

# VOTES FOR WOMEN

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"She went on growing and growing."—Alice in Wonderland.  
WITH APOLOGIES TO MR. ARTHUR RACKHAM.

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## THE OUTLOOK

The Government are still torturing the two brave women in Mountjoy Prison. Meanwhile, savage rioting has occurred at a football match in Belfast. Revolvers were used, and a hundred persons were injured, some of them seriously. No arrests were made! Here is a new illustration of the well-known fact that under a Liberal Government there is one law for voteless women and another law for men. Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans made a demonstration in the Dublin Theatre Royal at the close of a performance, when no panic could occur. The political malcontents at Belfast armed themselves with revolvers which they fired into a crowd of twelve thousand persons. By a miracle, life was not lost, but the difference between the men's riot at Belfast

and the women's protest in Dublin is as great as it could well be. Yet the two women who made the milder protest have been sent to five years' penal servitude, and the men rioters all go scot free. It is a scandal that Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans have not been already released.

### The Prisoners' Release Inevitable

It is impossible for the Government to keep Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans in prison for five years, because they cannot feed them by force for that length of time. The order for release must come, and will come soon. Either the Government must give that order, or Death will give it. What is the Government's object in continuing this torture? The offence, if it be regarded as such, committed by the prisoners has had already more than its meed of

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.



punishment, especially when the indulgence shown to the recent offences of men rebels is considered. The fact is that the Government care nothing about vindicating the law. Their simple and sole object is to break the spirit of the two prisoners. That they can never do. They may, however, break their body, and therefore effort to secure the release of Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans must be continued and renewed. "Can you not remember you are a lady?" asked the Home Secretary of a member of the W.S.P.U. "Can you not remember that you are men?" is a question that may well be addressed to these cruel and reactionary Cabinet Ministers.

**G.B.S. on Forcible Feeding**

Mr. Bernard Shaw has provided the most telling argument for militancy that has ever yet been written. He shows that when women nerve themselves to make really serious protests against their disfranchisement, the Government must yield. He points out that whereas a prisoner who adopts the hunger strike can be released if she has committed a trifling offence, to release her after a few days if she has committed a serious offence is by no means so simple a matter. Forcible feeding cannot be continued during a long term of imprisonment because insanity or death must ensue. Cold logic dictates that a hunger striker shall be allowed to die of starvation. But even here the Government find no escape from their difficulty because—

If the Suffragists in Mountjoy are allowed to kill themselves, the horror which such an event will create, in spite of all logic, will be inspired by the Government, and not by the victims. And that is the final weakness of the position of the Government. If Dr. Crippen had been sentenced to penal servitude for life, and he had declared that he would starve himself to death if not released, the Government might have counted on a very large degree of public sympathy in replying literally and seriously, "Starve yourself and be damned." But if it says that to Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans, the general feeling will be that though the prisoners will be starved, it is the Government who will be damned, and that will make all the difference.

**The New Offices**

We have to announce the removal of the headquarters of the Women's Social and Political Union from Clement's Inn to magnificent new premises in Kingsway. The growing importance of the Union and the expansion of its work has necessitated the taking of a whole building. Apart from the improved facilities for work afforded by the new premises, it is obviously a very great advantage to have in one of the great London thoroughfares this imposing building as a monument of the women's movement, and a constant witness to its vitality and importance. Clement's Inn is endeared to all W.S.P.U. members by many memories, and they leave it with many feelings of regret. Nevertheless, the removal to new and larger premises in a more public position is an event full of encouragement and meaning, and Lincoln's Inn House will soon be everything to the Suffragettes that Clement's Inn has been.

**New Canadian Campaign Begins**

As we informed our readers last week, Miss Barbara Wylie leaves for Canada by the "Empress of Ireland" to-day (Friday). A few days ago an absurd rumour was current that neither Miss Wylie nor any other militant Suffragist would be allowed to land at a Canadian port. The militants would not have been baffled even then, but the rumour had obviously no foundation, and Miss Wylie will meet with the courtesy and kindness which militant Suffragists are wont to receive at the hands of everyone save the Liberal Government of this country. The Canadian campaign is exciting great interest, and reports of its progress will be published in our columns.

**The Midlothian Election**

The loss of Midlothian is a great blow to the Government, and has very greatly improved the prospects of women's enfranchisement. The weaker the enemy grows, the more effective becomes the political pressure exerted by the W.S.P.U. We are unable to feel regret at the Labour candidate's failure to win the seat, because the Labour Party, whatever it may do in the constituencies, in Parliament simply reinforces the Government and is indistinguishable from the Liberal rank and file. If the Labour Members were to make their support of the Government conditional upon the introduction and passage of Woman Suffrage as a Government measure, then we should see a real advantage in the election of additional Labour M.P.'s.

**The Real Criminals**

The imprisonment of a young girl for manslaughter, and the escape from all punishment of the man who had ruined her and is primarily responsible for her crime, proves once again the urgent need of the enfranchisement of women. Judges may continue to deplore the state of the law, but Parliament will

never do justice as between man and woman until it is elected by an electorate which includes women. It is a mockery for the Prime Ministers to declare, as they unctuously do, that women are in no need of the vote for their protection. The judge in the recent manslaughter trial expressed his sorrow that the male culprit should go unpunished, and we agree with him; but we go further, and we say that the chief criminals are the politicians who fight against women's enfranchisement, and so keep women without defence.

**Why Labour is Weak**

Mr. Philip Snowden has not, since our reply to his observations on Woman Suffrage, made any further reference to the question. He has, however, written upon the Labour Party's weakness as disclosed at Midlothian and other by-elections. This weakness he attributes to the fact that the Labour programme too closely resembles and is so like an improvement upon the Liberal programme. In our opinion, it is not a question of programmes, but of the Labour Party's action in the House of Commons. The Labour Members are absolutely at the Government's beck and call, and behave just as the old Liberal Labour Members did in the days before the present Labour Party came into existence. Until the Labour Members assert themselves and insist upon reforms desired of them being carried through by the Government, the elections will leave Labour candidates at the bottom of the poll.

**The Attitude of Liberal Women**

Every now and then hopes are entertained that the Liberal women will assert themselves, and, putting Principle before Party, will insist that the Liberal Government shall give votes to women. It is evident, however, that the women who are really progressive and really in earnest about the Suffrage question are ceasing to join the Women's Liberal Associations, which are degenerating more and more into associations for promoting purely Party interests. A proof of this is the amazing fact that the Liberal women of Dundee allowed Mr. Winston Churchill to deliver a long speech to them without discussing his own and the Government's attitude with regard to Votes for Women. What Mr. Churchill did say about Woman Suffrage was that

if his twelve local Parliaments should ever be established, some extension of women's political rights might be made in connection with their establishment. This suggests the question why the first of these Parliaments, that for Ireland, should not be elected by women. But that is a question to which Mr. Churchill gave no answer. The Liberal women forgot their dignity as women, but fortunately militant Suffragists were present, and though they were ejected, their protests were made. Mrs. Churchill made a speech in which she said: "All women must feel a sense of humiliation and degradation at the scenes which I have just witnessed." We quite agree with Mrs. Churchill. The violent ejection of women who have simply uttered a demand for political freedom, must cause other women who remain ignominiously silent to feel bitter humiliation and deep degradation.

**THE M.P.U.—A YEAR'S WORK**

The Second Annual Report of the Men's Political Union, which we have received, is a record of excellent work, and the Union can well claim that "it has been of material assistance to the W.S.P.U." The Men's Political Union have helped the cause by speaking at meetings, by taking part in processions and fairs, by protesting at Cabinet Ministers' meetings, helping at by-elections, and in many other ways. During the year under consideration five members were sentenced to prison: Mr. Abbey, for attempting to throw a message into the Cabinet Council; Mr. Franklin, for throwing a message at Mr. Churchill's house; Mr. Victor Duval, for taking the number of a constable ("obstruction"); Mr. Macdougall, for throwing a bag at Mr. Lloyd George's motor-car; and Mr. Ball, for smashing two windows. Mr. Abbey and Mr. Franklin carried out the hunger-strike and were forcibly fed; Mr. Ball's case will be fresh in the minds of our readers. Mention is made also of the case of Mr. Hawkins, who won £100 damages and costs from the Liberals of Bradford, and of the judge's decision that a person must be requested to leave a meeting before he can be forcibly ejected.

Mr. Snowden's expressions of opinion on Woman Suffrage, dealt with by Miss Christabel Pankhurst in last week's *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, appeared in the *Christian Commonwealth*.



Who said a woman could not keep a secret? Miss Christabel Pankhurst has reason to be proud of the loyalty of the rank and file of the W.S.P.U.—*Liverpool Evening Express*.

*Daily Sketch*

**A QUESTION OF ETHICS**

"These women might come out to-morrow if they chose."—*Mr. Asquith and Mr. McKenna, House of Commons, 1912.*

"If I cannot return without calling myself guilty, I will never return, not even for me to return to my country. If another way can be found which does not derogate from the fame and honour of Dante, that will I take with no lagging steps. But if by no such way Florence may be entered, then will I re-enter Florence never."—*Dante in Exile, 1316.*

Such was the answer of one of the greatest figures of the age to the offer of mere politicians. He died in exile.

Such is in spirit the answer of honour-loving minds to the mockery of the mere politician of to-day. In this spirit lived and died the men and women who have built up the greatness of the England of our love. Not by surrender did they win their place in the roll of honour in our fair island story.

Instances of this spirit must occur to everyone with even a vague knowledge of history: Cranmer, who in weakness and human dread of bodily torture failed for a moment, only to stand forth again, a model of fortitude, an example to stimulate the weakest among us; Latimer and Ridley, burnt at the stake together; the Fellows of Magdalen, that famous "candle in England not to be put out for ever"; Sir Thomas More, beheaded for refusing to swear to what he did not honestly believe; Friar Forest, suffering a death of hideous cruelty rather than deny his Faith: "Take me," he said, "cut me to pieces, burn, hang, do what you like, I will be true to my Faith." The Fellows of Magdalen, that famous College at which our own Prince of Wales is soon to take up his residence, were driven forth to poverty rather than give up the privilege of their College to elect its own President unrestricted by orders from any outside body, however powerful. One more example, that pathetic incident in that *Agony of Franklin* the *Sevens* Massacre. Princess de Lamballe, asked by her judges to save her life by uttering insulting words about her Queen and friend, Marie Antoinette, answered with gentle dignity, "I cannot say that, it is not in my heart." She walked out to ghastly death at the hands of the mob. She might have gone forth free, but her loyalty and truth were stronger than love of life and safety. Her name is honoured wherever her story is known.

It will be said for England and the world when this spirit is unrecognised. Happily there are among us thousands of men and women willing to stand forth for a cause, and to brave insult and calumny and torture, in defence of principle and of one another. If only we can, men and women alike, who have the good of England at heart, overcome the fear of ridicule, that nightmare of so many of us, that ridicule and senseless raving will cease, the tables will be turned, and honour will be given to whom honour is due.

M. E. ANDREWS.

**DORKING AND HOLMWOOD CAMPAIGN**

Organisers: Miss C. A. L. Marsh and Miss H. Gordon Liddle, 43, Howard Road, Dorking

The special campaign to protest against the threatened sale of the furniture at The Mascot, Holmwood, by the Government to pay the costs of the prosecution in the Conspiracy Trial, is now in huge swing. Two or three meetings are being held daily. The date of the sale is not yet announced, but much indignation is felt locally at the action of the Treasury in seizing the house during the absence of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. The campaign opened with a very successful meeting on Tuesday evening in Dorking, when Mrs. Cameron Swan and Mrs. Cather were the speakers. A meeting will be held every evening at 8.30 in Dorking, opposite the "White Horse." The loan of a motor-car would be much appreciated, as there is a great deal of ground to cover. Contributions towards the expenses are needed, and should be sent to the above address. Gratefully acknowledged: The Misses Sotheran, £4 4s.

**Meetings Arranged**

- Thursday, Sept. 19, Holmwood, 6.30 p.m., Miss West, Miss M. Brackenbury; Dorking, 6.30 p.m., Miss Brackenbury, Miss Marsh.
- Friday, Sept. 20, Flint Hill, 6.30 p.m., Miss Hardy, Mrs. Cather; Ockley, 6.30 p.m., Mrs. Cameron Swan, Miss Marsh; Dorking, 6.30 p.m., Miss Liddle, Miss Hicks, M.A.
- Saturday, Sept. 21, Westcott, 6.30 p.m., Miss M. Brackenbury, Miss West; Dorking, 6.30 p.m., Miss Brackenbury.
- Monday, Sept. 23, Holmwood, 6.30 p.m., Miss Marsh; Dorking, 6.30 p.m., Miss Naylor.
- Tuesday, Sept. 23, Dorking, 6.30 p.m., Miss Naylor.
- Wednesday, Sept. 24, Dorking, 6.30 p.m., Miss Liddle, Mrs. Cather.

**IRISHWOMAN'S COMMITTEE FOR SECURING VOTES UNDER THE HOME RULE BILL**

Many thanks to all those who have sent in names during the past week. It is hoped that Irish Suffragists will do their utmost to gain further names for this Committee, so that the campaign may go forward throughout the country. Hitherto Irishwomen have borne little of the brunt of the women's fight; they cannot therefore stand aside now when the key to an important position lies in their grasp. Funds are most urgently needed, and all those who have sent in their names are asked to send donations. If this work of gaining support for Mr. Snowden's Amendment to the Home Rule Bill is to be thoroughly done, money must be forthcoming. Gratefully acknowledged: Mrs. Christich, 10s.; Miss A. Connor Smith, £2. (Names and all contributions to be sent to the Secretaries, Miss A. Connor Smith, Miss L. Geraldine Lennox, 43, Kempsford Gardens, Earl's Court, London, S.W.)

**THE SUFFRAGETTES' NEW HOME**

Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway

This year is the sixth of the London existence of the Women's Social and Political Union, and it is to be marked by a big event, the removal of the Union into its new home, one of the most striking buildings in the broad, central road known as Kingsway. Six years! The Union began in one room, and now it finds its present accommodation (twenty-seven rooms at Clement's Inn and fourteen in Charing Cross Road) totally inadequate for its enormous activities. Year by year new offices have been added to the old rooms; the departments have been scattered over practically every floor of Clement's Inn, and one department, the Women's Press, has even had to be lodged out!

Members of the Union will never forget Clement's Inn, the scene of so many events in the militant campaign; but as they are always looking forward and not back, they will welcome the new home, not only for its beauty and its suitability, but as an actual proof of the triumphant progress of the Union.

Built with all the latest conveniences of a business house, Lincoln's Inn House, was suggested as suitable for an important Government office. It has a greater destination—it will be the headquarters not of a Government department, but of the greatest movement in the history of the world.

And indeed it is worthy of its destiny. Five floors high and built of Portland stone in Italian Renaissance style, supported by four rounded pillars, it stands out even among the other fine buildings in the street. The main door opens into a grand hall supported on columns, with a vaulted ceiling 21ft high, and arched windows. This will be a fitting home for the Women's Press. At the rear is an office with a domed light, and all round is a gallery which will be divided into offices, while below is a huge basement, to be occupied by the publishing department of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*.

A fine tiled staircase runs to all the floors, as well as an electric lift. The first and third floors contain four front and two back offices; the second floor has a magnificent oak-paneled room, to be used as general offices; this is 38ft by 20ft, with three large front windows, as well as two good rooms at the back.

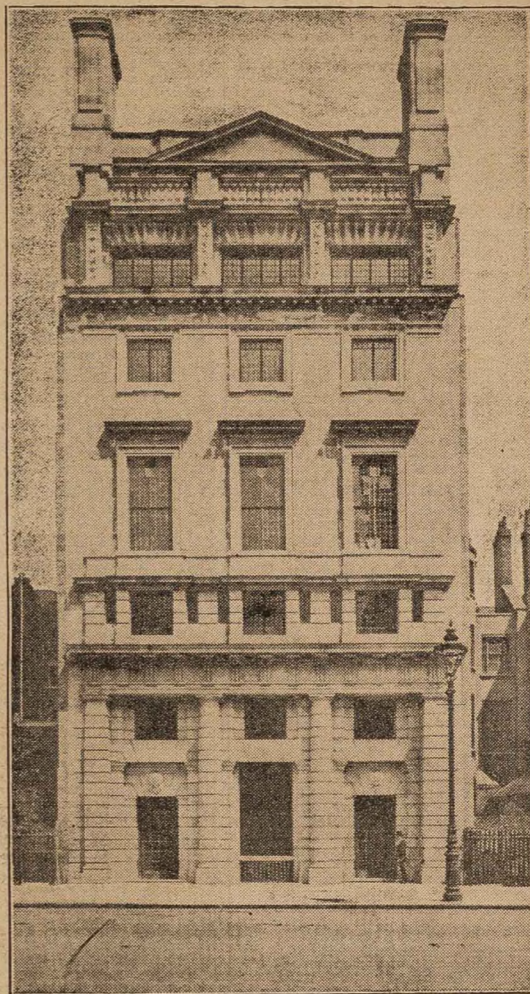
The three fine front rooms on the fourth floor will be occupied by the editorial department of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*. Here, too, are large offices at the rear. The fifth floor has three large rooms opening by French windows on to a stone balcony, and at the back is a caretaker's flat. A short staircase leads to the roof, with a unique view; from this vantage point the surrounding houses appear quite dwarfed.

Such is a brief description of the Suffragettes' fine new home. Every inch of space will be fully utilised, for here have to be housed all the departments—rooms for the Honorary Secretaries and Organisers, for the Editorial, advertisement, and publishing staffs of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, the Treasury, the General Offices, the information department, newspaper and other filing rooms, indexing rooms, banner department, and for the large secretarial staff.

The move, which will be made early next month, will be a formidable undertaking, but we venture to prophesy that there will be no hitch in the work of

any of the departments. The police raid and search in March made no difference to the Union's activities—and in comparison a mere move is a bagatelle!

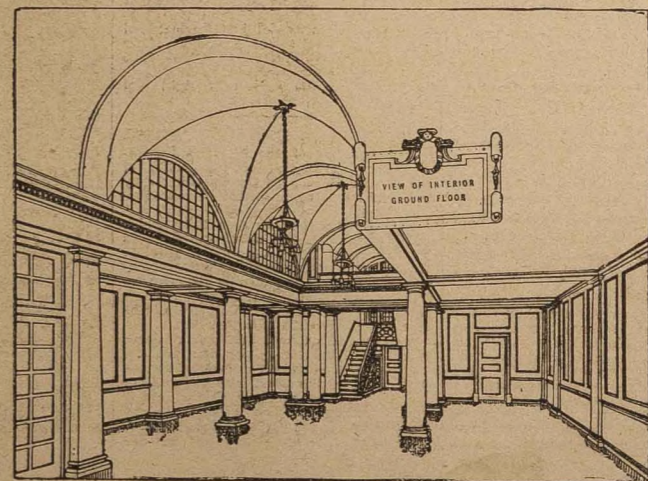
In December the new offices will be "At Home" on the occasion of the Christmas Fair; and by that time work will have settled down as though the



THE SUFFRAGETTES' NEW HOME  
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway

Union had never worked anywhere else. No, nothing but Lincoln's Inn House would have answered the Union's needs—and Lincoln's Inn House is likely to answer them completely—for the present!

With a Union like the W.S.P.U., however, there is no such thing as finality, and it is already rumoured that it has its eye on the Crystal Palace, not to speak of that other building nearer home, with the peculiarly interesting name, the *Hammerstein Palace*!



The Hall where the Women's Press will be housed



# FORCIBLE FEEDING DENOUNCED ONCE MORE

"The abominable and illegal expedient of forcible feeding."—Mr. George Bernard Shaw  
"This New Medieval Horror."—Mr. William de Morgan.

Mrs. Leigh and Miss Gladys Evans are still being forcibly fed in Mountjoy Prison. This abominable treatment of women who are fighting for political recognition has roused widespread controversy in the Press, and we quote below, in addition to further medical opinion, the views of Mr. George Bernard Shaw and Mr. William De Morgan.

In a letter to one of the Glasgow W.S.P.U. organisers, the Private Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland said: "The necessity for the procedure to which you refer is the cause of deep regret to His Excellency and to all members of the Government and of the Privy Council."

We ask the Government once more: "Then why not take the only way of putting an end to all militant action—give votes to women?"

## OPINIONS ON FORCIBLE FEEDING

### A Medical Journal

The report by Sir Victor Horsley, Mr. Mansell Moullin, and Dr. Agnes Saville on the forcible feeding of Suffrage prisoners has provoked a correspondence in the *British Medical Journal*. Some correspondents complain of the introduction of the "political" matter, and do not see that the question is one which involves the whole status and ethics of the medical profession. Dr. Robert Bradley writes: "I am surprised that medical men can be found to carry out such operations, which I consider to be degrading them to the level of common executioners."

An excellent letter also appears from Dr. Barbara Teck, who says: "From medical and other evidence, the physical condition of the prisoners so fed (either with or without resistance) is considerably worse than before feeding—for example, 'sepsis of nose, throat, and mouth, lung conditions, dyspepsia from large, cold quantities of food introduced into contracted stomach, &c.'"

"Obviously, then, forcible feeding in these cases has not prevented starvation, or at least cannot be said to have administered with the result of improving the physical condition of the patient who is unwilling or unable to take food for it has actually reduced her to a condition of collapse, rendering further forcible feeding, or, indeed, detention in prison, unsafe. Further, forcible feeding has the result (unintentional, of course) of terminating the sentence prematurely."

"It seems, then, that the twofold purpose, (1) to prevent starvation, (2) to prevent termination of sentence, is not fulfilled, and I cannot see the reason of prison doctors continuing to administer the treatment, unless, indeed, they are called upon by the special nature of their appointments to administer treatment that can only be regarded as punishment, in the shape of physical and mental torture."

"If this is so, the time is surely ripe for the medical profession, through its organisation, to protest against the imposition on its members of duties that are distinctly unprofessional, for it is probably difficult, if not impossible, for any individual medical officer to refuse to carry out the instructions of his authority."

"Are prison doctors called upon to render purely medical services, and are they in order, as members of the medical profession, in administering a form of treatment to the patients under their care which rapidly reduces these to a serious condition of invalidity? Even in Russia, during the savage flogging of prisoners, the prison doctor stands by and raises his hand when, in his opinion, the prisoner has had enough. Here, apparently, the prison doctor administers the torture himself, and then decides from the prisoner's physical condition when she has had enough of his treatment."

### Mr. George Bernard Shaw

In the course of a letter published in most of the newspapers on Tuesday last, Mr. Shaw says:—

"Hitherto the Government has stupidly and angrily attempted to escape from the dilemma by the abominable and illegal expedient of forcible feeding. It has been guilty of violence and torture in its prisons; and it has tried to excuse itself by lying and insolence in Parliament. At that game it has been ignominiously beaten. It has had to release the women, and to confess its own impudent mendacity concerning the cruelty and danger of its illegal methods."

"But this plan of finally releasing the prisoners, after torturing them as much as the prison authorities dare, is clearly only applicable to short sentences, with regard to which the Home Secretary can be assured that the unfortunate women have received in the course of a few days' forcible feeding a very full equivalent for the miseries of the unexpired portions of their sentences. The moment the women go on to graver crimes, this illegal compounding of a month's imprisonment for a week's torture is no longer possible."

"An attempt to give the Mountjoy prisoners an equivalent in forcible feeding for three and a half years' penal servitude would probably end either in killing them or driving them mad. The result of that

might be that other Suffragists might be sentenced to doing something that would be punished by a sentence of penal servitude for life.

"My conclusion, therefore, is that if the prisoners in Mountjoy are determined to commit suicide by starvation, they must be allowed to do so, and that the Government could not be held responsible for their deaths if it could convince the public that the prisoners had plenty of food within their reach."

"This is the cold logic of the matter; and it has been evident to intelligent observers for some time that the moment the militant Suffragists overstepped the line which separates what I may call pardonable ructions from offences against public safety, which no community can be persuaded to tolerate, they would drive the Government back on this cold logic."

### The Government's Responsibility

"I need hardly add that the responsibility for allowing things to reach such an extremity is, in my opinion, a much heavier one for the Government than for the Suffragists, because on the point at issue between them the Government is in the wrong and the Suffragists are in the right. If, therefore, the Suffragists in Mountjoy are allowed to kill themselves, the horror which such an event will create, in spite of all logic, will be inspired by the Government, and not by the victims. And that is the final weakness of the position of the Government."

"If Dr. Crippen had been sentenced to penal servitude for life, and he had declared that he would starve himself to death if not released, the Government might have counted on a very large degree of public sympathy in replying literally and seriously: 'Starve yourself and be damned.'"

"But if it says that to Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans, the general feeling will be that, though the prisoners will be starved, it is the Government who will be damned; and that will make all the difference."

### Mr. William de Morgan

Mr. William de Morgan, the well-known novelist, writing to a correspondent, admits that he considers the prison authorities' anxious care of the Suffragettes as so much hypocrisy. He gives a graphic picture of what would happen if one of the victims died, and says:—

"There would have been, however, only one ugly contingency that nothing short of a subversion of the usage of centuries could have averted—the coroner's inquest. Conceive the position of an ill-advised medical practitioner who had plugged the lung of a refractory lady with wholesome prison food, and choked her before she could explain that his accursed gutta-percha abomination had been thrust into her larynx! Had I been in the position of one of these men, forced to act against his conscience—I give them that credit!—by a Law which confuses with right, and a Science which has not yet discriminated between surgery and barbarity, I trust that I should either have said to my employers, 'I am under no contract to be a devil, and throw up my appointment; or at least concocted better shuffles and excuses for my subservience than I have yet met with in palliation of theirs.'"

"It is, then, because—will I nil I—I disbelieve in the professions of the perpetrators of this new medieval horror; that they have been actuated by purely benevolent motives towards the infatuated women who were putting their own lives in danger, and because these professions suggest to me the names of Tartuffe and Pecksniff, Joseph Surface and Uriah Heep, that I have to fight against a disposition to forget that all violence soever—according to my ethical system—is wrong, and that nothing can make it right. Blood is stronger than the chloplogic of a weak official justification, and my heart goes out to the victims of a sheer unqualified diabolism, whether they have or have not run counter to my own private conviction on the subject of right and wrong."

## FROM WOMEN IN SOUTH AFRICA

The secretary of the Women's Emancipation Association of the Union of South Africa sends us the following copy of a letter sent by them to the Home Secretary:—

"Sir,—On behalf of an association which numbers some fifteen hundred women as its members, we have the honour to present to you our protest against the continued refusal of the British Government to recognise the political character of offences committed in the course of the agitation for Woman Suffrage."

"By law and custom, both international and British, the recognition of a political motive for the commission even of serious crimes entitles the offender a consideration not accorded to ordinary criminals. A striking instance of this is the treatment received by our countryman, Dr. Jameson, after his conviction under the Foreign Enlistment Act in 1896. Recently the Suffragist leaders imprisoned for conspiracy were accorded treatment as first-class misdemeanants on the same grounds. In spite of this, women convicted of the offences

for inciting to which those leaders were sentenced were detained in the second division, and there is no security that Suffragists will not in future be treated in the same manner."

We submit that the differentiation against agitators in the Woman Suffrage movement cannot be defended either on legal or moral grounds, and we respectfully urge the British Government to extend to them the privileges reserved by other civilised nations for those who break the law from honourable motives.—We have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servants,  
President: M. EMMA MACINTOSH.  
Secretary: IDA G. HYETT.

## THE CAMPAIGN IN DUBLIN

W.S.P.U. Organiser: Miss Grace Roe, Kildare Street, Dublin

The Organiser reports:—

The Phoenix Park Demonstration was followed up last Friday night by a crowded meeting in the Antient Concert Rooms, Dublin, which seats about a thousand people. The meeting was called to arouse public feeling in favour of the immediate release of Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans from Mountjoy Prison. Miss Georgina Brackenbury and Miss West spoke to a most enthusiastic audience, each of the speakers receiving an ovation. The Dublin people are, indeed, easily roused to sympathy for a great cause. They are as quickly roused to anger on occasion, and at this meeting there was at question time an outburst of indignation when a man rose to put questions to the speakers. The meeting has been highly praised on all sides, except, of course, by the Press.

On Saturday we sold VOTES FOR WOMEN in the streets for just an hour and a half. Three hundred copies of this issue were sold on the Friday and Saturday. A large number of leaflets on forcible feeding are being distributed, and VOTES FOR WOMEN is being sold in the streets. This campaign has cost a great deal of money. Will anyone who can help financially write to Miss Grace Roe.

## LONDON OPEN-AIR CAMPAIGN

W.S.P.U. Organiser: Miss Garrett, 4, Clement's Inn

The Organiser reports:—Thanks to the speakers and chairmen who have helped to make this campaign such a success. Although it is still holiday time, we have been able to hold the average of three meetings every night, besides several dinner-hour meetings, and the fine Hyde Park demonstration on Sunday last. Here the speakers were Mrs. Cecil Porch (chair) and Mrs. Bouvier and Miss Leonora Tyson. An enormous crowd gathered round the platform almost as soon as the lorry had taken up its pitch; all appeared most eager to hear the speakers, and with a very few exceptions the audience was most sympathetic. The announcement was made that the Hyde Park meeting would in future be held by the M.P.U., and to show that men and women are working



Miss Christabel Pankhurst in Paris

Daily Sketch.

# MISS CHRISTABEL PANKHURST IN PARIS

No sooner was the secret out, and the whereabouts of Miss Christabel Pankhurst known, than that elusive Leader was besieged, in her little Paris Hotel, with enterprising journalists anxious to secure the story of "How I Escaped."

Some day, no doubt, the story of how Miss Pankhurst managed to slip out of the very clutches of Scotland Yard may be told in detail; meanwhile, it is enough to know that on the night of March 5, while detectives were overrunning Clement's Inn, she was on her way to safety. On landing in France she went to Paris, where she lived "perdue" for two days. Then she went back to Boulogne and spent several months at a little hamlet on the coast in the district that is nearest to England, and here much of her political work for "Votes for Women" was done.

She has now returned to Paris, where she will remain for the time being. Through the kindness of the *Daily Sketch* we are able to reproduce some excellent photographs, which give an idea of the surroundings in which Miss Pankhurst is living, and these we know our readers will appreciate.

Those who know Miss Pankhurst will not need to be told that never for one moment of her exile has she ceased to keep a vigilant watch on political affairs on this side of the Channel. And while, from Paris, she will control the political side of the work of the Women's Social and Political Union, the members of the Union on this side will wish us to assure her of their loyal and loving devotion and their readiness for whatever work there may be in store.

Throughout this week large daily meetings have been held on Tower Hill, when the speakers have been much touched by the sympathy extended to them. Paper Sellers are urgently needed along the route of the Procession. Members are asked to make every effort to help with this very important work, and to come to the Press Cart, which will be at the starting point at 3 p.m. for supplies and instructions.



A Good Snapshot.



At a Newsagent's Stall

Daily Sketch.



The Hotel Cité Bergère

Converting the Newsagent

Daily Sketch.



Typical. Last week's "Votes for Women"

Miss Christabel Pankhurst is reported to be in Paris. Her whereabouts have for a long time been a public mystery. She led us all a pretty dance. Who would have thought she was in France? Now, when a Suffrage leader tarries, Must we conclude she is in Paris? —"B" in the Leeds Mercury.





To be obtained in 1d. and 3d. packets from all Stores, Grocers, or Oilmen. Send 1d. stamp to Dept. 'V.' for Free Sample. JOHN KNIGHT, LTD., Soapmakers by Appointment to H. M. KING GEORGE V. The Royal Primrose Soap Works, LONDON, E.

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SOME NEW BOOKS SHAMS\*

It is interesting to notice that people who endeavour to see and demonstrate the realities which underlie all the shams of life are almost always believers in woman's emancipation. Mr. Ames is no exception to the rule; in fact, seeing what are his views on life in general, as expressed in his latest book, he could hardly be anything else but a Suffragist. Mr. Ames gives one the impression of trying to see life as a whole, and he thinks that our mistakes and grievous social evils come mainly from our habit of cutting it up into bits, and one of the bits is the everlasting habit of thinking in sexes—Sex is the separateness of men.

It has become fashionable to decry the allegory of the Garden of Eden, but it is not only the ancient Hebrew writer who has pointed out that sin entered in only after the man and woman became separate. Philosopher and mystic from Plato onwards have delivered much the same message, and have told us that the perfect day will dawn only when man and woman are once more united. It is a trend of thought which leaves much room for reflection, and to those who wish to pursue the subject further Mr. Ames's book will not come amiss. Many and various subjects are therein dealt with, all in the same spirit of unity under diversity, and the writer has endeavoured to present to us a picture of the whole as it might be, could we for once separate the sunlight from the shadow, a task none too easy, for, as the author says, though truth is everywhere, it is as fugitive as a very elf. The book is original and vigorous, but lacking in style and polish of sentence, the jerkiness resulting therefrom often making the writer's meaning difficult to grasp, which an air of breathlessness pervading the whole book does not help to allay.

K. DOUGLAS SMITH.

RACE IMPROVEMENT\*

So much has been heard nowadays about the duties of motherhood, and about the high infant death-rate being due to neglect of these duties, that it is a refreshing change to hear something about the responsibilities of fatherhood. When all is said and done, if during all the ages men had taken their fatherhood as seriously as women have their motherhood, the health of the nation would have been very different from what it is to-day. Hitherto, however, some excuse must be made for ignorance, which ignorance such pamphlets as Mrs. Swiney's should do much to dispel. Men need to be taught that it is important for the race that they too should lead clean and wholesome lives. The appendix from the Times of India, giving an account of the lamentable results of child marriage, is almost too terrible to bear reading; but it is well that these facts should become a matter of public knowledge.

This treatise is written with the usual clearness and thorough understanding of her subject which we are accustomed to associate with Mrs. Swiney's work, and we heartily agree with her that "when man ceases to seek in woman only a body, the new life of the race will have begun."

Sounding something of the same note, Lady Sybil Smith; also insists that as men look upon women as there only for their special use, the progress of humanity will be very slow. The evils of prostitution and the social degradation of women will remain until the dual standard of morality is done away with. In short, the writer goes over the old ground; but it is a story that must be repeated again and again, and Lady Sybil Smith has done it well. A useful pamphlet for Suffragists to give their wavering friends, and for those who do not fully understand the deep realities that underlie the Suffrage agitation.

K. D. S.

USEFUL BOOKLETS

A new and valuable help to suffrage propaganda is the clever little series entitled "The Women's Rights Library," which is edited by a member of the W.S.P.U., and published by Stewart and Co., 19, Newcastle Street, Farringdon Street, E.C. The first booklet, published at a penny, is full of historical interest, being the translation of an essay on Women and the Rights of Citizenship by the Marquis de Condorcet, written more than 100 years ago. It is wonderful to find answered here, in their pristine glory, all the old anti-suffrage arguments: that women are weak, that they would neglect their homes, that they would wish to enter Parliament, and so forth; indeed, the pamphlet is singularly applicable to our time. No. 2 (price 6d.) will be a reprint of Henry T. Buckle's "Woman's Influence on the Progress of Knowledge."

BOOKS RECEIVED

"The Creation of Woman and Other Feminine Flourishes" (Poems of Womanhood). By Sivori Levey. (Price 6d.) "Poems of Brotherhood." By Sivori Levey. (Price 6d.) "The Consumer in Revolt." By Teresa Billington Greig. (London: Stephen Swift and Co., Ltd. Price 1s. net.) "The Great Solution." By August Schvan. (London: Stephen Swift and Co., Ltd. Price 1s. net.) "Concerning Conscience." By H. Jeffs. (London: James Clarke and Co. Price 3s. 6d. net.) "Marriage as a Trade." A New and cheaper edition. By Cecily Hamilton. (London: Chapman and Hall. Price 1s. net.) "Valserine." By Marguerite Andoux. (London: Chapman and Hall. Price 6s.) "Life and Labour." September. (Chicago: National Women's Trade Union League. Price 10 cents.) "The Woman Voter." September. (The Woman Suffrage Party, New York. Price 5 cents.)

\* "Shams." By Hugo Ames. (The Key Publishing Co., 26, Ivy Lane, E.C. Price 5s. net.) "The Responsibilities of Fatherhood." By Frances Swiney. (The League of Isis. Price 3d.) "Woman and Evolution." By Lady Sybil Smith. (Women's Freedom League. Price 3d.)

GREAT FRENCH HAIR ARTIST COMES TO ENGLAND.

Englishwomen to Learn for the First Time How to Make the Most of Their Hair.

Album of Beautiful Artistic Hair Additions with over Fifty Drawings of Mons. Felix Bertrand's Delightful Parisian creations, depicted by the famous fashion artist, Sylvia of the "Queen," now ready for Posting Free to "Votes for Women" Readers.

"I am here to tell Englishwomen how they may double the luxurious appearance of their hair, and, like famous Society women and the most popular actresses, possess 'coiffures' that compel admiration because of the charm they add to the whole face, and this with little expense."

These are the first enthusiastic words that herald the arrival of that most famous hair artist—Mons. Felix Bertrand, who has come to this country full of enthusiasm and fresh with the laurels he has won in the cities where fashion rules, as an artist in the production of those beautiful "additions" which give to hair an appearance of double luxuriansness. Ho



Mons. Felix Bertrand's beautiful album shows how every lady, however poor her own hair, can secure an appearance as charming as this or any of the other 50 latest styles illustrated. Heads of "Votes for Women" are invited to write for free copies of this Album.

has decided not to confine his services only to the rich, but to cater for the many. He wants every woman to learn the new cult of hair beauty and abundance without expense and without waiting. His charming hair additions are for those who can spare but a few shillings as well as for the rich, who are delighted to secure more elaborate adornments.

M. Bertrand has already secured premises in a fashionable part of London, but not only Londoners but ladies throughout the whole country are to secure the benefit of his amazing skill, and learn how they may make their hair appear as beautiful as they desire by the addition of exquisite Paris Model hair creations, costing only a few shillings.

He has discovered a means of preparing with the highest artistic skill the very latest Paris-sanctioned hair additions from tiny pin-curls to thick, luxurious falls, chignons, clusters of curls, partings, bandeaux, and most beautiful, elaborate transformations at a tithe of the cost that has hitherto been paid.

A MAGNIFICENT SERIES OF FASHION PICTURES A GIFT TO EVERY LADY.

M. Felix Bertrand has designed an album illustrated by a leading artist—no other than "Sylvia" of the "Queen," who has portrayed in her inimitable style a series of his beautiful hair dressings and additions, new Bertrand hair creations in every conceivable style. He has decided to distribute the first few thousand copies of this album free of cost.

One feature of M. Bertrand's plan will at once appeal to the refined, sensitive woman, and that is there is no need to visit a shop or showroom; she can secure all she wants confidentially through the post, though Mons. Bertrand will, of course, be pleased to place his personal services at the disposal of ladies who prefer to call and obtain his skilled advice.

To secure one of the first copies of this book it is only necessary to send your name and address to M. Bertrand on the special coupon for readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN, together with two penny stamps to cover cost of postage, packing, etc.

To M. FELIX BERTRAND, 16, Brook Street, Bond Street, London, W. Please send me a copy of your Hair Album free of charge. I enclose 2d. in stamps to cover cost of postage, packing, etc. Name: Address: Please write clearly. Votes for Women, 20/9/12



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WOMAN'S PLACE IN HINDUISM

By Gurmukh Singh Mongia (Cambridge)

To the charge sometimes made that the condition of women in India leaves much to be desired I at once plead guilty, since the condition of the male sex itself is far from satisfactory. But that the present degraded position of Indian womanhood is due to the teachings and influence of Hinduism is a charge which I cannot too strongly repudiate. I assert that Hinduism is no more responsible for the sufferings of womanhood in India than is Christianity responsible for, say, the slums or the "sins of society" in Christendom. Will those who maintain that in Hinduism lies the secret of the sufferings of Indian womanhood explain to me the meaning of the following quotation from the "Laws of Manu" (Vol. XXV. of the "Sacred Books of the East")? "Where women are honoured, there the gods are pleased, but where they are not honoured no sacred rite yields rewards (iii. 56)."

The wife, according to Hinduism, is in every sense of the word her husband's better half. No rite, no ceremony, in fact no religious act of the husband is or can be complete without the co-operation of his wife. The scrupulousness with which this rule was observed in Ancient India is illustrated by an incident in the Ramayana. When Shri Ram Chandra, toward the close of his reign, expressed a wish to hold the usual Triumphal Feast he was told by the Brahmans that he could not do so since Sita, his wife, was then in exile. The presence of Sita was held necessary by the Brahmans to give colour to the full rite. Unsurmountable circumstances threw Rama and his Court in a great predicament, but eventually the difficulty was somewhat awkwardly solved by placing a life-size golden statue of Sita by the side of her husband during the ceremony.

One more quotation from the "Laws of Manu." It runs as follows: "He only is a perfect man who consists of three persons united—his wife, himself, and his offspring (ix. 47)."

A man, then, in our view is only one-third himself; with his wife and children alone can he be a complete harmonious whole.

If, perchance, still we think that Hinduism places women in a low and inferior position, or degrades her to live in abject slavery and subjection under her "lord and master," the form of ceremony employed in Hindu marriages might help to dispel that false idea from our heads. A very important part of our marriage ceremony is when the bride and bridegroom, hand in hand, take the "Seven Steps." With the first step the bridegroom invokes the blessings of the Creator; with the second he begins his confession of faith:—

- 1. By taking seven steps with me, do thou, O bride, become my friend! 2. Yea, by taking these seven steps we become friends! 3. I shall become thy friend. 4. I shall never give up my friendship. 5. Do thou never give up my friendship. 6. Let us live together and take counsel one of another.

There is in these sentences not a single word which could in the least justify the erroneous idea that woman occupies a mean and inferior position in Hinduism, or that she is regarded by her husband as a mere "slave or chattel." A Hindu wife, I maintain, is no more her husband's slave than he is hers. It is to be noticed that, unlike Christianity, Hinduism does not exact from the bride any unwilling promise "to obey" her "lord and master." The object of a Hindu marriage is to bring about a complete union between two souls on a basis of perfect equality—union on the terms of which are to help each other to live a better and more useful life than is possible in an unmarried state. Man and woman, according to Hinduism, are like the two parts of a spherical body: each part complements the other, and thus completes the whole. It is impossible to assert that one of these parts is in any sense better or more important than the other.

This was true in Ancient India, not only in theory but in practice as well. Purdah, as every student of Indian history is well aware, is a foreign institution, and was for the first time introduced by Mohammedans. Not only was there no purdah in Ancient India, but girls were even allowed virtually to choose their own husbands in accordance with the ceremony known as Swayamvara. Sita and Dropti were thus married. Women, in fact, were quite free, and enjoyed exactly the same facilities for the acquisition of knowledge as did men. How else can we account among others for Gargi and Lilavati, who were great mathematicians, and for Maitri, a great authoress? Princess Viduyotama is said to have defeated all the highly educated princes of her time in discussions on philosophy. She chose herself an utterly illiterate man for her husband, and devoted her whole life to educating him. It was due entirely to her training that her husband afterwards became one of the greatest poets of the Sanskrit language, and is known even to-day as the Shakespeare of India. His name was Kalidasa, the author of "Shakuntala," "Raghu-vansa," and a number of other famous works.

Raja Prithvi Raj once turned back from the battlefield because all the time he was there his heart was with his wife, Sunyogata, with whom he was madly in love. Sunyogata, when she learnt that the Raja had left the battlefield for her sake, sent him a message to the effect that she would rather have him killed on the battlefield while fighting for his people than alive at home in dishonour.

Princess Durgawati, who may be compared to the English Queen Boadicea, led her army in person against the Moguls when they invaded her state, and fought till she received a wound in her eye. On seeing that she would be captured by the invaders, she seized a weapon and stabbed herself.

Whatever may be the causes that have brought about the downfall of Indian womanhood, I protest indignantly against any suggestions as to its being an outcome of the teachings of Hinduism.

OPENING of the FUR SEASON

FOR many months past our Fur Buyers have been on the qui vive for Special Bargains in Furs (for Prices of all peltry are steadily increasing), and at every available opportunity have bought up large parcels of skins where prompt cash has secured a concession in price. These pelts—purchased so advantageously—have been made up into fashionable garments, which will be offered at our Season's Opening

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

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The paper can be obtained from all newsagents and book-stalls.

For quotations for Advertisements, apply to the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE

will hold REGULAR PUBLIC MEETINGS on WEDNESDAY AFTERNOONS, at CAXTON HALL.

Speakers, September 25th.—D. M. MASON, Esq., M.P. (who at its First Reading moved the rejection of the Franchise Bill now before Parliament because it did not include women), Mrs. DESPARD, and Mrs. CODDEN SANDERSON.

Chair to be taken by Mrs. HUNTSMAN promptly at 3.30.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE, 1, ROBERT ST., ADELPHI, W.C.

COME TO TRAFALGAR SQUARE, SATURDAY, SEPT. 21, at 4 p.m.

to demand from the Government the political enfranchisement of Women this Session.

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Regular Weekly Meetings on MONDAYS & THURSDAYS

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

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

A SOCIAL CLUB is BEING FORMED

and will be Opened at the end of September for MEN AND WOMEN interested in the Suffrage Movement.

Premises under negotiation are situated in St. James' Street. Founder Members, £1 1s. Early application advisable. Further particulars, Box 102, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

VOTES FOR WOMEN

4, CLEMENT'S INN, STRAND. FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1912.

THE FRUITS OF MILITANCY

We counsel those Suffragists who doubt the expediency and efficacy of militancy to make some study of the recent history of the Irish question. They will discover that the incitements to violence of Mr. Bonar Law and Sir Edward Carson, and the violent acts of their followers, have already produced a remarkable effect. Originally, Mr. Redmond, with his 84 votes in the House of Commons, and his power of life and death over the Government, was master of the situation, but militancy and threats of militancy by opponents of Home Rule have already to some extent reversed the position. The Government, hoping to retain Mr. Redmond's support by keeping Home Rule on their programme, are casting about for ways and means of placating the militant Unionists by delaying the passage of the Home Rule Bill.

Mr. Churchill's speeches at Dundee were eloquently expressive of the Government's fear of Ulster militancy. The Ulstermen's opposition he described as the only remaining obstacle to the passage of Home Rule, but he continued, "that it is a serious obstacle I have never doubted, and it is an obstacle I have never underrated." Mr. Churchill then implored the Unionist leaders to say what concession will pacify them and their supporters in Ulster. He besought them to remember that Nationalists may revolt in their turn if Home Rule be defeated, and that in such a case the Government of the day would have "an ungovernable Ireland on their hands." Here we have a fresh admission by a Cabinet Minister, that he and his colleagues regard militancy as an all-powerful political weapon.

As we have said, the Government show signs of attempting to keep both Home Rulers and Ulstermen in check by playing a double game. One piece of evidence of this is supplied by Mr. Churchill's reference to Federation. He said:—

I am not in the least disturbed by the prospect of seeing erected in this country ten or twelve separate legislative bodies for the discharging of the functions entrusted to them by the Imperial Parliament.

The true significance of this surprising statement is clearly shown by the editorial comment of the Man-

chester Guardian, which describes it as an "unfortunate contribution to the discussion of Home Rule," and says:—

Mr. Churchill has been severely criticised for his speech on English Federalism. As a Home Rule speech it was about as bad advocacy as can be imagined. If you put Home Rule for Ireland in the same category of political ideas as Home Rule for Lancashire, you certainly take most of the heart out of Irish Home Rule, and you may, as the Unionist Press has been quick enough to see, make it very difficult to find reasons for refusing Ulster's demand—i she made it—for a separate legislature.

"Mr. Churchill can hardly have intended that," says the Manchester Guardian, but that—in other words, the damping down of Home Rule—is obviously and precisely what Mr. Churchill did intend. Mr. Massingham, in words which are doubtless inspired (though he attacks the Government's foreign policy, their continued existence is a prime consideration with him), says that it is an open question "whether after the passage of the Home Rule Bill we ought to give the constituencies a kind of Referendum upon the whole question of Irish government." This is obviously a sop to the Unionists, and if their militancy becomes more dangerous we may find Mr. Massingham and other henchmen of the Government, and perhaps the Government themselves, substituting the word "before" for the word "after," and declining to pass the Home Rule Bill before another General Election.

The effect which militant methods have already produced upon the Irish situation proves that it is not necessary, as some people pretend, that militants shall be a majority before their militancy can succeed. There is not the smallest doubt that the British army could overcome the rebel forces of Ulster. That fact does not, however, bring comfort to the Government. They know that the armed forces of the Crown can defeat and destroy the Ulster rebels, but they are appalled by the very thought of such a victory.

Why do they not recoil with equal horror from the work of repressing the women's rebellion? There are more reasons than one. In the first place, their prejudice against Woman Suffrage is strong and deep, whereas their Irish policy is based merely on expediency. In the second place, their imagination is too dull to permit of their realisation that long terms of imprisonment, and torture carried through within prison walls by "medical officers" have anything in common with shooting down Ulstermen in the open street. And again, Anti-Suffragists as they are, the Cabinet Ministers do not recognise women as their human equals in the sense that they recognise their men opponents as human equals. Their point of view is that of the jailor who turned a fire-rose upon a Suffragist prisoner, and being asked in a court of law why he committed his illegal act, admitted that he would not have so treated a prisoner of his own sex. But the chief reason why the Government are not prepared to deal as harshly with Ulstermen as with Suffragists is that Ulstermen are voters and Suffragists are not.

However, the general public to-day condemn, as they never condemned before, the use of violence for repressing the women's revolution. This means that the Government will eventually be compelled to renounce violence and give justice. Mr. Bernard Shaw has thrown a very brilliant light upon the situation by showing the combined and triumphant effect of serious protests made by Suffragists and their adoption of the hunger strike. The Government's duty with regard to Votes for Women is very much simpler and very much plainer than with regard to the Irish question. On the Irish question, the division of opinion is very radical and very deep, and the Ulster minority feel as passionately on one side as do the Nationalist majority on the other. On Woman Suffrage, however, all the passionate feeling and active effort go in one direction, and the opposition to this reform is dying out, and is, as it always has been, academic. The Irish question is in truth a great tangle, but the issue with regard to Votes for Women is simple and clear. Everybody who is anybody wants Votes for Women, and what is more to the point, the militant women have now established themselves in a position of supreme advantage.

Christabel Pankhurst.

LIBERTY TO SERVE

By Lady Sybil Smith

"At the entrance to New York Harbour an impressive and colossal statue of Liberty greets every new immigrant who comes to swell the population of the great Republic. While Liberty is the necessary foundation of a character which daily expresses itself in spontaneous fulfilment of duty, we cannot forget that to many the Statue of Liberty suggests only licence, and the liberty not to serve the State. In Canada, too, the newcomer, sailing up the noble St. Lawrence River to Montreal, will shortly see silhouetted against the sky a heroic statue which is now being erected by the Government of the Dominion. It will represent the figure of a noble Canadian girl whose courage saved her home and country from destruction by the Iriquois, and will convey the idea of courage, loyalty, and duty, together with the message that Canada expects every woman as well as every man shall serve the State."—From a recent speech by Earl Grey.

Public men who utter such fine sentiments as these with regard to women, and those who thrill at their words, are apt to look askance at the agitation of women for the vote—not realising that it is born of the very virtues they extol, courage, loyalty, and sense of responsibility to the nation. Woman has hitherto suffered the terms of her service to the State to be dictated to her by man, and intent on her duty, has lost sight of her rights. It has only just dawned upon the more advanced spirits that the assertion of her rights has now become her first duty. For—

"What is Freedom but the unfettered use Of all the powers which God for us hath given."

Women demand as their right this liberty to serve. We hear a great deal nowadays about women's neglected opportunities for municipal and other public service. Now there is hardly a woman prominent in the Suffrage Movement that has not at one time or another been engaged in social or political work of some kind, only to find her activities thwarted at every turn by woman's lack of political power. It is this that has diverted the energies of so many women from public work to the struggle for the one efficient weapon wherewith to combat modern abuses—the vote. When it is won, then will the Suffrage ranks yield to the public a host of women ready trained and equipped for social service.

In emancipating woman, man purposed to let out of the bottle an obedient genius that should faithfully carry out his instructions, he did not bargain for a genius equal to his own in force of purpose. But he broke the Seal of Solomon when he allowed woman an education and the control of her own property, and now, no power on earth can quell the spirit thus liberated. The "new woman" was not long to recognise the fact that the State is upheld as much by the labour of women as by the labour of men—more particularly by the indirectly paid, or too often altogether unpaid labour of married women. She saw that if it is man's monopoly to bear arms in defence of his country, it is woman's to bring forth and to nourish children for the continuance of the race.

This being so, it is to the "new woman" almost too obvious for argument that in a democratic State, both sexes alike should have a voice in framing the laws and in controlling the administration under which they pursue their respective duties. But as things are at present, women are held too irresponsible to help to determine the conditions of their own lives or of the lives of their sons and daughters, but not too irresponsible to contribute their work and money to the support of the State, nor to pay the full penalty should they infringe the man-made laws. No sane person argues that woman can do all that man can do any more than that man can do all that woman can do; but, other things being equal, nature may safely be trusted to decide what is man's work and what woman's. Why should the power to express and enforce her political opinions unfit woman for her proper work any more than the same power unfits man for his? Just because their life's experience is so different, man and woman together are the strongest possible combination whether to manage a homestead or a State.

The more reasonable opponents of Woman Suffrage pretend to honour and respect womanhood as much as manhood, and merely to advocate, according to their ideas, a just division of labour between the sexes. Well, their plan has been tried for many centuries, and the result, as seen in our social system to-day, is by no means encouraging. No—whatever they may say—the root of all opposition to the Woman's Movement lies in a deep-seated contempt for women in the minds of the more backward of the race; a relic of ancient days, when superior muscle was the only superiority that counted. This contempt is easily recognisable in schoolboy sneers at girls, in the inscription of "No petticoat government!" on anti-banners, and so on. It is the "auxiliary sex" idea that the new woman has to combat in the first and last resort.

There is a medical theory that many tumours of the body are due to a local preponderance of active or katabolic cells over the anabolic or passive cells. Likewise, possibly, diseases of the body-corporate, such as the social evil, may be due in great measure to over-emphasis of the masculine point of view. If the real cause of the trouble be indeed the inferior economic and social status of woman, no remedy short of giving equal opportunities for self-development and self-expression to both sexes will be of any avail. The more nearly the representation of the masculine and feminine elements is balanced in the State, the better is the chance of healthy social conditions. The driving power at the back of the woman's movement comes largely from the fierce sense of pity and outrage stirred up in the soul of the more advanced womanhood of the country by the fate of the outcast.

Those present at the recent Trial of the Suffrage Leaders will never forget Mrs. Pankhurst's terrible question, provoked by the assertion of the Attorney-General that "Women and children first" is the motto of civilisation; a question by which she, a prisoner at the bar, arraigned her accusers and, indeed, society at large: "How about the women on the streets?" How, in fact, can the dreadful problem of their existence be adequately dealt with by that sex alone that creates the demand for such a hideous supply of human life—or how shall one half of the nation decry the other as best for the other half? It is futile to plead that the opinion of women with regard to the regulation of such matters does already carry weight. Women have only indirect influence, and as long as this is so, their opinion will remain at a discount. Witness the whitening-down of the Bill at present before Parliament aimed at the extinction of the White Slave Traffic. A Bill previously blocked something like a hundred times, and only lately seriously considered because of the weight of the woman's movement behind it.

The prolonged denial of common justice to women who are awake to their position, combined with barbarous methods of repression, has literally created embittered malcontents prepared to go to almost any lengths in order to press home their grievances. When the times are ripe for great changes, these are only deferred at the utmost peril. "The effect is the cause under another form," and in the incendiary we see the forces of reaction that produced her.

It has been said that all vices are derived from the misuse of vital energy that, properly directed, might have generated splendid virtues. Thus, the greatest sinner makes the greatest saint. It is the same with national forces. By denial of adequate scope, by repression, and by stupid brutalities, the Government has turned courage, ability, enthusiasm, and utter disregard of personal ends (qualities most sorely needed in politics to-day) towards destruction, and has made desperates rebels of race-builders and defenders of the right.

The judge who tried Mrs. Leigh said of her: "This lady is a very remarkable lady, of very great ability, of very strong character." What circumstances are these that have led this strong spirit to the death in life of prison! It is not here argued that violence is justifiable, only that it is the inevitable outcome of injustice and tyranny. Let those men who most condemn it in women consider how they themselves would feel on awakening to-morrow to find the whole political power of the country in the hands of women to the total exclusion of men. Let them suppose themselves to have pressed vainly for justice with the utmost patience and moderation for fifty years, only to find their claims mocked by empty concessions. Then let them imagine themselves to watch the women in power consistently disregarding and mismanaging reforms dearer than life to men, and treating those men who dared to break the law at great cost to themselves, and in order to put forward the cause of their sex as common criminals. Let men honestly ask themselves not only what they would feel in such case, but what they would do.



MISS BARBARA WYLIE Who sails to-day in the "Empress of Ireland" for Canada on behalf of the W.S.P.U. The Boat Train leaves Euston Station at mid-day. Come and wish her "God Speed!"

"WHERE MONEY WALKS AND TALKS"

Under this title there appeared in a London newspaper the other day a description of Lombard Street. But Suffragettes know that the place where money walks fastest and talks loudest is the Albert Hall on a W.S.P.U. night! It has even been said that it shouts; and it does most certainly fly—from the pockets of the audience to the treasure-chest of the Women's Social and Political Union. The Treasurer herself will be back in her rightful place on the night of October 17, and we anticipate . . . But perhaps we had better "wait and see." Meanwhile contributions never cease coming in, and we quote with special interest from the letter accompanying the cheque for £10 from "G. M., a protest against forcible feeding," which says:—

I enclose £10 for Prisoners' Fund, which please use as you think fit for the relief of those who are suffering in the cause of Woman's Freedom. I am not a member of the W.S.P.U., as I do not, on the whole, believe in the methods they have adopted to gain their cause; but I have an admiration for the courage and endurance they have displayed at such a frightful cost to themselves. I am a Suffragist of forty-five years' standing, having signed the first petition to Parliament for the Enfranchisement of Women, and I have remained a law-abiding Suffragist through life. But I do appreciate the work done by the fighting women during the last six years, independently of the methods I regret.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £250,000 FUND

Table with columns for names and amounts, including Mrs. Rose, Mrs. E. S. May, Miss G. Townsend, etc.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Thursday, October 17, 8 p.m., Albert Hall Meeting. Those who wish to be present at this great meeting of welcome to the Leaders and others who have suffered imprisonment this year are advised to secure tickets at once. Only the following remain: A few Upper Orchestra seats at 6d. (unnumbered), and Balcony at 1s. and 6d. (numbered and reserved), and a limited number of Second Tier Box Seats at 2s. 6d. each; all other boxes are sold out. Tickets can only be had through members. Apply to Miss Cooke, Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

Prisoners of War. A Procession will march from King's Cross to Tower Hill to-morrow (Saturday) to protest against the Government's treatment of Mrs. Leigh and Miss Gladys Evans, and to demand their instant release. For full particulars see page 813.

Special Posters. Special posters, headed "Penal Servitude or Votes," setting forth the facts in plain language, may be had, four crown size, 3d. each; double crown size, 1½d. each; post free. Local Union or members able to distribute large quantities may have 100 posters for £1 2s. 6d. and 11s. 6d. respectively. Apply to Miss Kerr, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

Christmas Fair. Don't buy your Christmas presents until the first week in December, when you will be able to get them at the new offices of the W.S.P.U., Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway. Workers everywhere are wanted to send dainty and useful things for sale at this Fair. The following are the kind of things suitable for the purpose:—White things for children and others, children's d'jibbals embroidered in the colours, drawn linen work, pocket-handkerchiefs, enamel work, books by well-known writers with authors' signatures, basket work, leather work, woodcarving, metal work, modern designs in cushion shapes, candle and lamp shades, menu cards, farm produce, home-made goods, and sweets. (The unacceptable kind of things is of the antimacassar and woolwork nature.) Things should not be too expensively priced.







"SCOTS WHA HAE"

In VOTES FOR WOMEN for September 6 we quoted a statement from the Press concerning Miss Johnston, who was stated to have been detained by the police in connection with some broken glass at Stirling...

I am told this is not the case. Exercise was unsatisfactory. I only got out one hour daily. This also was the rule in Scottish prisons.

MISS MARIE NEILL'S STATEMENT. I was released quite suddenly from Holloway Gaol on September 12, after serving two months and two days of my sentence of four months.

POLICY OF THE LABOUR PARTY. To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Madam.—The two editorial paragraphs which you devoted last week to my letter in the Labour Leader call for some reply.

On the same evening (Saturday) Mrs. Finlayson Gault and Miss Muriel Scott addressed an open-air meeting in the Corn Exchange, from a cab which was decorated with the colours of the Women's Social and Political Union.

Results of a Hunger Strike. Miss Johnston writes:—On being arrested, I spent the night in a cell in Stirling Prison. It was a foul cell, only a board to lie on and wooden pillow.

On being sentenced to seven days I was taken to Perth Prison. I was allowed to keep my clothes, but when the Governor came in he refused to allow me to wear them. I requested him to get into communication with the prison authorities of Scotland as to my treatment as a political prisoner.

When the Labour Leader argued against the W.S.P.U. claim that the Labour Party shall oppose the Government as a means of compelling the grant of Votes for Women, Mr. Brailsford wrote to the Labour Leader, saying, "You are right, I am sure, to reject the suggestion that the Labour Party should endeavour to defeat the Government in the interests of women by a snatch vote on some side issue."

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You Can TRUST Wolsey! You can depend upon getting all pure wool, and clean wool and soft wool and good wearing wool. You can depend on getting absolute reliability in make, in shape, in finish. If a Wolsey garment shrinks you can depend upon getting a brand-new garment free.

SECRETARIAL TRAINING SCHOOL. Miss J. E. Cohen, Central House, 75, New Street, Birmingham. INSTRUCTION GIVEN IN SHORTHAND, TYPEWRITING, BOOK-KEEPING, AND MODERN LANGUAGES.

entitled to betray the interests of the women of the whole Kingdom. If the Labour Party are not to force any measure of reform upon the attention of the Government because some other measure may possibly be imperilled, the Labour Party might as well not exist.

THE ONLY PERFECT COFFEE MAKER IS THE CAFFETA MAKES A USEFUL AND NOVEL PRESENT. Place water and coffee together, light the lamp, and wait for the whistle to blow—THAT'S ALL.

FOR LONG EVENINGS AND DARK DAYS WIRUM LAMPS. These are the ideal lamps for electric lighting from first to last, they are strong always and proof against vibration; they can be cleaned at any time without risk of breakage.

CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

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

BALHAM AND TOTTING. Paper selling resumed last week with usual success. Members sorry to lose most successful seller who is obliged to resign. Best thanks Mrs. and the Misses Spearman, who have so kindly offered to take the place of the "pioneer" and carrying on the work of paper-selling.

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HAMPSTEAD. Members asked to make Fair and Fete widely known. Programmes and handbills can be obtained now. Contributions for White Elephant Stall should be sent in by Friday, Oct. 26.

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PADDINGTON AND MARLBOROUGH. Shop opens September 16, when all friends and helpers are asked to call and learn about proposed work for autumn. Usual meetings on Thursdays evening 8.15, will begin October 3, when Miss Hicks will speak. Address of the shop can be sent to communications to be arranged in future to Mrs. Muriel or Miss Hilda Gargett, who is unable for private reasons to do any work for the present.

PINNER. Will members and friends please remember that Pinner wishes to present a purse to old Albert Smith. Subscribers should be sent to Mrs. Verden, Hon. Treas., Pinner, Oct. 15. There will be a general meeting of members at Rockingham House, Tuesday, October 23, at 8.15. It is hoped members will attend. It is a matter of deep regret that Miss Hester Barrett is leaving Pinner. Another Vorris trustee is needed once, also more paper-sellers. Will members volunteer for this work?—(Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Terrence, Rockingham House.)

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CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS.

MARRIAGES.

AT the Abbey, St. Albans, by the Rev. F. J. Hammond, assisted by the Very Rev. the Dean, Hugh Leslie Smith to Alice Mary Fisher, September 14.

BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

ABSOLUTE Privacy, Quietude, and Refinement, no extra. At the Strand Imperial Hotel, opposite Gaiety Theatre, ladies will find the freshest, daintiest quarters; sumptuous bedroom, with h. and c. water fitted; breakfast bath, attendance, and lights from 5s. 6d.; en pension, 3s; finest English provisions; terrace, garden, lounge; Managersess, 4788 Gerrard.

A LADY, living on Hampshire Coast for winter months, would take as boarder girl or boy needing quiet seaside home; personal care, reform diet.—Blenheim Cottage, Hill Head, Eascham.

BOARD-RESIDENCE in Widow's house, suitable for two ladies in business; close to tram and elevated railway, select neighbourhood; terms 15s.—24, Tavolara Road, Reckham.

BOARD-RESIDENCE, superior, from 30s. Close Baker Street, underground and Tube. Bed and breakfast, 5s. 6d. per day. Telephone 4339 Paddington.—Mrs. Campbell, 5 and 7, York Street, Portman Square, W.C.1.

BRIGHTON, TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Road, Gardens, off Marine Parade, Good table, congenial society. Terms from 25s. to 30s.—Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

BROADSTAIRS.—Dickens' Old House. Visitors for change, rest, or nursing welcomed; delicious and delicate cuisine; recommended by the Queen and Lady's papers. Highest refs. Mothered; Dr. Oldfield's diets provided.—Edwards, Lawn House.

COTSWOLD HILLS.—Food Reform Holiday Home, 600 feet above sea level; delightful scenery and delightful surroundings; a vacancy for two or more permanent guests.—Apply Prospectus Miss F. M. Kidd, Pithcombe, nr Stroud, Gloucestershire.

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

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

LONDON, W.C. (113, Gower Street). Refined HOME (ladies). Bed, breakfast, dinner, and full board Fullboard (couples) from 5s. 6d. Rooms, 4s. 6d. Single, 3s. 6d. to 2s. Gentlemen from 18s. 6d.

LONDON.—Board-Residence, 7, Montague Street, Russell Square.—Superior comfortable home; most central for all parties; one minute tube or bus; inclusive terms from 3s.; bed and breakfast, 3s. 6d.

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

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

SANDGATE.—14 miles Folkestone; constant motor service; airy, comfortable house, facing sea; bathroom, electric light; board-residence, 27s. 6d. W.S.P.U.—6, Sunnyside.

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

TO LET AND SOLD.

A SMALL FURNISHED FLAT to be let immediately, 3 bedrooms, 2 sitting rooms, bathroom, kitchen, 2 minutes from South Kensington Station; furnished with antiques; £2 2s. per week.—Box 156, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

AT GOLDERS GREEN.—Large, comfortable double-bedded room and pleasant sitting room; suitable ladies sharing; bath, electric light, near Tube and "Bus" Box 152, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

CHARMING detached Cottages and Houses, built in historic park of 500 acres, adjoining magnificent golf course; 25 minutes from City; good gardens; prices from £275 easy instalments; rents from £32.—Write (or call) to-day for free illustrated descriptive booklet, House and Cottage Department, Alder Park Ltd., 35, Henrietta Street, Strand, W.C.

CORNISH COAST.—Comfortable Cottage lodgings, near fine cliffs and sands; good cooking; excellent locality for autumn holiday; recommended by Suffragettes; terms moderate.—Mrs. Penter, Merton Cottage, Tintagel.

DELIGHTFUL Small Furnished House in country, near Malvern, low rent for winter to careful tenants; bath, motor-house; stabling if desired.—Howey, Cradley, Malvern.

EARLY'S COURT.—Furnished Bedroom in lady's flat, with use of sitting-room and small kitchen, 12s. 6d. weekly.—Particulars of Miss A. Coates, Pond House, Chingford.

FLAT, 2 Rooms and Kitchen; central position (London).—Sparrow, c/o Minerva Publishing Co., Ltd., 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

FLAT, FURNISHED, in Private House, large sitting room, two bedrooms, bathroom, garden; 36s. weekly, two extra rooms if required.—12, Dalmy Avenue, Camden Road.

FOR SALE.—Small Private Restaurant and Beer and Refreshment Establishment in block of good-class flats (1,000), S.W. district; suit gentleman; profitable over £100 per annum. Lady giving up through ill-health. Bargain for quick sale.—Box 142, VOTES FOR WOMEN.

JERSEY.—Well-furnished seven-roomed house for winter months, 200ft above sea level; bath, sea, attendance if required.—Miss Renouf, Green Hill, Gosport.

LARGE ROOM to let, suitable for Meetings, At Home, Dance, Lectures, Refreshments provided.—Apply Alan's Tea Rooms, 253, Oxford Street.

NORTH CORNWALL.—Furnished two-roomed cottage to let for winter months; very splendid coast, plate and linen, and two artists, 6s. a week.—Owner, Trebena, Tintagel.

SOUTH KENSINGTON.—To Let, 10 October 1, in lady's house three minutes to Gloucester Road Station; bed sitting room and dressing room, with use of bath and attendance; board and use of telephone as desired.—U. S., VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn.

SUFFRAGETTE wishes to sub-let part of 5 Flat in Golders Green, bedroom and bathroom, one or two sitting rooms.—Write Mrs. Wyatt, Derby House, Hendon, M.W.

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

TO LET.—Compact, pretty, well-furnished cottage, with nice garden; one hour's journey from London, two minutes' walk from station; 5 bedrooms, 2 reception, bath, w.c.—Box 160, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn, 24 guinea weekly.

TO LET, in pretty village near Brighton, furnished house in large garden, 2 reception, 5 bedrooms, bathroom; low rent for winter to good tenant.—Apply Box 156, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

TO LET, pretty 3rd good seaside town (very mild climate and beautiful garden).—Lorraine, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn.

TO LET.—Half of well-furnished, comfortable flat of six rooms, in Chelsea; careful tenants only; one guinea weekly.—X., 3, Lytton Road, New Barnet.

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