the hall were ejected.

### MR. SAMUEL QUESTIONED.

A force of 50 policemen guarding the Guildhall and the Post Office at Plymouth last week prevented the Suffragettes from making their protest to Mr. Samuel in person. A male supporter, however, was able to protest against the exclusion of women from the meeting, and was thrown out in the usual rough manner.

### SOME PRESS COMMENTS.

Mr. Asquith even attempts to buy off the opposition of the Suffragettes, who have broken his windows and assaulted his colleagues, by a promise which is either meaningless or insincere. And on this point let it be said that while no language is too severe to apply in condemnation of the action of a section of the supporters of Women's Suffrage, Mr. Asquith and his colleagues have forfeited the right to employ such language by the silence they have observed with regard to the ruffianism and rowdiness of gangs of hooligans, hired, by per-

sons acting in the name of Liberalism, to break up meetings convened to denounce the Budget. —*Daily Telegraph*.

If the Liberal party had, during this Parliament, been true to its professions and redeemed its promises to give votes to women, it would not have had to bear in this critical election the disturbing and weakening attack upon its flank by the women Suffragists. The women in this election have no other concern than to do what they think may be best to promote their own cause.—Philip Snowden in the *Christian Commonwealth*.

Mr. Asquith is to get the freedom of Edinburgh. He richly deserves it. But how is he to get it? The City of Edinburgh may agree to give the freedom; but the Suffragettes will not sanction it. Obviously it must be conferred in secret. It is a great pity that Milne's Square was cleared away. In it there was an old cellar underground, wherein a great State deed was secretly done—the Treaty of Union signed. If that historic place had been in existence, the Premier might have been smuggled up Cockburn Street in a policeman's uniform, hustled into the cellar, and the burgess ticket surreptitiously given to this poor, tormented Statesman. That chance has gone. But there is still some hope. The city officers are armed men. They carry long poles with axes of sharp steel at the end. Surely with these dreadful implements they will be able to secure the safety of the Premier. They are worthy of the great men and women who are gone before us.

Considerable comment has been aroused in political circles by the marked change of front on the part of at least two members of the Cabinet towards the Suffragists. Both Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Churchill have suddenly become solicitous that the ladies should be treated with every courtesy. —*Daily Dispatch*.

Mr. Winston Churchill actually smiled up at the intrepid lady who from her vantage ground aloft led the Suffragettes to ask a question of the ventilator. Nay, when the disturbance caused by ejecting three Suffragettes had subsided, he frankly acknowledged that the interruption was a fair one, and avowed his readiness to answer the ladies if they were brought to him after the meeting. But they were either on their way to goal or already lodged there, so they were not forthcoming. Oh! the pity of it that such an acknowledgment was not made before. Had this been done at Sir Edward Grey's meeting in Manchester, and had the answer which was promised been given, how different might have been the course of events! Instead of ejection every constitutional door to the women, and trying to suppress the suffrage movement by coercion, had the Government met the women fairly, and not gossiped them on by barbarous treatment, much that has been so regrettable and disgraceful would not have happened, and the country would not have suffered so much loss in prestige and money.—*Walsley Press*.

After all the time spent in planning, and the money in providing an adequate defence, the erection of barriers, and the manoeuvres of mounted police, "Dauntless Dora" made her thirteenth protest, and made it at the moment when all seemed most secure. The word Suffragette is heard on all sides spoken in tones varying from admiration to abhorrence. Folk is queer—no doubt about it. —*Birkdale Pioneer*.

After all the Liberal's proud boast that they would be able to keep the Suffragettes out of Mr. Churchill's meeting, the gallant little band of advocates of "Votes for Women" have outwitted them. On one point there is universal agreement—namely, the gameness of the ladies enrolled in the cause. —*Southport Visitor*.

In their open-air meetings the female Suffragettes have invariably attracted fairly large audiences, but they have, probably, in Leith, never been listened to by a larger crowd than that gathered at the Foot of Leith Walk last night, when a number of the vote-seeking party delivered fighting speeches on behalf of the movement. —*Edinburgh Evening Dispatch*.

Terror is added to the life of the politician by the advent of schoolgirls in the Suffragette movement. In several of the higher-grade schools of Glasgow quite a number of young misses are strong advocates of Votes for Women. —*Daily Record and Daily Mail*.

A correspondent points out that tickets issued for Mr. Churchill's Waterloo meeting admitted "No Female," those for Southampton "No Women," and those for the Sun Hall "No Ladies." The *Liverpool Courier* suggests that possibly "No Angels" would be admitted at the next meeting.

The Cabinet sat from 11.30 a.m. to 1.40 p.m. discussing the situation. More than a dozen resolutions were introduced, including several dealing with the Suffragettes, who were in attendance. The police had made complete arrangements for dealing with the Suffragettes in case they turned up, but none of the women put in an appearance. —*Evening Standard*.

### DISAPPOINTED!

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### SAD NEWS!

The militant Suffragettes have reached a point now where argument ceases to be the weapon with which to answer them. They will no longer be satisfied with the cause of women by criminality, but every sensible person—man or woman—knows quite well that the women have not been further from their goal for a generation than they are today. —*Exeter Express*.

# RELEASES OF PRISONERS.

## MISS CHARLOTTE MARSH RELEASED.

Miss Charlotte Marsh was released on Thursday, December 9, from Winson Green Gaol, Birmingham, after serving a three months' sentence. The release was due on December 7, but although the authorities knew that her father was dangerously ill, they did not allow her the usual remission, and decided to keep her till December 15. On the 8th they received the news that her father was dying, but they did not release her till the 9th, when, weak and ill as she was, she journeyed by train to Newcastle, only to find her father unconscious. He died without recognising her.

Never once during her long term of imprisonment has her courage failed, and she was forcibly fed by tube 132 times. It is no wonder that, according to her sister's account, she looks very thin and pale, and feels very weak indeed. Her throat and her chest are very painful, and she still complains of a burning sensation in her head. Her doctor certifies that she is emaciated, as though recovering from a severe illness, and that her condition may be extremely prejudicial to her health at some future time. She is a stone and a half lighter in weight. Miss Marsh writes:—In prison, when I was feeling specially hungry and cold, I used to imagine that away in America Mrs. Pankhurst was saying, "Oh God of battles, steel my soldiers' hearts," and it made me feel invincible. Then I had a pet quotation from a speech of Miss Pankhurst's: "Let us prove that we are worthy of the great men and women who are gone before us."

## RELEASE OF MISS GARNETT.

Mrs. Teresa Garnett, who was sentenced on November 15 at Bristol to a month's imprisonment for striking Mr. Winston Churchill with a riding switch, to express what women thought of the treatment of women by the Liberal Government, was released on Tuesday morning last, December 14. After the terrible ordeal which she has gone through she is naturally weak and in very poor health, and she is at present being taken care of in a nursing home at Clifton. In a letter she writes: "My thoughts are rather scattered, and I am very tired."

Miss Garnett is another of those brave women who cannot be influenced to act against their principles either by kindness or by cruelty. On her arrival at Horfield Prison she began her hunger-strike, and in five days Miss Dr. Cotton and another medical man, four wardresses and the matron entered her cell, and warned her that she would be forcibly fed. After a struggle she was overpowered in spite of her protest that forcible feeding was illegal. She managed to break the tube, but after it had been repaired it was forced through her nostrils, causing her great pain, and about a pint and a half of milk was poured down. It hurt even more when it was taken out. As a protest against this outrage, Miss Garnett set fire to her cell. For this she was placed in a punishment cell, dark and foul smelling, with damp walls, dirty floor, and cobwebs over the window. When the doctor visited her, she asked him with great pain, "Is it possible to get a medical treatment?" as he called forcible feeding, with such a foul cell, and he answered candidly that he did not attempt to reconcile the two. Miss Garnett was then taken before the magistrates, to whom she explained her motives, and as though she had not already suffered enough, they sentenced her to fifteen days in the same unhealthy cell, warning her that they had had to deal with unruly prisoners before, and had already broken their spirits. Miss Garnett replied, "You may defile my body, but you cannot defile my soul."

## No Surrender!

For eleven days she remained in that cell, and then one morning she was found unconscious. After that, until her release, she was kept in hospital, and persuasion was tried instead of cruelty. Dr. Cotton said to her, "You have done enough for honour, now take your food, and no one outside need ever know of your existence." "I know," she said, "I won't tell tale out of school." Miss Garnett's appeal to the police. It will be remembered that Miss Florence Clarkson was summoned by the prison authorities for damage to two windows, valued at 3d. each, in August last. On Thursday night, December 9, the offices at 164, Oxford Road were broken into, and £18 was stolen. Miss Clarkson, the last to leave the office, was in the act of giving the necessary information to the police when a gentleman asked her name and requested a private interview. The interview ended with an invitation to visit the nearest police station. On Saturday she appeared before Mr. T. Shepherd Little, bail was refused, the magistrate remarking that Miss Clarkson would be much better employed in prison than at a meeting, and that the application would be an advertisement, and he did not wish to advertise the matter in any way. Miss Flatman and Miss Robinson protested against this injustice, and were expelled from the court. On Monday Miss Clarkson was sentenced to fourteen days' imprisonment. Manchester Suffragettes are determined to bring the case of Miss Clarkson to the notice of the Home Secretary, who visited Manchester today.

## THE HOLLOWAY PRISONERS.

On Thursday of last week, December 9, Miss Alice Paul and Miss Amelia Brown were released after serving a sentence of one month's imprisonment in connection with their spirited protest at the Guildhall on the occasion of the Lord Mayor's Banquet. They are both naturally in a weak state of health and under doctors' care. Miss Paul is an American by birth, and Mrs. Pankhurst, on her tour in that country, aroused great sympathy for her among her fellow-citizens. She is an M.A. of the Pennsylvania University, and has done a good deal of social work. This was her third term of imprisonment and her third Hunger-strike.

For nearly half the time she has been forcibly fed. She writes that the largest wardress in Holloway sat on her knees and placed her two hands on her chest to keep her

from bending forward. Two other wardresses held her, and a towel was placed round her throat. One doctor forced her head back while the other pushed the tube through her nostrils. On two occasions her mouth was prised open with an instrument. She has carried out her protests continuously. Miss Brown has also been forcibly fed, and is suffering severely from gastritis. On the first occasion nine wardresses had to carry her and help with the feeding. Although she vomited continuously the instrument was not removed, and her sufferings were terrible.

## NEWS OF NURSE BRYANT.

Nurse Violet Bryant, who was arrested at Haslingden last week, and sentenced to a month's imprisonment in connection with the Lancashire protest campaign, is continuing her hunger strike at the Preston House of Correction. She has refused to obey prison regulations, and a special committee has been sitting to consider what shall be done with her. At the request of the Visiting Justices, who "wish to do what is right," a Prison Commissioner has been specially sent for from London. The situation has caused great excitement in Preston.

## NEWS OF THE PRISONERS.

Miss Elsie Roe Brown and Miss Edith Hudson, both of whom were sentenced last week in connection with protests at Leith, were released on December 8 by the authorities, who stated that their fines had been paid. This information is received with some scepticism by the Edinburgh Suffragettes, who consider that the authorities took this step in order to avoid forcible feeding. So far Scotland, to her honour, has not resorted to this practice. Both the two prisoners had refused to obey regulations, and had carried out the hunger strike. Nurse Roe Brown has, in consequence of her action, lost her employment in an Edinburgh Nursing Home, in spite of the intervention of the matron, and the matron herself has now sent in her resignation as a protest against this injustice.

Mrs. Hesmondhalgh was released on Friday last from Preston Prison, after serving a sentence of seven days. She followed the example of other women in refusing to obey prison rules, and she carried out the hunger strike for ninety hours, by which time she was so weak that she was unable to resist being fed by a cup. Although she was really ill, and had fainted seven times, she was not allowed to have her bed raised, and she was forced to sit up. The circumstances of her release show again the desire of the authorities to use the utmost brutality in order to break the spirit of the women prisoners. Although they knew that during the day there would be no one to receive her, and although the local Union had promised there would be no demonstration, the governor released her at a quarter to seven on Friday morning, and left her, weak with starvation and unattended, to go home as best she could. Fortunately, two Preston members were waiting, and took charge of her.

Mrs. Maesy, who was recently arrested at Preston, was released after three days, as her fine had been paid without her knowledge or consent. She had carried out a hunger strike during the whole time, but had not been forcibly fed.

Miss Annie Slado, who was sentenced to 14 days' imprisonment on December 6 at Rawtenstall, was released on Wednesday, December 8, on medical grounds, after fasting for 53 hours.

Mrs. Worthington, who was arrested with two others at Preston on Friday, December 3, was released two days later, as the authorities say her fine was paid by someone unknown.

## ARREST OF MISS CLARKSON.

Another arrest has been made at Manchester under circumstances described by the *Standard* as "amusing." Great indignation has been aroused among Manchester Suffragettes at the advantage taken by the authorities of the appeal to the police. It will be remembered that Miss Florence Clarkson was summoned by the prison authorities for damage to two windows, valued at 3d. each, in August last. On Thursday night, December 9, the offices at 164, Oxford Road were broken into, and £18 was stolen. Miss Clarkson, the last to leave the office, was in the act of giving the necessary information to the police when a gentleman asked her name and requested a private interview. The interview ended with an invitation to visit the nearest police station. On Saturday she appeared before Mr. T. Shepherd Little, bail was refused, the magistrate remarking that Miss Clarkson would be much better employed in prison than at a meeting, and that the application would be an advertisement, and he did not wish to advertise the matter in any way. Miss Flatman and Miss Robinson protested against this injustice, and were expelled from the court. On Monday Miss Clarkson was sentenced to fourteen days' imprisonment. Manchester Suffragettes are determined to bring the case of Miss Clarkson to the notice of the Home Secretary, who visited Manchester today.

# THE GREAT ALBERT HALL MEETING.

## Declaration of Election Policy and Welcome to Mrs. Pankhurst.

Perhaps a little of the whole-souled loyalty and unquenchable enthusiasm of the great Suffragette meeting at the Albert Hall last Thursday remained in the air and led the Premier to mention Woman's Suffrage in his speech; it would at least be strange if that great demonstration of spiritual force had not left behind it some subtle influence to show the Liberals that their hypocrisy could not deceive the women of the country.

It was indeed a memorable evening. Primarily arranged as a welcome back to Mrs. Pankhurst, its political significance on the eve of an electoral struggle was supreme; it was the occasion of a declaration of war against the Liberal party till they should offer honourable terms of peace, and it marked the opening of a special election campaign fund. It also came immediately after the Court's adverse decision on two important legal points—the right to petition and the right of a prisoner to decide whether or not she should have an operation performed on her. Finally, it gave a welcome to the brave hunger strikers of the past few weeks, and a special demonstration to Mrs. Leigh after her ten weeks' imprisonment at Birmingham.

## Liberator of Women.

Mrs. Pankhurst said truly that the great movement was impersonal, that it went on irresistibly with her or without her; but the personal love of the members for their wonderful leader was never more evident. Over the orchestra were the words in giant letters—"No Surrender. Welcome Mrs. Pankhurst, Liberator of Women." And when she came on to the platform the vast audience rose and cheered her again and again in an attempt to show something of the spirit which she has awakened in them. Many beautiful flowers were presented to her, and she would have been less than human had she not been moved by the magnificent tribute of love, loyalty, and admiration given her by the audience when Mrs. Pethick Lawrence closed her fine speech with the words, "Liberator of Women, we welcome you."

Another stirring moment in that great evening was when the hunger-strikers, clothed in white and bearing flags, passed through the hall and on to the platform to receive their medals from Mrs. Pankhurst. Many of them bore traces of what they had suffered, but not content with giving themselves, they subscribed during the evening a sum of £80.

Mrs. Lawrence had only to tell of the establishment of an election fund—she never begged, she explained—when one after another the promises of money came in—in hundreds and tens of pounds, and a sum of £2,000 was thus guaranteed immediately.

In opening the meeting, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence referred to the most historic and most significant event that would take place on the following night. The Prime Minister would address a great gathering of Liberals, and would have within those walls such a gathering as had probably never before taken place in the Liberal papers said. Mrs. Lawrence described the meeting as a great political monastery; the Prime Minister, the great Abbot, would have around him his friars and monks, to whom he would propound the Gospel of the British Constitution. The prayer of the gathering would be, "Deliver us from women," the cause of the fall. She hoped they would be the cause of a fall.

Seriously Mrs. Lawrence continued, why was the Liberal Government would not allow women to come into their meetings? They had got a conscience. (No, no.) Yes, yes; and conscience made cowards of us all. It was because women were making precisely the same claim as the Government made with regard to the House of Lords that they dared not answer the women. They could not answer that argument, and so they had to fight with repression. Last week the Right of Petition had been practically destroyed. That day the Lord Chief Justice had declared that the rights of human beings to say whether or not they should be subject to a medical operation in prison did not exist. (Shame.)

The Government were only lip-servants of liberty. The real guardians and champions of liberty were the women fighting this battle for freedom, above all the women who had been in prison, and who said, "You may do what you will with my body, you shall never rule my spirit by brute force. (Bravo! bravo!) They might be bent by brute force, the body might be killed and broken, but force had no power to bend or break the spirit.

"We are still going on. (Bravo! bravo!) We are the trustees of liberty in this country. We fling down the gauntlet to all those who deny the principles of liberty."

Mrs. Pankhurst spoke of the policy of the W.S.P.U. in the General Election. It was not based upon promises of private members, who were powerless; they looked to the leaders only for pledges. Mrs. Asquith's attitude to Woman's Suffrage was well known, and the Union would fight against the Liberal Government. (Bravo!) They, as women, denied that vote of confidence in Mr. Asquith which the Government asked for. They told him that

was not to remain in an office which he had persistently degraded. He was an enemy of popular liberty, a Constitution wrecker, a cruel ruler. Over 450 women had gone to prison for liberty during his term of office. The Government had used its power to mete out coercion. The women were against this Government because they loathed hypocrisy. Mrs. Asquith said the basis of representation was ever broadening. He opposed the Lords because they were unrepresentative. On that principle, what right had he to tax women? The logic of the militant position was absolutely sound. They were asked to join hands with this Government, but they would never do so until they were offered honourable terms of peace; until the Government, as a Government, would promise that if still in office after the General Election was over they would, without delay, introduce a measure wiping out the logic of the militant position was absolutely sound. 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THREE NEW PAMPHLETS.

Christianity and the Woman's Movement.

From the earliest days of Christianity right down to the present day women have been in a special sense defenders and keepers of the faith and ideals of the Christian Church. To many of the women fighting the great battle for liberty—that "liberty without which there can be no real virtue, no true righteousness"—it has been a bitter grief that the Church as a whole should hitherto have held aloof from this Emancipation Movement.

But there are many signs that a day of better understanding is dawning. Well will it be for women, well, too, for the Church, if in the time of awakening of the spirit in women, the Church stands true to its best and highest traditions and demands justice from the rulers of the earth in the name of the Supreme Judge whose ear is ever open to the cry of the oppressed.

A few weeks ago some extracts from a sermon delivered in his church by the Rev. J. M. Lloyd Thomas were published in this paper. The whole address has been printed, and is now published by the Woman's Press, and is on sale at the W.S.P.U. offices at 4, Clements Inn, price one penny. Its title is "The Emancipation of Womanhood."

No more masterly, no more comprehensive and entirely noble exposition of the Woman's Movement has yet been written.

"What has Christianity to do with the Woman's Movement?" is the wondering question that is asked by many good people. "The truth is," says the Rev. J. M. Lloyd Thomas, "that the Higher Spirit of Humanity has stirred the hearts of the pioneer women in our day, and set them on fire with a zeal for justice and for a freer ampler life."

The question of militant methods the writer of this paper treats with the broad mental grasp of the moral scientist and the historian. Evolution and revolution, he says, are not necessarily contradictory terms.

There are occasions when evolution belongs to the ordinary and normal course of evolution. Development reaches a crisis now and again from which further progress is possible only through a sudden convulsion. This catastrophe becomes, then, the necessary step in further development. Social growth may be and often is as revolutionary as the passing of a grub into a moth; it is like the chick breaking the shell that once preserved but now restrains it.

The present political, social, and economic position of woman is dealt with in the same large philosophic fashion. The need for the Vote is stated not only from the woman's point of view, but from the point of view of the man's need, of society's need. "The Emancipation of Womanhood is the first and most necessary step to the emancipation of human society from evils which men are powerless to fight alone." Infant mortality, the care of the feeble, the imbecile, and unfit, education, medical inspection and feeding of children, all labour legislation, these are some of the practical considerations apart from the broader ethical considerations that demand the immediate voice of women. The pamphlet concludes in a high note of inspiration and encouragement to women:—

So unite aggressively in your own interests and "trust no party, sect, or faction," remembering those words of John Stuart Mill: "The concessions of the privileged to the unprivileged are seldom brought about by any better method than the power of the unprivileged to extort them." You have a glorious Cause, you have perilous hazards in front, but also you have a certain victory.

This exposition of the meaning of the present Women's Emancipation Movement from the religious point of view will be a great satisfaction to many who recognise that Votes for Women is a religious as well as a political question. It should be very valuable in winning to the fighting ranks men and women to whom the great moralities make a profounder appeal than any mere matter of practical politics. It will also appeal to those who take their political principles seriously. For it is sane and soundly political in regard to its reasoning and argument. In old days the seer and prophet was the politician. It would be well for the nation if this were more generally true at the present day.

A Pamphlet by Mrs. Ivory.

Mrs. James Ivory, one of the staunchest supporters of the Women's Social and Political Union in Edinburgh, was invited last November to read a paper to the Colinton Literary Society. So great was the impression which was then and there produced upon the audience that she was requested to publish the paper in pamphlet form. This she has done, and a new treatise on the Women's Social and Political Union campaign has been added to our literature, and can be obtained for a penny from the Woman's Press.

It will be found exceedingly useful as an exposition of the development and policy of the Women's Emancipation Movement from the days of those pioneers Mrs. Bright McLaren and Miss Louisa Stevenson until now. The need for militant tactics, the description of what these tactics actually are, and what results they have achieved will be found especially useful and helpful to those who have only lately entered the Union, or have not yet come into direct and close contact with it. In view of the coming election campaign the remaining few thousand copies should be very quickly distributed, and will be immensely helpful in presenting the whole case to the wholly or partially unenlightened.

Mr. Nevinson's Message to Men.

Every Suffragist will be delighted to hear that Mr. Nevinson's brilliant article, "Women's Vote and Men," recently published in the English Review, has been reprinted, and is now on sale in pamphlet form at the Woman's Press, 4, Clements Inn, W.C., price 1d. Mr. Nevinson is one of the clear-sighted men who understand the inner meaning of the woman's movement, and his words may help to enlighten some of the men who profess still to laugh at it.

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THE WORLD WE LIVE IN.

Between Two Fires.

By G. d'A. BLUMBERG.

The small girl in charge of the loaded pram and four toddlers came to a sudden standstill.

Squaring out her elbows and resting her tiny snub nose on the handle-bar, she raised the front wheels and brought the frail craft skilfully alongside the bench on which Belinda and I were seated.

I turned to Belinda and remarked:

"Now, there you have a pretty example of the true vocation of woman—the care of the child."

Belinda smiled enigmatically.

She has, I grieve to relate, been bitten by the tarantula of Modernism, and has formed, more than once, part of the army of misguided women besieging our venerable Houses of Parliament.

I turned to the little maid at my side.

I have a wonderful way with children, and gain their confidence immediately. I soon learnt that two of the babies were hers—as she expressed it—and the rest were Mrs. Maguire's. She also informed me that she was twelve years old and that she had a brother whose age was fourteen.

"Ah! And I have not the least doubt that at this very moment he's playing a man's part, just as you are playing a woman's. He's out in the world, helping father?"

I glanced significantly at Belinda.

"No, 'e ain't 'elping farver. Farver don't want no 'elp."

"No? Then perhaps he's learning a trade, so that soon—"

"No, 'e ain't learning no trade."

"He's quite well, I hope?"

"'E's all right, thank ye kindly, mister. 'E's over there, by the pond, a-catching tiddlers and spilling his boots."

I own that the answer was somewhat unexpected, but I saw no reason why Belinda should go off into an uncontrollable peal of laughter. True, the boy was not exactly helping his father, but the manly instinct to do so was there all the same. To-day, he was stooping over a pestiferous pond in an endeavour to snare the elusive tiddler. To-morrow he would try his hand at catching the still more elusive coin of the realm.

I tried to explain this to Belinda, but it was not the least use. She would not stop laughing. That is the worst of women. They have a horrid habit of seizing hold of a side issue—a bye-product, so to speak—and of ignoring the main argument. It is very annoying, not to say unfair.

Belinda merely said:

"Just like a man—enjoying himself!"

"Ah! yer about right there, marm," piped a voice from my other side. "Don't the men just know 'ow to enjoy themselves. Oh, no; not 'arf. There's farver, if ye wants to find 'im, which I don't serpose yer does, 'es at the 'Awk and Sparrer, and there 'e'll stop till they turns 'im out blind to the world. 'E don't want no 'elp does farver, mister, 'e can do it all 'imself easy, and just cause 'e sports a pair of pants, and can give murther a black eye a Saturday nights reglar, 'es got a vote, 'e has. And there's our Ernie over there. Arsk 'im to mind the baby, and 'e'll tell yer its a woman's work pretty sharp, and I ain't saying it isn't, but, bless yer 'eart, there ain't nuffing but wots a woman's work these days, and a fat lot she gets for it, too. But there. 'Tain't a bit of use grumblin', and murther says it will all come right when that there Mrs. Pancake gets the vote, so I sez 'God bless 'er' and 'Votes for women!'"

The scene which followed was really very touching.

Belinda rose rapidly and flung her arms round the little orator. She then unpinned a tiny gold flag prettily enamelled in purple, white and green, and gave it to her, and told her to keep it always, for it was the flag which meant "Justice for Women." And she said that she hoped when the fight was over and the victory won that they would ever use the power gained to lighten the burden which weighed so heavily on many a woman and child, and try to make their lives more like what God intended they should be. And then a most amazing thing happened.

Belinda lifted a baby from the pram and dandled it in her arms.

And she spoke to it in a language that is not taught in a board or any other school, but for all that the baby seemed to understand every single syllable, and there were many.

It smiled up into Belinda's face. It was a toothless, triangular smile, grotesque in the extreme, yet it said as plainly as words, "Methinks I recognise in thee a sensible and sympathetic soul."

Is there, then, another side to the question? May a woman desire the vote, aye, even fight for it, and yet—well the baby seemed to think so.

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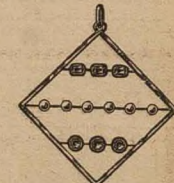
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The Women's Social and Political Union are NOT asking for a vote for every woman, but simply that sex shall cease to be a disqualification for the franchise.  
At present men who pay rates and taxes, who are owners, occupiers, lodgers, or have the service or university franchise, possess the Parliamentary vote. The Women's Social and Political Union claim that women who fulfil the same conditions shall also enjoy the franchise.  
It is estimated that when this claim has been conceded about a million and a quarter women will possess the vote in addition to the seven and a half million men who are at present enfranchised.  
The Women's Social and Political Union claim that a simple measure, giving the vote to women on these terms, shall be passed immediately.

## VOTES FOR WOMEN

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND.  
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1909.

### OUR ANSWER TO MR. ASQUITH.

"Nearly two years ago I declared, on behalf of the present Government, that in the event of our bringing in a Reform Bill, we should make the question of Suffrage for Women an open one for the House of Commons to decide. My declaration survives the General Election, and this case, so far as the Government is concerned, shall be no worse off in the new Parliament than it would have been in the old."  
This declaration of Mr. Asquith, made at the Albert Hall on Friday last, confirms the Women's Social and Political Union in its intention to fight against the Government by opposing Liberal candidates at the General Election. When he made his original statement two years ago we rejected it at once as worthless. The experience of the past two years has confirmed us in this view.  
In the first place, he does not propose that Woman Suffrage should be considered at all apart from a general Reform Bill. What guarantee have we that this Bill will ever be introduced? Mr. Asquith carefully refrains from giving any definite promise on this point, and we are thrown back on the shadowy "hope and intention" of his previous statement. But during the past two years there were no signs of any effort to make this "hope and intention" a reality, and there are no different signs to-day, particularly as men who apparently care very little for an extension of their own voting rights are not likely to bring any serious pressure to bear upon the Government in this matter.  
But in any case we regard the attempt to mix up the question of the disability of sex with other franchise alterations as fraught with serious danger to our cause. To confuse the issue by insisting that Votes for Women shall come either as part of the Reform Bill or not at all is the favourite device of those opponents of women's emancipation who are too cowardly or too crafty to offer opposition to this reform. Even, therefore, if Mr. Asquith proposed himself to include Woman Suffrage in his mythical Reform Bill we should view his declaration with disfavour.  
But he makes no such promise. Instead, he fore-shadows a procedure by which our reform is to be dependent on the support of the rank and file members of Par-

liament. Our experience in the past justifies us in viewing this proposal with the utmost suspicion. For we know, and Mr. Asquith knows, that, speaking generally, our so-called friends in the House of Commons are broken reeds. The majority of the members of Parliament elected in 1906 were pledged to support our cause, but those pledges have been deliberately broken. Having carried the second reading of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill, these professing supporters allowed the Government to block the further progress of that measure. Furthermore, they allowed the Government to attempt to repress the women's agitation by means of physical force. The assaults committed upon women in prison have moved members of Parliament, not to indignation and sympathy, but to inane laughter. In fact, during the past four years the record of private members has been disgraceful to themselves and to the House of Commons. Also, it must be remembered that Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Crewe have both admitted that the pledges in support of Woman Suffrage which, at the last General Election, were given by these members of Parliament, were made without any serious intention of fulfilment.  
When the Prime Minister's statement was first made two years ago, he declared that unless a private member's amendment on Woman Suffrage fulfilled certain conditions (regarded by us as pitfalls), the Government would oppose the amendment. Presumably these conditions will still be insisted upon. But even if they are now withdrawn, and even were members of Parliament more honourable, more trustworthy than they have actually proved themselves to be, it is not the custom for the Government of the day to abstain from giving a lead upon important questions to the rank and file of the House of Commons, and Mr. Asquith's proposal to depart from the established practice naturally arouses the gravest suspicion in our minds. If this method of dealing with public questions is so satisfactory, why is it not adopted where other questions are concerned? Upon the House of Lords question, upon Free Trade, and upon certain other matters, the Government stake their very existence; where Woman Suffrage is concerned, they wash their hands of all responsibility. Yet Women Suffragists are expected to trust the Government. What section of men reformers would give their support to the Government on such terms as these? They would laugh to scorn a "pledge" of the kind which Mr. Asquith offers to women. The Women's Social and Political Union would have Mr. Asquith to understand that women are not to be deceived by a so-called pledge, which is merely a cloak for the hostility which the Government dare not now openly confess, because of the influence which this Union has gained in the country during the past four years.  
Mr. Asquith indicated in his declaration that the General Election would not make any difference in his policy on Woman Suffrage if as the result of it he is retained in power. Thus, if Mr. Asquith is still in office he will continue to block the Women's Enfranchisement Bill; he will continue to refuse to receive deputations; he will continue to have women arrested, imprisoned, and assaulted while in prison. Four more years of injustice! Four more years of coercion! That is Mr. Asquith's real promise to women, and we are bent upon preventing its fulfilment. Fired by the knowledge that every vote turned against the Government means the easing of our task in the next Parliament, and means a reduction of the price in life and liberty which still remains to be paid, we shall, at the General Election, fight as never before to keep Liberal candidates out.

The Government's shameful record and their refusal to promise that they will amend their policy make them undeserving of continuing in office. They have so completely forfeited our respect that the very thought of dealing with another group of political leaders brings relief. Newcomers to office may be less obstinate, less hypocritical, less unjust—they certainly can not be worse than the present Government.  
"Are you really prepared," some Liberals are saying, "to harm the Government in their task of defending the Constitution by maintaining the supremacy of the House of Commons over the House of Lords?" We reply that desirable as it may be to readjust the relationship between the two Houses of Parliament, it is more important by far to make the House of Commons representative of the nation as a whole. If, after this is accomplished, the House of Lords act in such fashion as seems to the electors, both men and women, to infringe the Constitution, the matter can be finally and firmly dealt with. Certain it is that women will not be the ones to permit any invasion of popular liberty. They have shown themselves to be far more jealous of the integrity of the Constitution than the present Government, who, by simultaneously disfranchising women and denouncing the House of Lords, prove that they are guided, not by principle, but simply and purely by considerations of party interest.  
The great majority won by the Liberals in 1906 has stood between women and their enfranchisement like a hard and pitiless wall. The Government are trying once more to gain the same measure of confidence and support from the electors. They invite that confidence and support in the name of the Constitution, but if this weapon is in fact placed in their hands they will use it, as they have done in the four years gone by, against the Constitutional rights of women. We of the Women's Social and Political Union will strive our hardest to prevent them from achieving success.

Christabel Pankhurst.

## MRS. LEIGH'S ACTION AGAINST THE HOME SECRETARY.

Lord Chief Justice Decides that Prisoners Have No Right to Forbid an Operation.

A fortnight ago, by a decision of the Divisional Court, the Lord Chief Justice, with two other judges, supported the action of the Prime Minister in refusing access to his person for the purpose of presenting a petition. He thereby rendered the Bill of Rights, for all practical purposes, null and void.  
Last Thursday the campaign against the liberties of the subject was carried a stage further, when the Lord Chief Justice supported the Government in their treatment of Women Suffragists in prison.

The case was tried by an action for damages brought by Mrs. Leigh against Mr. Gladstone as Home Secretary and against the governor and doctor of Winslow Green Gaol. The principal facts were not in dispute. On being committed to prison Mrs. Leigh had adopted the hunger-strike as a protest against her treatment. During the third day the authorities of the prison, acting with the approval, if not at the direct instigation, of the Home Secretary, caused her to be fed by force without her consent and against her determined opposition and resistance. The doctors for the plaintiff and for the defence, though they differed as to the degree of pain inflicted by the operation and also as to the danger of serious consequences involved, agreed that it would not be proper to operate thus on a sane, free patient without his or her consent, and that in order to do so it would be necessary to certify that that patient was insane. It was further agreed on both sides that there was no question regarding the sanity of Mrs. Leigh. The argument put forward by the defendants was that in prison the normal rights of the prisoner in this matter were in abeyance, and that the medical authorities had a right, on the instructions of the Home Secretary, to operate in this way on the body of the prisoner without his or her consent. This view of the law was accepted by the Lord Chief Justice on the ground that it was necessary for the authorities of the prison to take this course in order to enable them to safeguard the life and health of the prisoner. He accordingly refused to allow the main question to go to the jury at all, and only submitted to them a minor point as to which they could hardly have come to any other opinion than they actually did.

By this decision of the Lord Chief Justice a person once committed to prison is deprived of one of the essential human rights, the right to forbid an operation upon his body without his consent. Considering the precise and definite character of the prison regulations, which are essentially regulations limiting the rights of the prisoner, and considering that there is no mention in them of forcible feeding, it is difficult to believe that this ruling is good law. If those regulations were intended to cover the case of forcible feeding, why is it not explicitly referred to? It ought not to have been left to a construction of law to include it. Such a decision places a very serious strain upon interpretation, and if other statutes limiting the rights of the subject are to be construed thus widely human liberty is certainly in very serious peril.

But without going further than the present case, the state of the law as laid down by the Lord Chief Justice is serious indeed. A prisoner is absolutely in the hands of the prison authorities; denied any means of consultation with friends or of taking independent medical advice, he cannot resist the action of the prison authorities. He has become a mere piece of cattle in the hands of the Home Secretary and his subordinates. This is bad enough and open to serious abuse in the case of an ordinary prisoner; but when it takes the shape of permitting forcible feeding upon the bodies of women who are in prison under no moral taint, but for political reasons, it is repugnant to public morals. However much it may be legal, the Government by adopting it are disgracing themselves in the eyes of all decent people.

It is only necessary to refer to two further specific points in the case. In the first place, the direct responsibility of Mr. Gladstone was admitted by his own Counsel, and thus at last, so far as this matter is concerned, at any rate, are ended the contemptible subtleties by which Mr. Gladstone, since the beginning of his encounters with the Suffragettes, has invariably endeavoured to shift the burden of responsibility from his own shoulders on to those of his subordinates, who were all the time acting on his instructions, either explicit or implied.

The other point to be remarked upon is the obvious bias of the judge. This is a complaint which it is always easy to make and difficult to substantiate. Nevertheless, no one who was in court on that day can have failed to remark upon it. His cross-examination of Sir Victor Horsley was simply a scandal. He perverted his expressions of opinion, and after Sir Victor had been re-examined and cross-examined, he put to him a series of questions with the obvious intention (as the leader writer in the *Manchester Guardian* points out) of drawing from him an apparent sanction of feeding persons by force against their will. He insisted upon strict answers to questions that could only be answered by explanatory remarks, and concluded by putting to him a question similar to the famous interrogatory, "Have you left off

beating your wife?" and when he had got from him an answer that lent apparent colour to the view of the defence, with a curt "Thank you" he dismissed the witness from the box.

The decision in this case cannot be accepted as final, but the appeal will not be to a higher court of law, but to the tribunal of public opinion. Of the ultimate verdict in that court, as sustained by the judgment of posterity, we have no fear. It rests with all those who feel deeply in this matter to secure that verdict, and to bring the crime home to the Government, who are responsible, with the least possible delay.

### F. W. Pethick Lawrence.

The hearing of the case was on Thursday, December 9, at the Law Courts, before the Lord Chief Justice. For the plaintiff—Mrs. Mary Leigh—appeared Mr. Duke, K.C., Mr. Henle, and Mr. Profumo. The Attorney-General and Mr. Rowland appeared for the defendants, the Right Hon. Herbert Gladstone, Captain Percy Green, and Dr. Helby.

Mr. Duke said the case raised questions of very great seriousness, questions which had already attained notoriety. They touched upon matters of a political nature, upon an acute conflict between the two sexes, and upon matters as to which it would be the easiest thing in the world to introduce prejudices, which would divert the jury's attention from the real issue. He asked them, therefore, not to let their minds be influenced by any such extraneous considerations. He proceeded to give the facts of the case and describe the system of forcible feeding.  
It was a system which involved extreme pain. By a violent physical assault Mrs. Leigh's resistance was overpowered, and while she was helpless, in the hands of numerous persons, a tube was inserted into her nose. This treatment was begun when there could have been no need for beginning it, and it was continued for many days, when it was apparent to everybody who saw what was proceeding that the method was idle as well as cruel, because Mrs. Leigh's system for many days, by a natural reaction, entirely refused the nourishment so administered. Mrs. Leigh revolted against this treatment, so painful, so degrading, so harmful, and so little compatible with beneficial results. On September 25 she was taken to a room, where she was told to sit in a chair, and Dr. Helby then produced a document, and said his orders from his superior officer were that she was not to be released even on medical grounds, and that if she would not take food he must take other measures to compel her. Counsel maintained this meant he was acting under the express orders of the Home Secretary. Forcible feeding was not a lawful part of the prison discipline in this country. Persons in prison were confined under the authority of the various Acts of Parliament and rules having the same validity. The practice of compulsory feeding as discipline or punishment was not to be found in them. It was an unjustifiable assault. It had been held that the cutting of the hair of an inmate of a workhouse without his consent was an assault. These assaults upon plaintiff, then, were committed without the sanction of present authority.

### A Minister's Responsibility.

Continuing, counsel said that if any Minister of the Crown directed any subordinate to commit an act which was wrongful and not justified he and his subordinates were individually answerable for that wrongful act. Every officer in a prison was under the direction of the Home Secretary. A Minister had the privilege of refusing to disclose documents in public proceedings on the ground that it was contrary to the interest of the public service. Abundant use of that privilege had been made in this case. But that did not prevent the jury from determining beyond reasonable doubt whence came the order which was communicated by Dr. Helby to plaintiff on September 25. Mr. Gladstone had made an affidavit in which he said:—

"I have in my possession or power documents relating to matters in question in this suit. I object to produce them on the ground that they are confidential communications between me as Secretary of State and the interest of His Majesty's service that such documents should be produced."

This made it clear that there were documents passing between Mr. Gladstone and his subordinates relating to the treatment of Mrs. Leigh. Captain Green had made an affidavit in which he identified two telegrams to him from the department of the Home Secretary.  
Mr. Duke was proceeding to argue at length the responsibility of the Home Secretary—

Lord Chief Justice: There is no difficulty, I think, in this matter, Mr. Duke. I do not know whether there were instructions or not, but I imagine that Mr. Attorney will be willing to give us the information.

The Attorney-General: Certainly. Of course, the Department, as we know, is very sensitive as to disclosure of documents of this kind as to prison discipline and conduct, but the Governor and the Medical Officer were acting in communication with the Home Department.  
Mr. Duke: That relieves me from giving any further ground for the inevitable conjecture that the Home Secretary had, in fact, dictated—

The Lord Chief Justice: Directed or sanctioned.  
Mr. Duke: I am much obliged to your lordship; that was what I meant—that this matter was under the control of the Home Office.

### Mrs. Leigh's Story.

Mrs. Leigh was then called.  
In answer to questions by Mr. Henle, she said: Immediately on entering the prison I entered a protest against

being placed in a criminal cell and undergoing criminal treatment. It was a protest against the conduct of the Government towards women.

The Lord Chief Justice: I think, in your own interests, Mrs. Leigh, it would be best simply to give the facts, and leave out explanations except when they are necessary.

Continuing, plaintiff said she was offered gruel and bread for breakfast, potatoes and bread for dinner, and bread and gruel for supper. She did not partake of any of this food. She was taken in handcuffs before the visiting magistrates, and she complained to them of being handcuffed. The magistrates sentenced her to nine days' close confinement, with bread and water for diet and ordered a deprivation of forty-two days' marks and the payment of 5s. damages for the window she had broken on entering the prison. The handcuffs were kept on until nearly midnight. On Saturday morning Dr. Helby came early in the morning to her cell, and offered her a drink of milk. He said he offered it on grounds of humanity. She thanked him, but refused to take the milk, and he left. She was then sent for to the matron's room, where she found the matron and six to eight wardresses and two doctors. In the centre of the room was an armchair on a large sheet. She was requested to sit down, and did so.

Plaintiff proceeded: Referring to a blue paper, Dr. Helby said, "I have orders you are not to be released even on medical grounds, and if you still refuse food I have to take measures to compel you to take food." I said, "By whose orders?" He replied, "By his superior officers." I said, "How do you propose to administer the food?" He said, "That is for me to decide." I said it was illegal to force food upon me, and "If you force food into my mouth that is an operation. To feed me by the nose I term an outrage." I was then forced back into the chair by the wardresses—three on either side. I resisted. My mouth was forced open by Dr. Helby. He forced my mouth into a kind of pouch. The wardresses poured liquid into a spoon and put it into my mouth. The liquid was milk and brandy. I was tied in the chair with a towel. Pressure was placed his hands on my keep me in the chair. Dr. Cassells placed his hands on my body to keep me in the chair. They gave me about a cupful of liquid. I was then taken from the room to the observation-cell, on the ground floor, and was put into bed, where I remained until the evening. In the evening I was forced on to the bed by the wardresses, and Dr. Cassells produced a feeding-tube. Dr. Helby requested me to take food from a feeding-cup. I refused. I resisted with all my might, but the tube was inserted in my nostril. It caused such great pain, which was seen by the doctors, that it was withdrawn.

When I was fed by the feeding-cup I coughed, and was sick. I had great pain, mental and physical. The shock of the tube being inserted in my nostril seemed to stupefy me. The ear seemed to be very painful and as if the drums would burst. There was a noise like that of machinery. I had great pain in the throat and nostril. They also inserted a feeding-tube in my mouth. I was fed three times a day. From September 26 to October 2 the feeding-cup and spoon were used. Dr. Helby used to prise my mouth open, and also hold my nose, and the wardresses always held my body. I always resisted. Dr. Helby pinched my throat to enable the food to pass. On Monday, the 27th, I was removed to the hospital cell. On the evening of the 28th I heard a noise coming from the cell nearly opposite mine. I called out and received an answer. I was then removed to the padded cell, where I remained until the next night, and then went back to the hospital cell. On October 2 I barricaded myself in my cell. I did not take any food that day. It was not forced upon me.

On Sunday, October 3, continued plaintiff, I was fed by means of the nasal tube. On Sunday evening Dr. Helby came into my cell and asked me to describe the feelings of hunger and what a hunger strike was. I said if he wanted to know he must try for himself. (Laughter.)  
Witness further stated that on the following Monday she was again forcibly fed by the nasal tube, and this treatment continued until her release.

Mr. Henle: Why was the spoon-feeding discontinued?—I think because my mouth was injured. I found I had means of control over the feeding with my mouth, but not with my nostril. One of my gums was injured by the spoon.

Meanwhile, said plaintiff, she was growing weaker, and on October 27 she was fed three times in the day by the nasal tube. Each time food was forced upon her she began to be sick, and after October 25 she rejected all food administered to her. On October 23 she was put into a chair and taken into the prison yard. She was twice allowed to sit in the yard. On October 29 Dr. Helby, Dr. Cassells, and a third doctor came into her cell, and, with her consent, examined her. The third doctor asked her some questions in rather an offensive way, and she refused to answer them. On October 30, at noon, the governor came to her and said, "I am awaiting a wire from the Home Office for your release." She was taken to a nursing home, where she was under the care of Dr. Kirby.

The Attorney-General, cross-examining, brought out from Mrs. Leigh the story of the events preceding her arrest at Birmingham, and concluded by asking:—

On leaving the goal you thanked the wardresses for their kindness?—I would thank my enemy always on leaving.

On this occasion you thanked the doctors?—I said, "Good morning," and thanked them for any attention and kindness they might have shown.

### Sir Victor Horsley.

Sir Victor Horsley was then called, and said it was a most uncommon occurrence to use a nasal tube in hospitals. In hospitals with which he was acquainted the method adopted was that of feeding the patient by the bowels, and the feeding by nasal tube was avoided by the physicians as far as possible because of the pain and depression it produced. Further, in regard to a patient who was resisting, if you tried to force a tube down you set up spasms of the throat and you caused distress to the patient, and when you were

withdrawing the tube in the same way you were setting up the spasm again, and you were extremely likely to let food escape from the tube into the larynx.

Sir Victor Horsley proceeded to state that in his opinion it was frequently impossible to provide adequate nutrition by means of the nasal tube, and added that such treatment ought certainly to be abandoned directly it was seen that the stomach refused to accept food in this way.

Cross-examined, by the Attorney-General on alternative methods of forcible feeding, he described them both as repulsive. After a short re-examination by Mr. Duke, the Lord Chief Justice examined him as follows:—

The Lord Chief Justice: What I really want to know is—assume a responsible medical man, in charge of a sane person, is satisfied that her life and health would be in danger, and the person still refuses to take food. Would you rectally feed, or would you nasally feed?

Sir Victor Horsley: Well, if I was an official in the prison service I should obey the orders I received, as I understand Dr. Helby did.

The Lord Chief Justice: Will you answer the question. Under the circumstances I have described, would you use the rectal or the nasal method of feeding?

Sir Victor Horsley: Well, I should use my discretion, and if it were a man who would not resist, and who would not expel his food, I should certainly try rectal feeding.

The Lord Chief Justice: Well, if it is a woman?

Sir Victor Horsley: I should use neither, unless I had orders.

The Lord Chief Justice: Never mind orders. Sir Victor Horsley: But, pardon me, my Lord.

The Lord Chief Justice: You must answer my question, if you please. Leave the Home Office and everything out of the question. You are a person responsible for looking after a sane woman, who will not take any food; if you are satisfied in your own mind that she will endanger her health or her life, should she still resist, how would you feed her?

Sir Victor Horsley: If I had to do it on my own responsibility, I should do it by the nasal method.

The Lord Chief Justice: Thank you.

Mr. Fenton's Evidence.

Mr. William Hugh Fenton, senior surgeon at the Chelsea Hospital for Women, said he thought it was not proper, as a matter of medicine, to administer food through the nose, because it was futile, as enough liquid nourishment to support life could not be administered when a patient was resisting.

If a patient was subsequently ejecting food would it be any good to administer it in this manner?—I should think it was very silly. It is a difficult operation to pass a tube through the nose into the stomach, even if the tube is of the proper size. A tube is difficult to pass through some noses. I have been looking round this court, and have not noticed half a dozen people down whose noses I should care to put a tube.

Would there be any practical utility in feeding a patient with a pint of this food through a tube?—It would be torturing a patient for nothing.

Is it a matter of torture?—It is most disagreeable.

The Lord Chief Justice: Do you mean disagreeable or torture?—Both. It is torture to a resisting patient. It would bruise the lining membrane of the nose.

In reply to further questions by Mr. Duke, witness said that while he was home surgeon he had carried out nasal feeding thirty or forty times, but since only ten or a dozen times. There was a danger in nasal feeding of the food getting down the larynx and setting up septic pneumonia.

Cross-examined by the Attorney-General: Witness thought it would be a common thing for food to get down the larynx when a person resisted.

You don't suggest this is a dangerous operation?—It can be made so by clumsiness or by resistance.

Rather than adopt forcible feeding, would you let a patient die?—I would try every means—persuasion, and then the thurst cure.

If that failed what would you do?—I think I should be at my wit's end. (Laughter.)

The Attorney-General: Well, we seem to have got to your wit's end very soon. (Laughter.) Would you walk away, and leave the prisoners to commit suicide?—I don't believe they would.

Do you seriously mean to say you would leave a woman to reach the point of dying before you attempted to save her by forcible feeding?—Yes. So disgusting and repulsive is this forcible feeding that I should not do it until the very last thing.

The Attorney-General: Do you mean to tell the jury that you would not feed this woman until she reached a stage when you would run the risk of killing her?—I say you would run the risk all along.

Mr. Mansell-Moulin, senior consulting surgeon to the London Hospital, said he had considered the matter of forcible feeding, but had had no experience of it for the last twenty years.

Mr. Duke: Is it proper to administer food through the nose to a sane resisting person?—You must do it, but you will fail. Do you say failure is inevitable?—Yes.

The Attorney-General: What do you mean by saying "You must do it"?—You can't leave a patient to starve.

The Lord Chief Justice: Or die?

Witness: Or die.

Dr. Ernest Dormer Kirby, of Edgbaston, Birmingham, said he attended Mrs. Leigh after her release from prison. She was very weak and emaciated, and weighed 6 st. 6 lb. The lining membrane of the mouth was much inflamed.

Mr. Duke: Was her condition one of any gravity?—Oh, faintly.

The Lord Chief Justice: From what?—From weakness.

The Case for the Defence.

The Attorney-General, at the conclusion of the plaintiffs' evidence, announced that he would at once call his witnesses.

H. Helby, medical officer of the Winson Green Prison, Birmingham, said that previously he had been deputy medical officer at Manchester and at Wormwood Scrubs. As soon as an eight came into the prison she refused food. He was of the opinion that she would not take any water. Witness saw

her daily, and his first object in talking to her was to try to get on friendly terms. He knew she proposed to starve herself, and he used what arguments he could to persuade her to take food.

Witness went on to describe the first occasion on which Mrs. Leigh was forcibly fed. He told her it had become necessary for her to take food, and if she would not do so of her own accord he would have to take measures which might be unpleasant to make her do so. He said to her: "If you insist upon being fed by force, won't it be sufficient if I put my hand on your shoulder and say you must take food?" He did not remember that she made any answer.

The Lord Chief Justice: You wanted, in a kind way, to make it compulsory, but not to do anything to her?—Yes. She refused.

Continuing, witness said Mrs. Leigh resisted very violently on the first occasion she was forcibly fed, and he told one of the wardresses to put some brandy in the Benger's Food, as the prisoner was somewhat exhausted, and he also sent for some eau de Cologne. After the tube had been used she said, "I will do as you wish, and take food from the feeding-cup."

Up to October 2 she took food, but on that date she barricaded her cell. Witness renewed his efforts at persuasion, but he had to feed her with a tube up to the end of her imprisonment. The tube always passed quite easily, and without any danger or detriment that could be observed.

Cross-examined by Mr. Duke, witness said he had administered food forcibly to a convict at Wormwood Scrubs. That went on for two months, the man being a big, strong foreigner.

On the 25th did you honestly come to the conclusion that it was distinctly dangerous to allow her to starve any longer?—Yes.

If you had let her starve any longer would the danger have increased?—Yes.

Captain Percy Green, Governor of Winson Green Gaol, said he passed on to Dr. Helby the instructions he received from the Home Office. The effect of the instructions was that the women were not to be released, and that they were to be forcibly fed if the doctor thought it necessary, with due regard to health and safety. Mrs. Leigh never made any complaint to him.

Mr. Samuel Short, one of the visiting justices, Dr. William Casselle, and Miss Alice Jeans, matron of Winson Green Gaol, gave confirmatory evidence.

Dr. Craig's Evidence.

Dr. Maurice Craig, consulting physician, of Welbeck Street, and late senior assistant physician at Bethlem Hospital, said that when he was house physician at that institution there were some 2,500 occasions of nasal feeding in a year. The operation was a simple one on the average.

The Attorney-General: Do you know of any case of damage, injury, or detriment to a person subjected to it?—None whatever. I do not refer, of course, to any slight abrasion of the mouth.

You consider it more dangerous to leave a patient starving than to overcome resistance?—Most decidedly.

Cross-examined by Mr. Duke: Witness thought insane people suffered more under that treatment than sane ones, because they had not reason to understand what was being done.

By the Attorney-General: He had known a person fed by the nasal method for two and a-half years. Some people would feed themselves with a tube.

Sir Richard Douglas Powell.

Sir Richard Douglas Powell was then called.

The Attorney-General: I will content myself with one question: During all your professional life, Sir Richard, in both general and special hospitals, have you ever known any evil consequences to ensue from artificial feeding?—No.

Mr. Duke: Is it a thing you would willingly resort to, Sir Richard?—No, not unless it is quite necessary.

Mr. Duke: Do you mean, Sir Richard, that you administer food to adult sane persons without their consent?—If they refuse to take food, or if they endeavour to starve themselves by refusing to take food, I should certainly direct that they be fed. But if you mean me to take a sane person who is simply declining to feed, I should regard that person as insane. (Laughter.)

Mr. Duke: That would greatly simplify your position, if you might issue a certificate of insanity; as soon as you have a certificate of insanity you have control over the person?—I should think certainly if the person were placed in my charge I should take the necessary steps to prevent starvation.

Mr. Duke: But I am speaking, you know, of a person whose will is sufficient and whose determination is continuous not to take food—have you ever administered food by mechanical means to such a person against the will of that person?

Sir Richard: You are speaking of a person who is a free agent? If you refused food, Mr. Duke, and your friends consulted me, I should have nothing to say, or course.

Mr. Duke: Even if you were attending me for some ailment?—I should certainly regard you as of unsound mind.

The Attorney-General: In fact, if a sane person refused food, your view is that they should be regarded as insane?—That is my view.

The Lord Chief Justice then put questions to the witness as to the time when such feeding should begin, and elicited the answer: "In two or three days, after which the case would become serious."

Ruling of the Lord Chief Justice.

This concluded the evidence for the defence; before the Attorney-General spoke the Lord Chief Justice said:—

"Perhaps I had better say to you now that I shall rule that it is the duty of the medical officer to take all reasonable steps to keep the prisoners in health and a fortiori all reasonable steps to preserve their lives, and the only question I shall leave to the jury will be whether the steps taken by the Governor and the doctors were reasonable, having regard to the condition in which the prisoner was." He explained that by this he meant that the Governor and doctors of the prison were entitled to take steps (forcible, if neces-

sary) to preserve the life of Mrs. Leigh, and to prevent her from committing the crime of suicide. The only point he would leave to the jury was whether they took the right steps.

The Attorney-General.

The Attorney-General said that plaintiff appealed to the law, which she had refused, and still refused, to obey, in order to obtain compensation from those who had tried to prevent her from injuring herself. If a person so acted as to bring herself within reach of the law, and so as to merit imprisonment, she must be imprisoned, and when in prison there must be regulations with regard to her conduct. She could not go into prison to do as she liked. This woman, animated by motives which she regarded as merely political, appeared to have thought it was for her to dictate to the prison officials. But every civilized person was bound to take the view that so long as prisons were necessary for the maintenance of order and the prevention of crime, there must be in such institutions the most carefully regulated system of conduct and discipline. It was the duty of those in charge of prisons to see that the punishment inflicted was not allowed by any act of themselves or of the prisoners to go beyond that which was intended by the law. That was necessary in mercy to the prisoner—not merely in the case of suffragists, but of all persons. A woman might become so unreasonable and hysterical as to refuse food, but would a jury in such a case consider it their duty to let such a woman starve? The question as to the forcible feeding was not whether it was dangerous, inconvenient, or painful, but whether it was necessary. Far be it from him to make compulsory feeding popular—(laughter)—and he would rather, for the sake of the officials, that people should not like it, than that anything had occurred in that case to induce any ladies to think that compulsory feeding would be an agreeable variation in their lives if they got into gaol. (Laughter.) It was not to be wondered at that it was disliked. According to Mr. Duke the only alternative in a case of self-starvation would be to let the prisoner out. If Bill Sikes chose to say he was going to try three or four days' starvation—he would not like it, but would prefer it to penal servitude—(laughter)—according to the other side it was brutality to force him to take food, so brutal, in fact, that he must be kept out. Compulsory feeding was necessary in some cases. It was not dangerous to life or health; but what was dangerous was a resolute intention to defeat feeding, whether natural or compulsory. It was the Attorney-General's master his friend Mr. Duke and Mrs. Leigh the justice that they had made no reflections upon the prison officials. He desired to express his appreciation of the honest and straightforward way in which Mrs. Leigh had given her evidence. It was given openly and truthfully in a way which was not too common in courts of justice. Mrs. Leigh came into gaol announcing her intention to do that which would injure her health. It would have been culpable, if not criminal, if the doctor, after that intimation, had let her go longer than she did. It was a legal as well as a moral duty to prevent a person from committing suicide. It would be a serious thing if groups of women conceived that they had liberty to take to brute force, partly in its character, but always mischievous, and sometimes cruel, and then come to the courts because they had been subjected to the natural and necessary consequences of their lawlessness.

Mr. Duke.

Mr. Duke said that as to much of what the Attorney-General had put forward his mouth was closed by the ruling of his Lordship, and he would only say that he repudiated the doctrine which had been attributed to him by the Attorney-General that any prisoner could take this means of escape from prison. His view was that if forcible feeding was legal it ought to be in the regulations, and he did not find it there.

He would, however, to confine himself to the lines laid down by his Lordship, and he would not appeal to the jury on the ground of the sentence on or on that of the sex of the plaintiff; he would ask the jury to decide the question free from prejudice. In the first place, he repudiated the idea of the defence that the medical witnesses which they had called possessed the quintessence of knowledge, and that wisdom would die with them. Men like Sir Victor Horsley and other witnesses for the plaintiff were men of very great reputation and experience, and they had given their opinions after careful consideration. Their evidence showed that forcible feeding in the case of resisting patients was futile, futile because the benefit derived from it could not make up for the mischief caused. A striking proof of its futility was that it had failed in the present case. The Attorney-General tried to make out that this forcible feeding was almost a pastime. It was nothing of the kind; it was an outrageous interference with the freedom of the individual by the introduction of a foreign body into the system. A prisoner had some rights. The precise limit of those rights might be a matter for discussion, but he thought the jury would realize that such treatment as had been adopted was not reasonable or necessary. He argued that the authorities commenced to feed by force Mrs. Leigh before there could be any justification or necessity, and continued it when it was apparent that it could not be successful. He submitted that Mrs. Leigh was not forcibly fed in the interests of life and health, but in order that she might remain in prison.

The Judge's Directions.

In summing up, his Lordship said that by the rules of our prison system, and even apart from them, prisoners were under the care of the Crown, that was, of the Secretary of State and the officers of the prison. It was the duty of the officers to take all reasonable steps to preserve the health, and still more the life, of prisoners. By our law prison officials were not allowed to make the punishment one single iota heavier than the law permitted. But if it was reasonable and proper to take steps to prevent a prisoner from injuring himself, and still more his life, they were bound to do so. We were proud of our prison system and its humanity. If this lady was forcibly fed without necessity or reason, all the defendants were liable, for the Home Secretary sanctioned whatever was done. All the jury had to consider was whether they were satisfied there was reasonable necessity to feed the lady compulsorily. He shared with the Attorney-General the belief that they would not need a long time to make up their minds on this point. Did the circumstances warrant making her take food? Dr. Helby had said he considered it dangerous to allow Mrs. Leigh to starve herself any longer, and had given his reasons. Supposing the responsible officers had let her starve herself for another forty-eight hours and she had died, what would have been said? If they considered the condition of that poor woman, owing to her blind abstinence, was reduced to one of danger, it was a matter of duty for the medical officer to do all he could to bring her back to life. As for the barricading of the cell, the folly of the poor woman must not influence the minds of the jury against her. Who could say that her life had not been saved by the action which had been taken in feeding her?

The jury expressed no desire to leave the box, and after a consultation of but little over a minute returned a verdict for the defendants, as stated above.

His Lordship entered judgment accordingly, with costs.

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Table with columns for Day, Location, and Event details. Includes events like Birmingham Drawing-room Meeting, London-Battersea, Lower Town Hall, and various church and society meetings.

IMPORTANT FUTURE EVENTS.

Table with columns for Date, Location, and Event details. Includes events like Brighton, The Dome, London-St. James's Hall, and various church and society meetings.

N.B.—The Christmas Presents Stall in the General Offices, 4, Clements Inn, W.C., is open from 10-6 daily (including Saturdays) on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday till 9 p.m.; and on Christmas Eve until 5 p.m.

"Pank-a-Squith" advertisement. The only Suffragette Game in the Colours. BUY IT FROM YOUR TOY DEALERS TO-DAY and thereby help our cause.

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WHITELEYS FOR XMAS GIFTS advertisement. Features various gift items like jewelry boxes, book carriers, pens, and vanity bags. Includes a list of prices for English Attache Cases and Simplex Typewriters.

MRS. PANKHURST'S AMERICAN TOUR.

Mrs. Pankhurst left New York on December 1. arriving in England on Wednesday, December 8 on the "Mauretania." Before leaving she was besieged by Press representatives for impressions of her visit, and the American papers showed the greatest interest in her campaign. Previous to her departure Mrs. Pankhurst addressed her third great meeting in New York at the Cooper Union Hall. This meeting, like the two previous ones, was crowded and enthusiastic, and although a charge was not allowed except for platform seats, a very large sum of money was raised in donations. Even for the meeting held at 10.30 in the morning the application for seats was so great that many were unable to obtain admission. Mrs. Pankhurst left amid enthusiastic cheers, among those who saw her off being Mrs. Harriet Stanton Blatch and Miss Mary Keegan, the English Suffragette. A committee is, we understand, being formed to come to England to study the Suffrage movement, and to prepare a non-partisan report on the subject. Among those who will serve is Mrs. Stanton Blatch.

"In order," says the New York Sun, "to prove to Mrs. Pankhurst that some of the fighters for franchise in this country have progressed beyond the talking stage," some of the Suffragettes have been selling their paper, The American Suffragette, in the streets. They have had many encounters with the police, Mrs. Loebinger having been threatened with being locked up. She stuck to her guns, however, and notwithstanding her many adventures in the enormous crowds, her experience was a most encouraging one. The paper sold exceedingly well.

The first comprehensive attempt at organization of the Suffrage societies is being made by the Women's Suffrage Party, which includes representative women Suffragists from all parts of New York, as well as men who believe in women's franchise. A house-to-house canvass for the name of every Suffragist in the City is one of the plans of the new organization.

A splendid and spirited defence of the militant women in England was recently made by Mrs. Oliver Belmont, who points out that while the least violence shown by the English Suffragettes is widely reported in the American Press, such an episode as that at Abernethy, where women were violently assaulted by Liberal stewards, is omitted altogether. The

people of the United States are, she says, almost totally ignorant of the situation in England, and are in no position to criticize or condemn.

The New York Star points out a curious contrast between what it describes as the "deliberate masculine prose" of Mrs. Pankhurst and the "shrill feminine prose" of Dr. Parkhurst, who recently attacked the women Suffragists from the pulpit.

Mrs. Pankhurst made a deep impression by her simplicity and charm of manner, her winning personality, and sincerity of purpose.

We hope she will take pleasant recollections of her American sojourn to England. . . . Before a New York audience as a lecturer, she held her audience spellbound, and convinced the large assemblage of her extraordinary ability as a leader.

The Boston Woman's Journal says:—"Mrs. Pankhurst is going through the country like the fiery cross among the Scottish clans. Wherever she speaks her intense earnestness kindles the smouldering equal rights sentiment among her hearers into flame."

Mrs. Pankhurst believes that there is going to be a great movement in America towards the goal of her hopes, and one that will surpass the movement in England.—The Times.

FREE TRADE HALL MEETING.

Another splendid Free Trade Hall meeting, attended by some 3,000 people, was held in Manchester on Tuesday evening, when the speakers were Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Brailsford, and Miss Rona Robinson. Miss Mary Gawthorpe presided. Miss Pankhurst, who had a magnificent greeting from friends, old and new, drew attention to the fact that while in 1905 the W.S.P.U. spent £5 in opposing the Liberal Government, they were now to spend £5,000, so that, financially, at any rate, and she believed in every other way, the movement had increased a thousandfold. The Government was to blame for the present deadlock. The women objected to their cause being mixed up with the general question of electoral reform; they wanted their question dealt with first. They strongly objected also to the plan of making a private member responsible for the enfranchisement of women. They could not trust private members. Two resolutions, one expressing indignation at the action of the Government in denying the vote to women as taxpayers, and

the other calling for the immediate release of Miss Florence Clarkson, were passed with acclamation. During the evening £100 was raised, including £50 from Mrs. Ross Hyland, £5 from Miss FitzSymons, and a subscription from Mrs. Rachael Scott, the first Secretary of the Union.

IS IT WORTH IT?

Never, perhaps, has the full meaning of the woman's movement and its call to self-renunciation been more beautifully and touchingly explained than by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence at the Queen's Hall last Monday. Throughout her address the audience were spellbound, and at its close expressed in prolonged applause a small part of the feelings she had roused.

Taking as her text the question, "Is it worth it?" which a lady had put to her regarding the sufferings of the Suffragette prisoners, Mrs. Lawrence showed that the women went through all this because they cared about the miseries endured by women to-day. She called to all women to throw away the little things of life and come into the movement. "It is the most glorious thing that life has to offer. I want you to realize that this is a crisis. This is so mere political movement; it means breaking down the bonds that tie down your sex and give rise to all the evils. I ask you to be true to your womanhood. Be that grand woman who knows she is going to give life and save life. We have something tremendously big to live for in this great movement. Give everything that you have and are and can be, and be faithful to the best and truest. Do not turn away. Seize your opportunity. Be members, workers, and soldiers, and help us to win this great victory. Then you will not have lived in vain, and your life will have had a purchasing power you never dreamed it could have."

Mrs. Pankhurst, who received a great welcome, spoke on the election policy, for which a sum of £75 was immediately raised. Mrs. Leigh, to the great disappointment of the audience, was not well enough to be present.

A GENEROUS OFFER.

Miss Theodora Bonwick, of 23, Weston Park, Crutchall End, generously offers her country cottage to workers undertaking a campaign in the neighbourhood of Hertford. The cottage is available from January 6.

Through the generosity of Mr. and Mrs. Löwy, a subscription dance, organised by the Misses Dugdale, in aid of the funds of the W.S.P.U., was held at their home 76, Holland Park, W., on Tuesday last. A large number of people were present, including Mrs. Tuke and Mr. Pethick Lawrence.

ITEMS OF INTEREST.

As a protest against what he considers the "great danger of the Socialistic wave," Mr. "Y. Knott" has written an interesting shilling pamphlet, entitled "Conservative Socialism," which seems to be a sort of homopathic cure for the disease. One chapter deals with the question of women's franchise, and suggests granting women the vote, but guaranteeing that the electorate of both men and women should consist of intelligent beings only. The book is published by Messrs. Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Ltd., 25, High Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., and costs 1s. net.

A kindly offer, appropriate to the season, is made to the readers of Votes for Women by Messrs. Coleman and Co., Ltd., Wincarnia Works, Norwich. They will send to any sick poor person, whose name and address may be given them by any reader of this paper, a free trial bottle of Wincarnia, together with a free order form entitling them to a pint bottle, absolutely free and carriage paid. Readers who may take advantage of this offer must enclose 3d. to cover the cost of carriage.

There have been many openings in recent years for women to take up work as sanitary inspectors and health visitors. Courses of lectures leading up to the official examinations are given by experts regularly at the National Health Society, 55, Bencross Street, W., from whom all particulars may be obtained. Panka-Squith, the new Suffrage game, is the clever and amusing invention of one of the many men friends of the movement. We can heartily recommend it for Christmas parties—it will make the militant methods talked about in the pleasantest possible way.

Messrs. Mark and Spencer, of Manchester, have published an interesting annual, price 1d., which contains many stories and articles by well-known authors, and it will interest our readers to know that Miss Mary Gawthorpe and Miss Rona Robinson have both contributed special articles on the militant suffrage movement. The annual is a splendid pennyworth, and may be obtained from newsgate or from the offices at Derby Street, Chesham, Manchester.

IRISH WOMEN'S FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

In order to forward the cause of Woman Suffrage in Belfast, this Society has taken premises at 61, Scottish Temperance Buildings, where meetings will be held every Monday evening at 8 p.m. for papers, discussion, etc. Sympathisers are invited to call for literature and information.

At one of this League's recent meetings in Dublin a brilliant defence of the militant tactics was made by Miss Talbot, and a resolution of sympathy with the hunger-strikers and of indignation at the forcible feeding, proposed by Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington, M.A., was carried with enthusiasm.

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Afternoon and Evening Gowns by French dress-maker. Ladies' own materials made up.

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A vast collection of toys to enchant Children of all ages. Hundreds of Dolls of every kind, Teddy Bears, and grotesque Pets which so immensely charm the little ones. GAMES for Indoor Entertainment and Implements for every Outdoor Sport. MECHANICAL TOYS for Boys, such as Working Model Aeroplanes, Engines, Boats, and various machines. GRAMOPHONES, MAGIC LANTERNS, MODEL FURNITURE.

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Delicacies and Dainties for the Table. FRUITS of every kind, both fresh and preserved, for Dessert. PLUM PUDDINGS of our own make, famous for excellence, cooked ready. Hundreds of HAMS and CHEESES, PROVISIONS of every kind, and a SPECIAL SHOW of GAME, MEAT, POULTRY, and about 10,000 Prime TURKEYS.

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London.—Miss Jennie Kenney, Speakers' Department; Miss Tomp Dalzell, Votes for Women Department; Miss Barbara Ayrton; By-Elections; Miss Cameron, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

Brighton.—Mrs. Clarke, 8, North Street, Quadrant. West of England & South Wales.—Miss Annie Kenney, 27, Queen's Road (opposite Arts Gallery), Clifton, Bristol, Exeter.—Miss Dugdale, 5, Richmond Road, Torquay; Miss Elsie Hovey, 32, Victoria Parade, Monmouthshire.—Miss Elsie Macdonald, 10, St. Andrew's Street, Newport; Bournemouth.—Miss G. Lewis, Westfield, Bury, Ross; Southampton.—Miss M. J. Bunting, 33, Denzil Avenue, Cornwall.—Miss Edith Williams, Glanston, Devonian, B.S.O.

Lancashire & North Wales.—Miss Mary Gawthorpe, 164, Oxford Road, Manchester. Liverpool and Cheshire.—Miss S. Ada Flatman, 28, Berry Street, Liverpool. Southport.—Miss Dora Marland, Miss Home, Sandringham Road, Birkdale, Burnley.—Miss M. Hewitt, 91, Albion Street, Preston.—Miss J. Glover's Court, Rochdale.—84, York Street, Manchester.

Midlands.—Miss Gladys K. Kevel, and Miss Laura Ainsworth, 35, Paradise Place, Birmingham. Wolverhampton.—Miss Rowell, 17, Dalton Road, Coventry.—Miss Dawson, Bk. Poles' Vinegar, 56, Warner Street, Nottingham.—Miss N. Crocker, 6, Carlton Street, Nottingham.—Miss A. D. Brown, 10, St. Nicholas' Church, St. D. Pethick, 11, Severn Street.

Yorkshire.—Miss Mary Phillips, 68, Manningham Lane, Bradford; Leeds.—14, Albion Street, Scarborough.—Miss Adela Pankhurst, 26, Eardale. Newcastle.—Miss Annie Williams, 19, Nixon Street, Lowaine Place. Glasgow & West of Scotland.—Mrs. Drummond and Miss G. Conlan, 202, Sauchiehall Street, Charing Cross. Edinburgh and S.E. Scotland.—Miss Florence E. M. Mackenzie, 10, St. John's Terrace, 8, Melville Place, Queensferry Street. Dundee.—Miss MacLean, 30, Union Street.

The work of the country is occupying the minds of all general workers, and plans for a vigorous anti-Government crusade are rapidly being matured. Volunteers are needed, and the organizers whose names and addresses appear above will gladly find work for all who can give their services.

London and Home Counties. London workers, like those in other parts of the country, are preparing for a comprehensive campaign during the General Election. Miss Cameron has charge of Mrs. John Burns' committee (Battersea), and has already held a workers' meeting, when plans for a thorough canvass of the constituency were made. Volunteers for this work are urgently needed; they should communicate with Miss Margaret Cameron, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C. To-day (Friday) a meeting for women only in the Lower Town Hall, Battersea, will be addressed by Mrs. John Burns' committee and Miss Margaret Cameron. Similar arrangements are being made in other parts of London.

The sale of VOTES FOR WOMEN continue to grow most encouragingly. The hands of women wearing the colours and rosas outside the At Home during Mr. Aquith's meeting on Friday formed a magnificent advertisement for the paper. Members are asked to put forth special efforts to maintain the circulation during Christmas week, and to order their copies early. The number will be an unusually interesting one, owing to the special articles and to the beautiful photograph of Miss Charlotte Marsh which is given as a supplement. It can be done by purchasing the paper from the street sellers, or leaving it in public conveyances and restaurants. Volunteers for selling the paper are asked to call on the W.S.P.U. office, 4, Clements Inn, any day between 10 and 6, or to write to Miss Ainsworth at the same address.

The Band secretary reports that the Bugle Band has begun practising, and will be ready for marching soon after Christmas.

Brighton. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's meeting at Hove on Friday (6th), when the Hon. Mr. Haverfield presided, was a most successful one. At least one lady confessed to having come as an "anti" and leaving as a militant. Over 216 worth of tickets were sold. The "Home, Brighton," is booked for January 5, the day before Mr. Aquith's visit to Brighton, when Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak.

West of England and South Wales. Miss Annie Kenney reports that the plan of Election Campaign for Bristol is almost complete. Committee-rooms have been secured in Mr. Birrell's constituency, and a meeting for women only has been held. Great interest is shown in the woman's demand. Owing to the kindness of a male sympathiser in lending his house, the W.S.P.U. members have been able to send telegraphic messages to Miss Teresa Garnett in prison, and Nurse Pitman and Miss Wentworth have been warmly welcomed at the At Home, the speaker being Miss Helen Ogston. The weekly At Homes in Newport, Bristol, Bath, and Exeter will re-commence immediately after the holidays.

An enthusiastic At Home was addressed by Miss Ogston in Bath; Miss Millia has spoken at the Rotary Debating Society, the Monmouthshire organizers have held a successful meeting in the gavelnery, and report that the Newport shop continues to be a great attraction. Fresh ground has been broken at Bathurst, where Miss Ogston spoke to a large audience in the Parish Rooms; Ilfracombe, where the result of Miss Dugdale's speech is a request for a public meeting after Christmas; and Axminster, where Miss Dugdale was the speaker and Miss Tuller took the chair at a crowded and interested meeting. A pathetic incident at this meeting was that an old man, in his eagerness to contribute to the woman's cause, hobbled to his home and returned with a cheque for the collection, telling the women that although he had come as a hostile listener, his sympathy was completely won. At the Truro At Home, Miss Barrett, B.S.C., made a deep impression by her stirring address.

Midlands. In Birmingham, as throughout the movement, the release of Miss Marsh has been the cause of great joy. People, especially the women, at Worcester Green have been immensely stirred by her imprisonment. In addition to the great Town

Hill meeting at which Mrs. Pankhurst was welcomed on Tuesday, a number of other gatherings have been held, and meetings have been addressed by Mrs. Bates. The weekly Friday night meetings in the Bull Ring are discontinued until after the holidays. Tonight Miss Gladys Kevel and Lady Isabel Margesson are speaking at Walsall.

A special meeting for election workers will be held at the office, 6, Carlton Street, Nottingham, on December 21, from 7 to 9.30. Will all who can possibly help in the election campaign, which will commence on January 1, endeavour to attend? Mrs. Pankhurst will address a meeting in the Albert Hall, Nottingham, on Tuesday, January 11.

The Northampton organizer appeals for workers for the General Election campaign, and Miss Branch will gladly receive subscriptions towards the campaign funds. Miss Fitzpatrick has kindly undertaken to have two posters on boardings in Kings-thorpe. Mrs. Bates's speeches have been greatly appreciated, and members are looking forward to Miss Evelyn Sharp's visit.

Lancashire. Great indignation has been expressed by the arrest of Miss Florence Clarkson under circumstances described on page 181. Lancashire women are urged to take every spare moment at the disposal of the organizers for the General Election campaign. Miss Slade, who heroically faced the hunger strike in consequence of her protest at Rawtenstall when Mr. Harcourt visited it last week, was liberated from Strangeways Gaol on Wednesday, December 8, "on medical grounds," after a fast of fifty-three hours. Members greatly enjoyed Miss Decima Moore's speech at their At Home on Friday.

To-night a great indignation meeting is being held in the Sun Hall, Liverpool, at which Miss Christabel Pankhurst is speaking, the purpose being to protest against the Prime Minister's visit to Birkhead on December 21. Will members make a point of being outside the Hippodrome at that night to support their cause? Volunteers are asked to give in their names to Miss Flatman for the general Election Campaign without delay.

Spontaneous offers of help have come from many Southport sympathisers during the week, and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's visit on Tuesday and Wednesday has given a great impetus to the work. A members' meeting is held on Fridays at the Temperance Institute at 8 p.m.

The protest during Mr. Churchill's recent visit has roused great sympathy in Preston, and an enthusiastic meeting was addressed by Miss Gawthorpe and Mrs. Brailford on Saturday. This was preceded by a week of meetings in the Market Place, organised by Miss Hewitt.

Yorkshire. The visits of Mrs. Pankhurst, and if well enough, Miss Charlotte Marsh to Bradford on January 12 are being eagerly looked forward to. Work awaits every volunteer immediately after Christmas in connection with the election campaign.

Miss Adela Pankhurst is organising a campaign in Scarborough, commencing with a women's meeting in the Lecture Rooms on Monday, the 20th, at 8 p.m. The election policy will be defined, and an appeal made for workers. Other meetings will be held for men in the various wards. Miss Pankhurst appeals for funds to enable her to take committee rooms in a central district. It is hoped to arrange a demonstration in the Lonsborough Theatre during January.

Newcastle. "There must be no laggards in the fight," says Miss Williams, the organizer. All are urged, and work will be found for all in connection with the election campaign.

Glasgow and West of Scotland. A General Election Fund of £100 is necessary in Glasgow, and Miss Conolan calls upon members and friends to do their utmost to raise this sum by the end of January. Will volunteers send their names to the office, stating, if possible, what time they can give from December 20 onwards? There will be no public At Home on Saturday, December 18, but the office will be open during the afternoon so that members and friends may have an opportunity of hearing final arrangements before the Christmas holidays. Miss Dunn, who organized the meeting at Bridge of Weir, has sent £50 to the proceeds. Miss Marzani's address on the Right to Petition was listened to with the greatest interest at the At Home.

Edinburgh. Members and workers are earnestly asked to attend their At Home today, when General Drummond will explain the part of Edinburgh in regard to the General Election. Miss Geddes has kindly undertaken to be a hazard secretary for Edinburgh. She will speak at the At Home today. Miss Conolan gave an exceedingly helpful address on the General Election policy last Friday.

Dundee. Tickets for Lady Constance Lytton's afternoon meeting on Monday are almost sold out, but tickets for the evening meeting may be had at the office. Members are reminded of the meeting on January 7, when they are to have the pleasure of hearing Mrs. Pankhurst in the Deaf Hall. Successful meetings have been held during the week.

THE DRUMMERS' UNION. Tickets for the entertainment on January 15 in the Rehearsal Theatre, Maiden Lane, are selling well. No 1s. or 6d. tickets remain, but a few 2s. 6d. tickets are still un-sold. It is hoped that Mrs. Pankhurst may be present if her engagements permit.

CONSERVATIVE WOMEN'S FRANCHISE ASSOCIATION. A new branch has been started for Chelsea and Belgrave, and an influential committee has been formed. The Kensington Town Hall was filled on December 8 with a keenly interested and enthusiastic audience.

ACRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE. A tea will take place to-day at the Criterion Restaurant from 3.30 to 5. The secretary is Miss Aveline Bourne, 19, Overstrand Mansions, Battersea Park, S.W.



Selfridge's Suitable Gifts for Ladies.

Not a comprehensive list, but to prove useful we trust in suggesting many other items equally appropriate as presents—interesting to buy and delightful to receive.

- Blouses: Japanese Silk Blouses, very fine quality, in four beautiful designs—splendidly made, and exquisitely trimmed Valenciennes Lace, 5/9.
Gloves: Ladies' 2-tone Kid Gloves, in both light and heavy qualities, all fashionable shades, 2/6 a pair.
Cameras: "Brownie" Cameras at 5/10, 12/6, and 17/8 each.
Umbrellas: Pretty coloured Umbrella that will stand the rain, in plain colours, 12/-, in Fancy Checks, 25/-.
Furs: Pretty Ermine Cravats with real tails, reduced price 30/6.
Handkerchiefs: Box of one dozen, very fine texture, all Linen hand embroidered Initial Handkerchiefs, with scroll and initial, 10/6.
Fans: Evening Fans, gause hand-somely designed in coloured sequins, mounted on bone stalks, inlaid with sequins to match, 7/6, 8/6, and 10/6 each.
Stationery: Blotters with Gasket pockets and Tray, for correspondence. The whole to look. Made in leather, 7/6 each.
Opera Bags: Black Molré silk Hand-Bags, embroidered daintily design in Black Jet; Frame, initial Jet, Chain handle, 25/6, 28/6, 30/-, 35/- each.
Umbrellas: Pretty coloured Umbrella that will stand the rain, in plain colours, 12/-, in Fancy Checks, 25/-.

Members are specially reminded to patronise the shop to help sell Votes for Women at Hammersmith, Brixton, by the Brixton W.S.P.U. Friends and sympathisers living in North-West London are urged to report themselves for active work during the General Election to Mrs. Penn Gaskell at 215, High Road, Kilburn. This will be the working centre for the Harrow Division, and workers are badly needed.

ALFRED DAY, LADIES' TAILOR.



Miss Frances Bradley Storr, The Famous GIRL PREACHER.

GIRL PREACHER quite cured of STUBBORN, CHOKING COUGH.

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