

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

VOL. III. (New Series), No. 83.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1909.

Price 1d. Weekly. (Post Free.)

WILL IT COME TO THIS?



(Viscount Ridley, speaking at Blyth on September 30th, said that if the Peers were not to be allowed to vote against the Budget then they would be in the position of the Suffragettes. They would be taxed without being represented.)

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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 abominable practices carried on in Winson Green Gaol, under the authority of the Government, have been uppermost in the thoughts of Suffragettes during the past week; and throughout the Press up and down country, and even in the House of Commons itself, the question has been kept well to the front.

Facts Becoming Known.

The facts elicited from Miss Ainsworth, after her release on Tuesday last, of the horrible and revolting

process actually employed against her, show up the prevarication of the Home Secretary and his subordinate in their replies in the House of Commons. Little by little the truth is being revealed. The instrument to force open the mouth, the gag, the throat tube, with its accompanying dangers, these are the realities underlying the euphemistic and false description of "hospital treatment" alluded to by the Home Secretary.

Doctor's Memorial to the Prime Minister.

Over the suffering endured by the other heroic women, and over their magnificent fortitude a veil is still drawn, but fresh information is being elicited every day, and a striking protest has been sent to the Prime Minister in the form of a memorial signed by 116 eminent doctors, including such well known names as those of Victor Horsley, C. Mansell Moullin, W. Hugh Fenton, Forbes Winslow, Alexander Haig, etc.

The Effect on Women.

Meanwhile the effect upon women has been remarkable. Names are reaching the head office of the Women's Social and Political Union of those ready for active service. A nurse in a good position in a hospital decided, on hearing of the forcible feeding in prison, that she could not be any longer passive in the struggle, and immediately resigned her position in order to be free to take part in a forthcoming "protest," as a result of which she may find herself before long being subjected to similar treatment. The Government is foolish indeed if it imagines it

is going to break down the resistance of women by repression and coercion.

Prisoners Interviewed by a Solicitor.

On one important point Mr. Gladstone has already been forced to give way. In our last issue we reported his refusal to allow the solicitor for the prisoners to interview them in order to take their instructions. This refusal was, in the opinion of many legal authorities, absolutely illegal, and Mr. Gladstone, though not admitting this fact, has found it advisable to withdraw his refusal and allow a solicitor to see them. Accordingly Mr. Marshall, of Messrs. Hatchett, Jones, Bisgood and Marshall, travelled down specially to Birmingham on Tuesday morning and took his instructions from Mrs. Leigh, Miss Marsh, and Miss Woodlock.

Writs and Summonses.

Meanwhile, civil proceedings are being taken against the authorities on their behalf. A writ has been served on the Home Secretary, the Governor, and on the doctor of Winson Green Gaol, and at the same time an injunction is being asked for to restrain the defendants from continuing this practice. In the case of Miss Ainsworth criminal proceedings are being taken against the authorities. On Wednesday, Mr. Geo. Elliott, K.C., applied at the Birmingham Police Court for summonses against the Home Secretary, the Governor, and the doctor of the gaol; the stipendiary refused the application. The question of acting by way of mandamus is accordingly under consideration.

Arrests in Manchester.

Violent ejection and brutal handling at the hands of

THE BIRMINGHAM OUTRAGE.

Magistrate refuses to grant summonses.

WRITS ISSUED FOR CIVIL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE AUTHORITIES.

The indignation and disgust of all right-thinking people at the Government's action in forcibly feeding the Suffragettes in Birmingham Gaol has found some satisfaction in the news that legal action is being taken against the authorities for assault. Every difficulty was at first put in the way of the solicitors, admission to the gaol being refused and no definite information being forthcoming. On Wednesday last week Mr. Marshall, of Messrs. Hatchett, Jones, Bisgood and Marshall, wrote to the Home Secretary and the Governor and doctor of the gaol warning them that, failing redress, legal proceedings would be taken. The Home Office accepted service, and shortly afterwards the writs were issued. Meanwhile Mr. Gladstone had written giving the solicitors permission to see their clients in prison.

Summonses applied for and refused.

As a result of the facts disclosed by Miss Ainsworth on her release it was decided, in addition to the civil proceedings referred to above, to take procedure in a criminal court against the Home Secretary, the doctor, and the governor of Winslow Green Gaol.

Accordingly, on Wednesday morning, Mr. George Elliott, K.C., made application at the Birmingham Police Court. Mr. Elliott referred to the circumstances under which she went to prison, and put in a sworn statement signed by her giving details of her treatment whilst in prison. He said that Miss Ainsworth's mouth was gagged open with a cork, through which passed a tube. On one occasion her mouth was forced open with a steel instrument, and her nose and throat, legs and arms were held by force. She experienced a horrible choking and stunned feeling. As a consequence of the treatment she received, she had suffered from congestion and inflammation of the throat, and had lost 13 lbs. in weight. She had been examined by a medical man within the last twenty-four hours, and he stated that she was suffering from laryngitis of the throat and nervous prostration. The doctor considered feeding by tube was dangerous and involved grave risks, especially if the patient resisted. Mr. Elliott quoted several sections of the Prisons Act, 1877, and argued that the governor had not the power under any Prison Regulations to treat Miss Ainsworth as she had sworn in her affidavit that he did. She stated that she had not been guilty of any breach of prison discipline to warrant the treatment meted out to her, and through him (counsel) she wished to say that a great amount of excessive cruelty and violence had been used. Women treated in this way, said Mr. Elliott, should have a remedy for the outrage. Miss Ainsworth would have been present, but she was ill, and the doctor said it would be highly dangerous for her to leave her bed. He contended that it was in the interest of everybody concerned, including the authorities, that this matter should be thrashed out at once and the legality or illegality of the proceedings decided. He accordingly asked the magistrate to grant the summonses.

The Stipendiary said he could not grant the summonses. Acts had been done in the process of the law, and they did not amount to an unlawful assault.

Miss Ainsworth's Story.

Birmingham Suffragists, having received from the Governor of Winslow Green Prison a telegram intimating that the time of Miss Ainsworth's release had not yet been decided upon, a large number of members, who were accompanied by a sympathetic crowd of the general public, assembled at the prison gates at half past six on Tuesday morning in order to wait for her discharge, to give her a hearty welcome back to freedom.

Miss Ainsworth was liberated at 6.50, and was in such a serious condition that she was taken direct to a nursing home by Miss Gladice Keevil, who met her at the prison gates.

In an interview with Miss Christabel Pankhurst, who journeyed to Birmingham for the purpose of welcoming Miss Ainsworth, she gave the following details:—

For three days after being taken to Winslow Green I took no food whatever. Then, on the Saturday morning, I was taken into the matron's room, where there were two doctors and six wardresses, in addition to the matron. The prison doctor said, "I have orders that you are not to be released. I have to do everything in my power to feed you. I am going to commit a technical

assault, and I take full responsibility for my action."

He then asked, "Will you take food or not?"

"No," I said, emphatically.

Whereupon I was sounded and my pulse felt. Afterwards I was placed in a chair, my head was held back by the wardresses, and one of the doctors opened my mouth by inserting his finger between the teeth at one side. Milk was poured down my throat by means of a feeding-cup.

While this was being done both my mouth and nose were held. I was then put to bed. Afterwards the Governor asked me if I had any complaints to make, and when I complained of this treatment he simply referred me to the visiting justices.

At six o'clock on the Saturday evening the two doctors returned. I again refused to take food out of the cup, and resisted their efforts to make me take it.

Then they tried to force tubes into my nostrils. There seemed to be something sharp at the end of these tubes, and I felt a sharp, pricking sensation.

Owing to an injury received before going into gaol through someone hitting me on the nose with a stone it appeared the nasal passage was closed. One of the doctors then said, "It is no good; we shall have to use the tube."

I was raised into a sitting position, and a tube about two feet long was produced. My



By kind permission of the "Daily Mirror."
MISS LAURA AINSWORTH.

mouth was prised open with what felt like a steel instrument, and then I felt them feeling for the proper passage.

At this time I was held by four or five wardresses. I felt a choking sensation, and what I judged to be a cork gag was placed between the teeth to keep my mouth open. It was a horrible feeling altogether. I experienced great sickness, especially when the tube was being withdrawn.

Twice a day, morning and evening, I was fed in this way. In the middle of the day a small quantity of meat extract was forced through the teeth, a wardress meanwhile holding my mouth and nose.

On Tuesday I was very sick in the morning, but I was fed again in this way in the evening.

After the evening meal the two doctors visited my cell and had a whispered consultation. One of them said to the other, "Yes, I agree," and I was then told that they were thinking of removing me to another cell. They actually took me to the hospital, and there I have been until my release.

In the hospital food was administered by means of the feeding-cup. This was also a painful operation. The mouth was forced open, the feeding-cup forced through the teeth, and fluid poured into the mouth, the nose and mouth still being held. About half the food in the cup was taken in this way. This operation always produced headache and pains in the throat.

Miss Ainsworth saw none of her fellow-prisoners during her stay in gaol.

Writs Issued for Civil Proceedings.

On September 30 Mr. Troup wrote on behalf of the Home Office:

"I am directed by the Secretary of State to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters received this afternoon, in which you say you are instructed to take proceedings against him on behalf of Mrs. Leigh and Miss Marsh, prisoners in H.M. Prison, Birmingham, and in reply to inform you that the Solicitor to the Treasury will accept service of such proceedings on his behalf."

Three writs were accordingly issued on October 2 on behalf of Mrs. Leigh, Miss Marsh, and Miss Woodlock, claiming damages for assault, and an injunction to restrain the defendants, their servants, officers, or agents from repeating the said assault, or committing further assaults upon the plaintiff until judgment or further order.

Meanwhile Mr. Gladstone, having evidently been influenced by the tremendous burst of indignation that followed his actions, changed his mind, and allowed the solicitors to see their clients in prison, the permission being worded as follows:—

"I am directed by the Secretary of State to inform you that Miss Patricia Woodlock, Miss Charlotte Marsh, and Mrs. Mary Leigh, now undergoing sentences of imprisonment in Birmingham Prison, on being informed of the claim made by you on their behalf, have applied for permission to see you, and, though the case does not appear to come within the terms of Rule 72 (6), Mr. Gladstone has decided to give the permission. If, therefore, you will let the Prison Commissioners know the name of the representative whom you wish to send and the time when he desires to visit Birmingham Prison, the necessary order will be issued."

Mr. Marshall accordingly visited Winslow Green Gaol on Tuesday, and took instructions from Mrs. Leigh, Miss Marsh, and Miss Woodlock.

After seeing them he made the following statement: "I was struck with a feeling of revulsion and horror when I heard the accounts of the sufferings of the ladies. I would not have believed it possible that women could have been subjected to such indignities. What amazes me is the courage that has been shown. Miss Woodlock is ill, and has not been subjected to feeding by force. Sentences of nine days' solitary confinement on bread and water were imposed by the visiting justices on certain of the prisoners for refractory conduct, but owing to the necessity for artificial feeding this could not be carried out. The ladies are not in the infirmary, but are in hospital cells."

Mr. Snowden: I addressed a question to the Under-Secretary a few days ago, and he was unable then to give me any reply. May I repeat it, and ask the Home Secretary whether it is not a fact that the women are handcuffed during the time food is administered?

Mr. Gladstone: No, sir, there is no proof whatever of that statement.

Mr. Arthur Lynch: May I ask the right hon. gentleman why he so ostensibly puts forward the medical aspect of the case, and whether the medical officers in the prison have acted under his instructions and by his directions?

Mr. Gladstone: I put forward the medical officers because it is a medical question, and, as the hon. member knows, or might know, any responsibility rests upon the medical officers.

Mr. Arthur Lynch: Is it usual for medical officers to act on the instructions of the right hon. gentleman or on their own initiative in such cases?

Mr. Gladstone: What authority has the hon. member for saying I have given instructions to the medical officers? I may tell him it is the duty of the medical officers to attend to the health of prisoners in their charge, and that is precisely what the medical officers have been doing here.

On Friday, October 1, Mr. Keir Hardie asked the Home Secretary whether he had received any report from the medical officer of the Winslow Green Gaol, Birmingham, concerning the women suffrage prisoners; and whether any of them, and, if so, how many, were still having food administered by force.

Mr. Gladstone gave the following written reply: I have received several reports from the medical officer. From the report received this morning it appears that seven prisoners still refuse to feed themselves, but only one of the seven now requires to be fed by tube. The others accept food when administered to them from a feeding-cup.

Mr. Keir Hardie further asked the Home Secretary whether he had received any report from the medical officer at Winslow Green Gaol, detailing the method adopted to administer food by force to the women suffrage prisoners; whether the instrument used was Blandford's oesophageal instrument, or whose; whether a screw gag was used to prise the teeth apart and keep the jaws open; whether the prisoners were strapped down, or, if not, how many attendants took part in the operation; and whether he could give the names of the women who had been subjected to this treatment?

Mr. Gladstone: I have received several reports from the medical officer. I find that Blandford's oesophageal tube has not been used; in those cases where a tube was required the ordinary soft rubber feeding tube used in hospitals was employed. No screw gag was used, and the prisoners were not strapped down. The number of attendants present varied from one to five. I do not think it desirable that I should mention the names of the prisoners. I am satisfied that everything has been done with the utmost gentleness possible in the circumstances; and the prisoners

themselves have borne witness to the kindness of the officers.

On Monday, October 4, Mr. Keir Hardie asked the Under-Secretary for the Home Department whether the medical officer of Winslow Green Gaol had reported any injury to the teeth, throat, or other parts of the body of those women prisoners who had undergone the special hospital treatment known as administering food by force; and whether the medical officer had said for how long this treatment could be continued without serious injury to the patients.

Mr. Masterman: The medical officer reports that no injury to the throat, teeth, or other parts of the body has been sustained by any of the prisoners who have undergone the special hospital treatment mentioned in the question. My right-hon. friend is advised on good medical authority that no serious injury is to be apprehended in any case of this kind, even if the treatment has to be prolonged for some considerable time.

Mr. Keir Hardie asked if the Home Secretary had seen a published report from a medical authority that the treatment always produced permanent injury and often fatal results?

Mr. Masterman said he had not. Mr. Keir Hardie said he would send a copy. In answer to a further question from Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. Masterman said: With the exception of these women prisoners, there have been no cases in Birmingham Prison during the past twelve months in which it has been necessary to feed any prisoner forcibly. This treatment has been administered in some cases by the medical officer, and in other cases by a medical practitioner who has been called in to assist him. The method has been, where practicable, feeding by means of teaspoon or from a feeding-cup, but where necessary the soft rubber tube in use in hospitals has been employed.

Mr. Keir Hardie asked if the Secretary of State had received a petition from the parents or other relatives of some of the women Suffragette prisoners in Winslow Green Gaol, Birmingham, stating that they were anxious concerning the state of health of the prisoners, and praying to be allowed to send their own medical adviser to report on their condition, and, if so, whether he had been able to so far relax the prison rules as to comply with this request.

Mr. Masterman: Applications to the effect indicated have been received, but my right hon. friend has been unable to accede to them. The prisoners mentioned are receiving full attention from the medical authorities of the Home Office at the time when the refusal to take food made the prisoners' state of health serious, and has had the assistance of a medical man in practice in Birmingham, who has been present when food has been administered. According to the latest report received this morning the health of the prisoners continues to improve; only one of them still refuses to take food without the use of a tube.

Mr. Mackenzie (Berks, Newbury, Min.): Have these ladies had an opportunity of communicating with the visiting justices?

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Suffragettes in Prison (Supply of Food).

In the House of Commons on Wednesday, September 29.

Mr. Keir Hardie asked the Home Secretary (after private notice) whether he had received an application from a firm of solicitors, acting on behalf of certain of the Women Suffrage prisoners in Birmingham, for leave to visit their clients under the provisions of Section 6 of Rule 72 of the Statutory Rules and Orders, 1899, and whether the application had been refused, and, if so, on what grounds? Also whether there were any further reports that morning as to the state of health of the women prisoners, and whether forcible means were still being used to administer food?

The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Gladstone), in reply to Mr. Keir Hardie and Mr. Claude Hay, who asked a similar question, said: It is the case that a firm of solicitors asked for permission to visit Birmingham Prison to interview the women prisoners who have been undergoing special medical treatment for self-starvation, and that permission was refused. I have received no application from these prisoners themselves; nor have I reason to think that this firm of solicitors is acting on their behalf. The ground for refusal of such applications is that all complaints about prison treatment have to be made to the visiting committee of the prison, who are specially charged by the Statutory Rules to hear and investigate them. I am advised that the objections of the prisoners' friends or associates to the medical treatment rendered necessary by their refusal to take food does not justify the assertion that any "legal business" exists within the meaning of Rule 72 (6) of the Statutory Rules for the government of local prisons. The visiting committee of the prison held a special meeting on this subject, and heard the complaints of six of the prisoners who have refused to take food. All six were fully heard. They only made a protest against the fact that they were fed against their will. They all stated emphatically that they were treated by the wardresses and the prison officials with the utmost kindness.

Mr. Keir Hardie: Is the Home Secretary aware that these ladies contemplate legal proceedings arising out of what has taken place in the gaol, and whether in these circumstances this rule does not apply? The rule refers to a barrister or solicitor conducting any legal proceedings, civil or criminal, in which a prisoner is a party or *bona fide* acting as legal adviser to the prisoner. This firm of solicitors was acting for the ladies when they went to prison, and as they intend to take legal proceedings they desire to interview their clients to take their instructions.

Mr. Gladstone: The hon. gentleman appears to speak for these ladies. I do not know on what authority he speaks for them?

Mr. Keir Hardie: I speak on the authority of legal agents referred to—

Mr. Gladstone: That is a very different thing. I may be wrong as to the legal interpretation of the rule as regards people outside the prison who, of their own accord, desire to visit prisoners within. Proceedings can no doubt be taken on that point by those who wish to get leave. I only point out to the hon. member, so far as I am concerned, the prisoners themselves made no application such as is conveyed by the hon. member in his question.

Mr. Keir Hardie: May I ask whether a firm of solicitors are not allowed to make an application on behalf of their own clients, and whether that was not done in this case?

Mr. Gladstone: I have no knowledge of it. Mr. Keir Hardie: Do you doubt the word of the firm of solicitors?

Mr. Gladstone: I doubt the word of nobody, but I have no knowledge as a matter of fact that the prisoners are their clients. In any case it is quite obvious that if an outside firm of solicitors demand to see prisoners in prison on legal business it is absolutely essential that those responsible should satisfy themselves that the legal business is *bona fide* and within the meaning of the regulations.

Mr. Denis Kilbride: Would the right hon. gentleman consider the advisability of appointing a small commission in lunacy to inquire into the lunacy or sanity of those people?

Mr. Keir Hardie: That comes badly from an Irishman.

September 30.

On Thursday, September 30, Mr. Snowden asked the Home Secretary if he had any information as to the state of health of the women Suffragettes in prison, and whether they were still being fed by force?

Mr. Gladstone: I am glad to say that the steady improvement in the health of all the Suffragettes continues. I am not absolutely able to answer the question as to whether they are still fed by force. "Force," however, is hardly the right word, because, although, as I understand, three of them are being fed by the medical officers, they are, in a sense, fed without any resistance on the part of the prisoners. I may say that in no case has the stomach pump been used.

Mr. Snowden: I addressed a question to the Under-Secretary a few days ago, and he was unable then to give me any reply. May I repeat it, and ask the Home Secretary whether it is not a fact that the women are handcuffed during the time food is administered?

Mr. Gladstone: No, sir, there is no proof whatever of that statement.

Mr. Arthur Lynch: May I ask the right hon. gentleman why he so ostensibly puts forward the medical aspect of the case, and whether the medical officers in the prison have acted under his instructions and by his directions?

Mr. Gladstone: I put forward the medical officers because it is a medical question, and, as the hon. member knows, or might know, any responsibility rests upon the medical officers.

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Mr. Gladstone: What authority has the hon. member for saying I have given instructions to the medical officers? I may tell him it is the duty of the medical officers to attend to the health of prisoners in their charge, and that is precisely what the medical officers have been doing here.

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On Friday, October 1, Mr. Keir Hardie asked the Home Secretary whether he had received any report from the medical officer of the Winslow Green Gaol, Birmingham, concerning the women suffrage prisoners; and whether any of them, and, if so, how many, were still having food administered by force.

Mr. Gladstone gave the following written reply: I have received several reports from the medical officer. From the report received this morning it appears that seven prisoners still refuse to feed themselves, but only one of the seven now requires to be fed by tube. The others accept food when administered to them from a feeding-cup.

Mr. Keir Hardie further asked the Home Secretary whether he had received any report from the medical officer at Winslow Green Gaol, detailing the method adopted to administer food by force to the women suffrage prisoners; whether the instrument used was Blandford's oesophageal instrument, or whose; whether a screw gag was used to prise the teeth apart and keep the jaws open; whether the prisoners were strapped down, or, if not, how many attendants took part in the operation; and whether he could give the names of the women who had been subjected to this treatment?

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Mr. Keir Hardie asked if the Secretary of State had received a petition from the parents or other relatives of some of the women Suffragette prisoners in Winslow Green Gaol, Birmingham, stating that they were anxious concerning the state of health of the prisoners, and praying to be allowed to send their own medical adviser to report on their condition, and, if so, whether he had been able to so far relax the prison rules as to comply with this request.

Mr. Masterman: Applications to the effect indicated have been received, but my right hon. friend has been unable to accede to them. The prisoners mentioned are receiving full attention from the medical authorities of the Home Office at the time when the refusal to take food made the prisoners' state of health serious, and has had the assistance of a medical man in practice in Birmingham, who has been present when food has been administered. According to the latest report received this morning the health of the prisoners continues to improve; only one of them still refuses to take food without the use of a tube.

Mr. Mackenzie (Berks, Newbury, Min.): Have these ladies had an opportunity of communicating with the visiting justices?

Mr. Masterman: They have already communicated with the visiting justices, who paid a special visit.

October 6.

On Wednesday Mr. Keir Hardie inquired if the Home Secretary had received a copy of the opinion given by Dr. Forbes Ross that the forcible feeding by the methods employed in Birmingham Gaol was an act of brutality beyond human endurance; that it was frequently followed by an intractable disease known as chronic pigmentary colitis; and that asylum patients who had to be fed in this way died, as a rule, of the treatment; and whether, in view of the risks involved to the prisoners who are being so treated, he would give orders for the practice to be discontinued.

Mr. Gladstone was understood to say that the opinions referred to had no bearing upon the methods of feeding in Winslow Green Gaol, Birmingham.

Mr. William Redmond asked whether the Home Secretary would state how many of these prisoners were being fed in this manner, and whether, in view of the widespread feeling created by the method of feeding he could not see his way to alter it?

Mr. Gladstone: No prisoners are being fed by the method described in the question. Two, I believe, are being fed by the tube.

Mr. Keir Hardie: Is it not the case that this opinion was given on the assumption that the food was being administered by a tube passed down the throat, and is he aware that another medical man has published a similar opinion.

Mr. Gladstone: I was very much surprised to read the opinion expressed by the doctor on the question. It was very desirable that a medical man should make inquiries before he made such a statement.

The Treatment of Political Prisoners.

Mr. Dillon (Mayo, E. Nat.) asked the Home Secretary for what offence Mrs. Anne Cobden Sanderson had been sentenced to a week's imprisonment in the second division; and whether he would take steps immediately to understand that all political prisoners in this country should be put in the first division or subjected to such treatment as was customary in the case of political prisoners in England a hundred years ago.

Mr. Masterman, who replied, said: On September 3 Mrs. Cobden Sanderson was convicted of obstructing the police in the execution of their duty, and sentenced to pay a fine or to be imprisoned in the second division. My right hon. friend understands that she was discharged on her own recognisances, pending the hearing of a case stated for the decision of the High Court on a point of law. As regards the latter part of the question, my right hon. friend would refer the hon. member to his numerous previous answers to questions in Parliament on this subject, and to his speech on the second reading of the Appropriation Bill on August 4 last.

Mr. Dillon: This is a serious business. Has not the time come to restore the ancient practice of England of treating political prisoners as a different class?

Mr. Keir Hardie (Montgomery Burghs, Min.): May I ask whether the law of England recognises this lady as a political prisoner? (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Dillon: So much more shame for the law of England, then. (Laughter and cheers.)

In reply to Mr. Byles on Monday, Mr. Gladstone stated that he found on further examination a slight correction was necessary in the reply he gave to the question by Mr. Byles on August 23. The corrected figures were:—For refusing to enter into recognisances for good behaviour, or for attending unlawful assemblies, 154 women had been imprisoned; for offences such as obstruction, assaulting the police or

breaking windows, 197. Of the 154 prisoners first mentioned all but one were committed for refusing to enter into recognisances to be of good behaviour. The 197 other prisoners included 159 convicted of obstruction and resisting the police; but it would be impossible, without examination of the evidence in every case, to distinguish between those cases where there was violence of a serious nature and those where the offence was of a more technical character. Fourteen of the women in the first category and 113 of those in the second category were placed by the courts in the first division, the reason for the difference being that the greater number of those in the latter category were sent to prison early in the agitation at a time when the courts awarded first division treatment.

On Tuesday, October 5, Mr. Keir Hardie asked the Home Secretary a question of which he had only been able to give very short notice, as the information had only just reached him, whether he had been informed that Miss Ainsworth, who was released that morning from Winslow Green Gaol, Birmingham, alleged that a steel instrument was used to force open the mouths of those women who had to be fed by force and that a cork gag was inserted to keep the mouth open, and whether, in view of his former statement that this had not been done, he had received any further information on the subject?

Mr. Bello: Before the right hon. gentleman answers that question, may I ask whether anything different has been done to women from what has been done to men in times past with what has been done to any part of this House? Mr. Gladstone: Of course this treatment has been applied to men without demur. As I only received ten minutes' notice of this question perhaps the hon. member will put it on the paper.

In reply to a further question by Mr. Keir Hardie Mr. Gladstone promised that inquiries should be made.

October 6.

On Wednesday Mr. Keir Hardie inquired if the Home Secretary had received a copy of the opinion given by Dr. Forbes Ross that the forcible feeding by the methods employed in Birmingham Gaol was an act of brutality beyond human endurance; that it was frequently followed by an intractable disease known as chronic pigmentary colitis; and that asylum patients who had to be fed in this way died, as a rule, of the treatment; and whether, in view of the risks involved to the prisoners who are being so treated, he would give orders for the practice to be discontinued.

Mr. Gladstone was understood to say that the opinions referred to had no bearing upon the methods of feeding in Winslow Green Gaol, Birmingham.

Mr. William Redmond asked whether the Home Secretary would state how many of these prisoners were being fed in this manner, and whether, in view of the widespread feeling created by the method of feeding he could not see his way to alter it?

Mr. Gladstone: No prisoners are being fed by the method described in the question. Two, I believe, are being fed by the tube.

Mr. Keir Hardie: Is it not the case that this opinion was given on the assumption that the food was being administered by a tube passed down the throat, and is he aware that another medical man has published a similar opinion.

Mr. Gladstone: I was very much surprised to read the opinion expressed by the doctor on the question. It was very desirable that a medical man should make inquiries before he made such a statement.

MR. NEVINSON AND MR. BRAILSFORD.

Resignation from the "Daily News."

The following letter appeared in the "Times" of Tuesday last:—

"Sir,—You allowed one of us a few weeks ago to cite in your columns passages from speeches by Mr. W. E. Gladstone and Mr. John Morley which defined the attitude of the older Liberalism towards political offenders. They held that only 'base and degrading crimes' could properly be visited with humiliating punishments; they denounced the forcing of prison dress and other similar indignities on agitators, and produced a formidable list of precedents to show that for many generations it had been the practice of both parties to accord the honours of war to political prisoners. Mr. Herbert Gladstone, in dealing with the Suffragist prisoners, persists in his unflinching Liberalism. He insists on classing women who are fighting for an idea with ordinary criminals, and to the hunger-strike he has now replied with the loathsome expedient of the stomach-tube. The women protested against humiliating punishments; he proceeds to make the infliction of these humiliations possible by a method which, besides being certainly nauseating and probably dangerous, is an unpardonable outrage on human dignity.

"To say that the alternative is to abandon all thought of punishing these prisoners is to reason loosely. Two courses are open to Mr. Gladstone. He may release the women after five or six days of total starvation, a punish-

ment which was thought adequate until they happened to choose the Prime Minister as the object of their demonstrations. He may also transfer them to the first division. The stomach-tube is not required in order to render imprisonment possible. It is required in order to make possible punishment in the second and third divisions. We observe that some Liberals are now discovering that persons who have been guilty of violence are not political offenders. But most of our notable worthy political prisoners, from Smith O'Brien to Dr. Jameson, were the leaders in violence incomparably more formidable than anything which these women have yet attempted.

"There are, we take it, two main reasons for discriminating in favour of political prisoners. In the first place, they are commonly persons of high character who possess (to use the words which Mr. W. E. Gladstone quoted from Burke) like a wound. In the second place, no Government party or class can be trusted, without the check of some such tradition as this, to deal fairly with its opponents. After the alternate Whig and Tory proscriptions of the seventeenth century our forefathers had seen enough of the libertine malice of ignominious punishments. There is evidence, for those who read the Liberal

THE WOMAN'S PRESS, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

A new leaflet has just been produced by the Woman's Press, entitled—

Forcible Feeding in Prison.

OPINIONS OF MEDICAL EXPERTS.

This can be obtained price 9d. per hundred, 6/- per thousand, post free. Other recent publications of the Woman's Press are two leaflets on the present Militant Methods of the Union. They are entitled—

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Is it Right? Is it Wrong?

By MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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BOOKS.

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BOOK OF THE WEEK.

And heard great argument About it and about; but evermore Came out by the same door as in I went.

Omar Khayyam.

Argument as to woman's character and woman's psychology is unending, and building on preconceived premises, one sex attempts to lay down laws for another, forgetting that men and women are all members of the same family, and subject to the same inconsistencies and passions. But when we leave character and come to physique we have reached a matter which can be investigated impartially and scientifically.

Is Woman Naturally Weaker than Man?

We see one fact which cannot be denied—that in our country and in many others the average woman is physically weaker than man. But before we can decide whether or not this is an immutable natural law, we must find out whether it is so in other countries, and in other species, and whether it has always been so.

In other species the sexes are usually of equal strength. Sometimes the female is stronger; moreover, even when she is smaller than the male her physique is not inferior and she suffers no disabilities. It does not look as though in the animal kingdom she were meant to be inferior. In savage tribes the women are often as strong as men, and even in civilised European countries we find women lifting loads and doing physical work equally with men. There were and there are women as strong as men. To what, then, is due this general disparity in modern times? In the beginning we know "Thro' the primal forest faring, two-fold man was equal, they were comrades dear and daring." When did they enter on their divided roads?

An exceedingly interesting hypothesis is put forward in the October number of The Englishwoman (Grant Richards, 1s.) by Miss Ernestine Mills. She attributes women's comparative weakness to the artificial means taken by many primitive races to induce or increase it. She brings forward the evidence of observers which shows that the girls just budding into womanhood were subjected to weakening conditions as a result of savage superstitions.

Thus, in some tribes, the girl, when the first signs of maturity occur, is carried by the elder women to a hut, in some cases a sort of cage. In some cases the cage does not allow the girl either to stand upright or to lie at full length. She was allowed to eat no meat or fish, therefore she was probably half-starved, and all her food had to be put into her mouth by an older woman; it was in most cases taboo that she should touch her mouth. This question of food is important, and it must be remembered that this treatment—the darkness, starvation, and imprisonment—was, and in some places is to-day, continued not for days or weeks, but for months and even years.

In other tribes girls are allowed to go out only at night, and given only vegetable food, while their brothers are fed on meat and become mighty hunters.

Among certain tribes girls at the age of eight or ten years are shut up in a little room lit by a single small window opening on a lonely place, so that the girl is almost in darkness. She may not leave the room on any pretext whatever. None of her family may see her, but a single slave-woman is appointed to wait on her. During her lonely confinement, which often lasts for seven years, she occupies herself in weaving and other handiwork. Her growth is stunted for want of exercise; when she is brought out she is shown the sun, the earth, and the trees as if she were newly born.

Many other instances are given, and Miss Mills asks, "Is it not in a high degree probable that here we have the beginnings of the induced physical inequality of the sexes, and that even to this day we are influenced physically and mentally by the survival of this miserable old fetish? Does it not appear that for thousands of generations the natural development and growth of the human female has been perverted, and what should be natural and easy rendered pathological and difficult? And if we have got beyond that, are we much better to-day with our restricted training and our restricted clothing? Miss Mills quotes a doctor—

Put a restriction round the waist of a boy or girl, and issue an edict that the legs must never be raised above a certain angle, and you will as certainly retard the growth of the limbs of your boy or girl as you would that of the limbs of a tree similarly interfered with.

The Woman of the Future.

With proper training Miss Mills thinks—and there are many doctors who hold the same view—that the physique of women will return to its primal strength. Darwin has shown how tremendously structure can be altered to fit into varying conditions; while Letourneau states that in monogamous species, where the males no longer fight for supremacy in love, the two sexes tend to approach each other in physique. He concludes, therefore, that there is no necessary correlation between relative weakness and the female sex.

It is to the human woman of the future, as opposed to the animal woman of the past, that we must look to remedy all this. For the training of the future generation of men is in their hands. The outlook was surely never more hopeful for women than it is at present. Everything seems to point to the probability that as the race develops, and the ape and tiger in us die, there will be more equality, physically as well as mentally, between men and women. Other animals have altered enormously in their physical structure; is it not possible that an equivalent change may take place in the bodily

as well as in the mental development of the coming woman, especially as she is now able consciously to assist nature? Is it too much to hope that in some far-off day women may shake off even the physical results of superstition and ignorance, and acquire bodies so perfected that their natural functions may be performed with at least no more difficulty than that experienced by females of other species? Surely no woman will doubt that this will be the ultimate advantage of the human race?

Hor "natural function"! One may well ask, in view of the fact that women about to become mothers are obliged, by our present social conditions, to do hard work half-starved, and in abominable surroundings—(some terrible statistics are given in Mr. Haslam's article in the same issue)—whether in physical endurance they do not transcend men, and whether the latent strength even of the modern woman is not simply phenomenal.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- An Englishwoman's Home. By M. E. S. Sampson Low. 1s. net. The Gift of St. Anthony. By Charles Granville. Daniel. 6s. Ann Veronica. By H. G. Wells. Fisher Unwin. 6s. Susanna Wesley. By Eliza Clarke. Gibbins and Co. 1s. net. Some Famous Women. By Louise Creighton. Longmans, Green. 1s. 6d. The Art of Living. By Louise Creighton. Longmans, Green. 1s. 6d. net. Some Everyday Folk and Dawn. By Miles Franklin. Blackwood. 6s. The Old Bureaucrat. By Sinclair Ayden. Digby, Long. 6s. Madame de Maintenon. By C. C. Dyson. John Lane. 12s. 6d. net. An English Course for Evening Students. By Frank J. Adkins. M.A. Swan, Sonnenschein. 3s. 6d. French Vignettes. By M. Betham-Edwards. Chapman and Hall. 10s. 6d. net.

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THE WORLD WE LIVE IN.

By Christopher St. John.

Fresh from a round of plays now running at West-end theatres I am left with the impression that the condition of the drama in England is neither so bad nor so good as extremists represent it.

The people who think that the stage is in a very bad way are fond of explaining why the finest literary talent in the country avoids the medium of a play for its expression, and pour contempt on the vulgar, silly plays which succeed. I wonder if these superior people ever consider how difficult a matter it is to please the theatre-going public—so difficult a matter that no one who knows could possibly grudge the successful playwrights their fine pecuniary rewards. It is easy to assert that the popular standard in the theatre is of such a character that no artist can reach it; but how the public surprises us at times by its insight and delicacy of perception! I went to the Coliseum the other night, and there was a great deal in the programme designed to please the lazy, or uncultivated, mind. Yet the triumph of the evening was won by the Russian "balalaika" orchestra—a little band of musicians playing on national instruments, interpreting beautifully the beautiful native melodies of Russia! Then we say that the English public is afraid of novelty, and distrusts and fears in a play as in life anything to which it is not accustomed. Yet the public accepts Bernard Shaw, who turns all its accustomed values topsy-turvy, and refuses to tell it what it has been told before!

It must be conceded, however, that in spite of these occasional demonstrations on the part of the public that it can be artistic, our playwrights keep on showing it what it ought to be tired of seeing. For all the plays that I have seen lately, with the exception of "False Gods," which executes an original aim badly, the oddness of the subject-matter has struck me as most disheartening.

There is not one play on the London stage at the present time which takes any account of women except on the level of housekeeping machines or bridge players—the actual or potential property of some man, valuable or worthless as the case may be. It is strange to go out of the world, where women are fighting for freedom and showing unparalleled courage when most despised and rejected, into the theatre, where the dramatist appears unaffected by this new Renaissance. Strange, indeed, it is, too, that Cordelia in "King Lear" at the Haymarket seems more modern, more of the stuff of which Winslow Green prisoners are made, than any heroine imagined by Pinero or Maugham.

Mr. Maugham's "Smith" at the Comedy and Mr. Sutro's "Making a Gentleman" at the Garrick both deal with the same subject—the simple life against the world. Mr. Maugham is far more entertaining than Mr. Sutro. His worthy, plain-speaking hero from Rhodesia is conceived with more freshness and humour than the father with nostalgia for Canada in "Making a Gentleman." (In both plays a British colony appears to be the only place where a clean, honest, and decent life can be led.) In plot and psychology, "Smith" is akin to one of Horner's Penny Stories, but the devilish skill of Mr. Maugham, his "flair" for doing everything on the stage as it should be done if an audience's interest and attention are to be kept, the liveliness of his dialogue, the gentleness of his satire, turn the novelette into a really admirable comedy. We feel that it is all very shallow. We don't really believe that all is right with the world if only women will nurse their husbands' children and darn their husbands' socks. We are amused rather than impressed when Thomas Freeman, the Rhodesian hero of "Smith," encourages the parlour-maid to whom he has proposed by telling her that he asks very little of a woman. For have we not heard in another act what the "very little" is? "I only ask that she should be truthful, honest, a good mother, and a faithful wife."

"Mid-Channel" is sterner stuff than "Smith." Sir Arthur Pynro has returned to his "Iris" vein, and given us a relentless study of the tragedies of a most unpleasant set of people. Wonderfully observed as it all is, the motives of the characters are never revealed. We are not allowed to understand them, and so find it difficult to forgive them. Everyone in "Mid-Channel" is rude. Everyone behaves outrageously, and in this play, too, woman only exists as the property of man. Poor Zoe! Her husband failed her, her lover failed her; she had no children. So, of course, she had to commit suicide. For a disappointed man there are other ways out of things. The sacrifice of Zoe, the purposeless idiotic sacrifice, seems far more barbarous and un-Christian than the sacrifice of the virgin to the Nile in "False Gods."

"Madame X." at the Globe, a play from the French in which Miss Lena Ashwell gives a wonderful performance as the miserable woman who is tried for the murder of her lover, has been sneered at as an orgy of tears, and an up-to-date "East Lynne." Yet it has that element of nobility in which all the other plays mentioned here are hopelessly lacking. It is all very sentimental, very French, but I prefer French humanity to English inhumanity. The speech of Raymond in the Court scene in defence of the woman in the dock is a true and powerful indictment of all those unknown, unnamed criminals who have degraded and dishonoured women, and then dissociated themselves from the consequence in the name of virtue. The situation created by the French dramatist rings none the less true because the licence of coincidence is stretched to make the advocate the son of the prisoner. Her identity is unknown to him until after he has secured her acquittal. In addition to its human appeal and its rebuke to masculine virtue, the Trial scene in "Madame X." gives a most interesting picture of French judicial procedure.

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SCOTTISH DEMONSTRATION, Edinburgh, October 9.

A PROCESSION HEADED BY LADY PIPERS Will leave BRUNTSFIELD LINKS at 2.30, and march to WAVERLEY MARKET, WHERE A

MASS MEETING Will be held at 3.30. The speakers will be Mrs. Pankhurst,

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, AND OTHERS.

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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 Government's favourite weapon of physical force was used again on Monday last when Lord Morley visited the Manchester University. Miss Mary Gawthorpe was present, accompanied by women graduates of the University.

VOTES FOR WOMEN 4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 8th, 1909. METHODS OF VIOLENCE. The Government's campaign of violence against women continues, until it seems that there is no indignity, no suffering which Mr. Asquith and his colleagues will hesitate to inflict upon their political opponents in order to serve the ignoble purpose of delaying the political enfranchisement of women.

What is described in the Press as a "painful scene" followed the women's protest. Miss Gawthorpe and her graduate colleagues were savagely assailed, ejected with violence, and afterwards arrested upon a charge of disorderly behaviour, which will be heard in the police-court next Tuesday. So goes the Government's campaign of repression. Now, as from the beginning of the new Suffrage Movement, their answer to women's demand for the Vote is violence. Throw questioners out of meetings, imprison deputations, deal with political opponents as common criminals are dealt with, meet the tragic protest of starvation by a measure which injures the body and seeks to bruise the soul—such is the Government's programme of coercion.

We of the Women's Social and Political Union hear methods of violence vehemently denounced, but we do not take this condemnation to ourselves. The Government it is who are guilty of violence; our only fault is that we remain undaunted by coercion, and that we do such acts as are necessary to show that all the physical force which they have at their command will not avail to break our spirit. Christabel Pankhurst.

to life. The legal aspect of the matter is to be tested by means of legal proceedings, but morally the Government are guilty of an unwarrantable abuse of the power which their office gives them over the bodies of their political adversaries.

There is no one, outside the Cabinet itself, but feels, whatever he may say, humiliated at the thought of what is being done to the Suffragist prisoners in Winson Green Gaol, yet some permit themselves to argue in the Government's defence that to this plan of forcible feeding there are only two alternatives, both, they say, impossible—to let the women die, or let them out. But, as Dr. Forbes Ross and Dr. W. Hugh Fenton tell us explicitly (their words are to be found on page 19 of this paper), death and forcible feeding may well be, not alternatives, but one and the same thing, for seeds of disease are sown, if not swift death caused, by this latest method of the Government.

As to the other of the two alternatives—the plan of letting them out—there are many followers of the Government who would prefer this as being not only more humane, but politically more expedient. The hunger strike, involving all the agony of starvation, bringing those who practise it to the point of collapse, is, so the Manchester Guardian declares, punishment enough for the acts they have committed. So terrible is the ordeal of starvation that only devotion to a great cause enables it to be borne.

But there is another way whereby the Government may escape from their present discreditable position. They know it; the whole world knows it. They can give women the Vote. The choice which they have here and now to make is between either carrying the Women's Enfranchisement Bill or continuing their futile attempt to crush out this movement by methods of physical force.

There are other developments of the Government's physical force policy to be recorded. A few weeks ago, six members of the Union were imprisoned in Walton Gaol, Liverpool. They refused food, and because the authorities feared to keep them longer in prison, they were released. The Home Secretary wishes now to recapture his prey, and summonses have been taken out against them for damage done to property in Walton Gaol, although in some cases the alleged damage amounts in value to as little as threepence.

The Government's favourite weapon of physical force was used again on Monday last when Lord Morley visited the Manchester University. Miss Mary Gawthorpe was present, accompanied by women graduates of the University. Gravely and calmly they made their protest against disfranchisement and against the cruelty with which the Government are treating their imprisoned comrades. The interruptions, the not too respectful jests, the general uproar that proceed from male undergraduates at university functions, go unpunished and are regarded even by Cabinet Ministers with a tolerant amusement; but let a woman, prompted by a serious political motive, raise her voice, and the consequences are very different.

"Misleading" Articles. The great majority of women read the newspapers in good-faith. Sincere and conscientious themselves, they believe in the sincerity and conscientiousness of those who write political leading articles in the furtherance of their party ends. They do not realise that these leading articles are written by those who are personally or officially opposed to women's enfranchisement, and are written with the express purpose of misleading women and diverting them from the only way in which their battle can be won. If women should take any heed to them, then the purpose for which they were penned would be won, and women would fall into the trap so craftily laid to catch their unwary feet.

The very man for her political education should study regularly every day two newspapers that represent the two opposite parties in politics. She would see there the way in which everything spoken or done by the one side meets with disapproval and reprobation by the other. She would see that the more formidable the champion on the one side the more damage he is doing to his political opponents, the fiercer the counter-attack upon him, the more virulent the abuse of the other side. This war of words is taken for granted by men politicians and passes at its right valuation. The Tory paper does not hope to alienate Liberals from their Party, the Liberal paper does not expect to convert genuine Tories. All they hope to do outside their own ranks is to catch the unthinking fringe who have votes, but no definite political convictions.

Now it happens that the Press of both parties at the present time want to prevent the enfranchisement of

WHAT WE THINK OF CRITICISM, And our Answer to it.

In their great struggle to free themselves from the yoke of subjection and dishonour, women have now come to the sharpest hour of conflict. All the earlier stages of the militant agitation that have been traversed during the past five years were laughed at by politicians as child's play. They were not child's play, and we knew it. They were necessary stages to be passed through before this Movement could stand where it stands to-day, at direct grips with the Government that refuses constitutional rights to women. The faith, the hope, the love, that underlies the woman's movement have now to undergo the supreme test: courage, endurance and that serenity of mind and spirit, which comes from the sense that we have been called and chosen by Destiny to carry out an appointed task, are to be tried to the uttermost. If these things do not fail at this great crisis, then we have but one sharp, short conflict to go through, before the emancipation of women is won, and a new era in the story of the progress of humanity is begun.

With the assault upon imprisoned Suffragists, with the attempt to inflict upon political opponents treatment which medical authorities declare to be fraught with great physical danger, the Government have now come to their last counter-move in this long battle. They have done very nearly, if not quite, the worst that they can do. When we have broken down this new policy as we shall do before long, there will be nothing left for them to do but to give the women the vote and thus put an end once and for all to our militant agitation.

But there is another form of attack far more insidious, far more really dangerous, than the direct attack and persecution of the Government, an attack which calls for utmost wakefulness and watchfulness on the part of all the women of the country. This is the almost universal attack of the Press of both political parties upon those women who have dared to raise the great issue of the emancipation of their sex and have brought the question so successfully before the country in the only way left open, to them to do so.

This attack is dangerous because it is a sinister attempt on the part of old hands in a political game to take advantage of the ignorance of women who have never been taught by experience the rules of this game, and who are liable, therefore, to become the easy dupes of a form of trickery that is patent enough to all who take part in ordinary political warfare.

The great majority of women read the newspapers in good-faith. Sincere and conscientious themselves, they believe in the sincerity and conscientiousness of those who write political leading articles in the furtherance of their party ends. They do not realise that these leading articles are written by those who are personally or officially opposed to women's enfranchisement, and are written with the express purpose of misleading women and diverting them from the only way in which their battle can be won. If women should take any heed to them, then the purpose for which they were penned would be won, and women would fall into the trap so craftily laid to catch their unwary feet.

Every woman who cannot answer the Government's challenge by taking her place in the front fighting line, must render service equivalent, with regard to the limitations imposed by circumstances. If she has free days, free evenings, or free hours, let her put her time and service at the disposal of the Special Organiser, at 4, Clements Inn, or at the central W.S.P.U. offices in other parts of the country, for the distribution of the paper. Apart from this service let her make a pledge to her own conscience to place this paper every week into the hands of at least ten new people. In this way, though she cannot take her share in the direct conflict she can help to shorten that conflict, and to increase the scope and result of the victory.

When the suffrage campaign was ineffective they could ignore it. Now they are getting frightened because of its success, and therefore they break forth into violent abuse. This very fact should be an immense encouragement and proof to women that their militant policy is the right one. It is so to the women who have made this political game their study.

We are never so sure that we are right as we are when the Press of both political parties says we are wrong. We are never so sure of the wisdom of our methods as when every newspaper denounces their folly.

The members of the Women's Social and Political Union have learnt this lesson, but the majority of women shut out from politics are apt to be caught by this denunciation. Our opponents hope, by deluding inexperienced women, to cut off the main body from the advance guard of fighters. If their all too cunning device should meet with success they know that the fight would be prolonged, and the fighters, they hope, would be worn down to exhaustion.

They are wrong in thinking that the fighters would be worn down. If this were a mere political battle it might happen so. Because in a mere political battle men and women will go a great way and give up a great deal, but they will not go to the very end, they will not give up all that makes life precious. This is a spiritual crusade as well as a political battle. Women are ready to go to death for it, like the martyrs of old for their religion. Dead, they would be more formidable than ever. From their graves they would conquer.

But, though we should still win, it would be at a great cost; speaking humanly, an unnecessary cost. If women are wise they will not play the game of their opponents in this way. They will refuse to listen to the counsels of the enemy, they will back up those who are fighting as their champions to-day, those who have brought this conflict successfully right up to the very walls of the citadel of the enemy. They will close up behind and help the front line to carry the position and plant the flag of freedom there.

How The Public May Be Instructed. But we must remember how hard it is for the majority of women to understand the real meaning of this battle, or the tactics of the campaign. That is why it is so absolutely necessary to get our paper VOTES FOR WOMEN into their hands. Otherwise they hear only one version of the story, and that is the enemy's version. It is almost impossible for them to stand against the immense flood of party-made Press opinion, when they have nothing that is stable and fast by which they can hold on with assurance.

I know that the hearts of thousands of women whom this paper reaches have been wrung with grief during the past week. They will find their only comfort in action; in the performance of some definite task. Let everyone set before herself the task of getting this paper into the hands of at least ten new readers.

This paper, with its statement week by week of the facts, with its explanation of the tactics of the campaign, with its exposition of the rules of political warfare, with its records of heroic sacrifice gladly rendered by women for the emancipation of their sisters, is the only bond that can hold the women of the country together in one heart, and one mind, and one resolve. By extending its circulation everyone can help to give this movement the strength of numbers and to reduce the enormous toll of human suffering which must otherwise be paid.

There is no place in a movement like this for idle sympathy. The martyrdom of our heroic comrades in prison calls not for tears but for work, strenuous, unremitting work.

Every woman who cannot answer the Government's challenge by taking her place in the front fighting line, must render service equivalent, with regard to the limitations imposed by circumstances. If she has free days, free evenings, or free hours, let her put her time and service at the disposal of the Special Organiser, at 4, Clements Inn, or at the central W.S.P.U. offices in other parts of the country, for the distribution of the paper. Apart from this service let her make a pledge to her own conscience to place this paper every week into the hands of at least ten new people. In this way, though she cannot take her share in the direct conflict she can help to shorten that conflict, and to increase the scope and result of the victory.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

TREASURER'S NOTE. September 29 October 4—Over £700.

The story of the cruel assault upon our comrades in prison has stirred deep sympathy and deep indignation in the hearts of justice-loving women and men throughout the country. Letters are pouring into the office at headquarters. Letters from women who say, "Put me into the front fighting line at once." Letters from working men who send a few shillings and say, "My vote at the General Election is at your service." A lady, who wishes to remain unknown, sent a letter a few days ago enclosing £100: "I would very much like the prisoners to be told, on their release, that I make this contribution entirely and directly as the only recognition I can make of my admiration for them." Everybody feels they must do infinitely more, give infinitely more than ever before, if they are to be worthy of the inconceivable sacrifice now being made on their behalf by the women whose bodies are being violated in prison.

Never was there greater need for funds to push home this campaign. Legal proceedings on a costly scale have been instituted against the Home Secretary, the prison governor and doctor, for their assault upon our heroic members. Seven new organisers have been appointed. New offices have been added in order to cope with the work. Rapid extension is going on in every department. Now is the time when nothing which it is in our power to give can be held back. This week our record is over £700. Let us beat it again next week if we can. Forward! Forward! E. P. L.

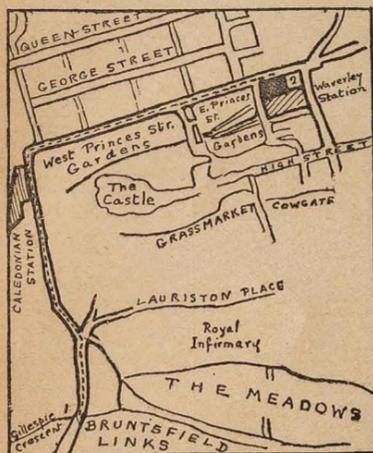
CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £50,000 FUND.

Table listing contributions to the £50,000 fund, including names and amounts. Total amount: £46,584 4 2.

THE SCOTTISH DEMONSTRATION. A GREAT PAGEANT IN EDINBURGH.

Judging from the whole-hearted work that is being put into it and the keen interest that has been aroused, the Scottish Demonstration which takes place to-morrow (Saturday), in Edinburgh, ought to be a tremendous success and a striking object-lesson in what is meant by the women's movement.

Perhaps the most striking and interesting feature of this grand procession will be the historic figures of Scottish women who have done great deeds or have



The dotted line shows the route of the Procession. (1) Bruntsfield Links, the starting point; (2) Waverley Market, where the Demonstration will take place.

braved tyranny and death (Scotland's history is full of instances). There will be Queen Margaret, who brought Christianity to Scotland in the eleventh century; Devorgilla, wife of Baliol, who founded Baliol College, Oxford, and built Dumfries Bridge; Marion Braidfoot, wife of Wallace, who was killed for refusing to give evidence against her husband; the Countess of Buchan, who crowned Bruce, and was imprisoned in a cage outside Berwick Castle; Fair Lilliard, who fought at Annan Moor; Jenny Geddes, who threw a stool at a minister to mark her indignation; Griseld Baillie, who saved her father's life; Griseld Cochrane, who dressed as a highwayman and stole her father's death warrant from the jail, thereby gaining the time for a reprieve; Flora Macdonald, who helped Prince Charlie to escape; Lady Mersington, who was hanged for going on a deputation to Parliament in 1675; Jean Maxwell, Duchess of Gordon, who raised the Gordon Highlanders; Margaret Wilson, a girl of twenty, and Margaret McLauchlin, an older woman, who were drowned in the Solway for their faith. Those women, also, who have written some of Scotland's sweetest songs will be represented in the pageant, such as Lady Wardlaw ("Stately stepped he east the wa' and stately stepped he west"), Jane Elliott ("The Flowers of the Forest") and "I've heard them liltin' above ewe-milking"), Isobel Pagan ("Ca' the ewes to the knowes"), Susanna Blamire ("And ye shall walk in silk attire"), Lady Anne Lindsay ("Auld Robin Gray"), and Lady Nairne ("The Land o' the Leal," "Call'er Herrin'"), "The Laird o' Cockpen," "Will ye no come back again," "The Auld House," and "The Lass o' Gowrie").

THE WAVERLEY MARKET.

The Waverley Market, the fruit and vegetable market for the City of Edinburgh, is known to most people as a place for shows, concerts, exhibitions, and occasional public meetings which are too large to find accommodation elsewhere. The market was erected in 1864 by the North British Railway Company, and by them handed over to the city in exchange for an older market now used for railway purposes. It certainly is not an imposing structure. From Princes Street the roof alone is visible, but that has been turned into a flower garden.

Of the meetings held in the market, three recent ones stand out in history. On October 31, 1900, it witnessed the union of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches.

For that occasion the market was arranged as an assembly hall capable of seating 7,000, and even that accommodation was taxed to its utmost limit. In presence of this vast gathering the union was consummated, and the General Assembly of the United Free Church held its first meeting.

The other two meetings were both political. On October 25, 1901, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain visited Edinburgh and addressed a meeting in the market. His visit excited great enthusiasm, especially among the supporters of the Government, in which he held the office of Colonial Secretary. For this meeting a hall to hold 8,000 was fitted up inside the market, and it could have been filled two or three times over.

The greatest of all the meetings that have been held in the Waverley Market is associated with the name of the late Mr. Gladstone. It was the culminating point in his first Midlothian campaign, and was one of the most remarkable meetings ever held. It was announced to begin at five o'clock in the evening of November 29, 1879, but when the doors were opened at three every inch of standing room within the market was immediately occupied. The number present was estimated at 20,000, which included 2,000 women, for whom seats were provided in the galleries.

May we not safely prophesy that another great historical meeting will be held in the Waverley Market, when on October 9 the women of Scotland meet there to assert their just claim to an equal share with men in the work of legislating for the common good?

Order of Procession.

- A. (Marshal-Miss New.) Colour Bearer. Purple, White and Green Women. Women Pipes. Leth Cello Pipe Band. Relief Brass Band (Kirkcaldy Trades Prize Band). Scottish National Banner. Leaders. ("Tramp on the Thistle" Banner). Riders. Jenny Geddes. Edinburgh Banner. Edinburgh People. (With 4 Motto Banners). B. (Marshal-Miss Conolan.) Brass Band. (Broxburn Public Band). Mrs. Pankhurst's Banner. Five Pageant Characters. Glasgow Banner. Glasgow People. (Motto Banners). C. (Marshal-Miss Cameron.) Edinburgh City Pipe Band. University Women. Medical Women. Medical Banner. Five Pageant Characters. Musicians and Artists. Musicians' and Artists' Banner. Nurses. D. (Marshal-Miss Kelley.) Stirling Banner. Stirling People. Band. Five Pageant Characters. Dundee Banner. Dundee People. (Motto Banner). Hunger Strikers' Banner. E. (Marshal-Miss Fraser-Smith.) Annan Banner. Annan People. Berwick Banner. Berwick People. Dumfries Banner. Dumfries People. Hawick Banner. Hawick People. Four Pageant Characters. Band. F. (Marshals-Miss Burns, Garnett, Naylor.) General Public. General Motions. W.S.P.U. Motor. Carriages.

THE TREATMENT OF "HUNGER STRIKERS."

It is impossible to deny the difficulty which the prison authorities are under in dealing with those Suffragist agitators who are known as "hunger strikers." Hitherto it has been the practice—and a very judicious one—to release imprisoned Suffragists who have sufficiently punished themselves with self-starvation to a point which is dangerous to health. Yesterday, however, Mr. Masterman admitted in the House of Commons that the Prison Commissioners at Winson Green, with the approval of the Home Secretary, had instructed the medical officer to resort to compulsory feeding. This, we think, was a mistake. Where the weak-minded are concerned it is obvious that compulsory feeding is a merciful act, and there is no alternative. It may be a merciful act in the case of the contumacious, too, but there is an alternative. The Government itself cannot by logic get rid of distinctions which the public will make in spite of it. The contumacious Suffragist is not identical with the contumacious hooligan. Though the actions of the two may defy discrimination, the motive and the purpose still count. After all, one main object of punishment is to prevent crime, and feeding women with tubes pushed down their throats is hardly likely to have that effect upon other contumacious and feeble-minded persons outside the prison gates. It will be well, therefore, if the Government can see their way to instruct the authorities at Winson Green to resort to the practice hitherto observed in other gaols.

—Yorkshire Observer.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

After the opportunity provided by the great Albert Hall meeting for hearing Mrs. Pankhurst before her departure for America, London members and friends will look forward to her return early in December, and they will be glad to hear that she will be welcomed at the Albert Hall at another special meeting on December 9. The price of the tickets will be the same as on Thursday night—namely, stalls 2s., arena 2s. 6d., balcony 1s., lower orchestra 1s., upper orchestra 6d., and boxes at various prices. Stalls, boxes, and arena will be reserved for both men and women; other parts of the house for women only. All seats are numbered except those in the upper orchestra. Application for tickets should be made at once to Miss Cooke, ticket secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

Great Meetings.

In the meanwhile there will be another great London meeting, at the Alexandra Palace, on November 3, when Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Christabel Pankhurst will speak. Tickets, price 1s. (numbered and reserved), 6d., and 3d. (unreserved), may be obtained from Miss Bonwick, Weston Park, Crouch End; Miss Kate Jackson, 46, Langdon Park Road, Highgate; or of the ticket secretary, Miss Cooke, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

In several parts of the country final meetings to hear Mrs. Pankhurst before her departure for America are being arranged. To-morrow (Saturday) she will speak at the Scottish Demonstration in Waverley Market, when speeches will also be made by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and others. Next Monday Mrs. Pankhurst will speak at the Sun Hall, Liverpool, when some of the Liverpool hunger strikers and prisoners on remand will also be present. Tickets, price 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d., can be obtained at the W.S.P.U. shop, 28, Berry Street, Liverpool.

Open Meetings in London.

Every Monday, from 3 to 5, and Thursday, from 8 to 10, open meetings are held in London; and at next Monday's At Home in the Queen's Hall, Langham Place, at 3 p.m., the speakers will be Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Annie Kenney, and the Rev. Hugh Chapman, Chaplain of the Chapel Royal, Savoy, who will speak especially on the religious side of the movement. The speakers at next Thursday evening's At Home at St. James's Hall, Great Portland Street, will be Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and Miss Cameron.

Protest at Newcastle.

In consequence of the visit of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to Newcastle to-morrow (Saturday), a counter demonstration of protest will be made by members of the Women's Social and Political Union on the same day. To-day (Friday) Miss Christabel Pankhurst will address a meeting in the St. George's Hall at 8 p.m.

Votes for Women.

Helpers are wanted for selling VOTES FOR WOMEN at the various pitches arranged in London. These are at present: Tottenham Court Road, Marble Arch, Piccadilly Circus, and Charing Cross Station, at each of which a captain is in charge. Other points will be arranged on names of volunteers being sent in to Miss Ainsworth or Miss Barbara Ayrton, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, London, W.C. Volunteers able to help in other centres should communicate with the organisers, whose names appear on page 23.

Woman's Press.

A new leaflet has been published, "Forcible Feeding in Prison—Opinion of Medical Experts," and can be had, post free, 9d. a hundred, 6s. a thousand. A new colour button, on which a special design by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst is carried out in the colours of the Union, can now be had from the Woman's Press, 4, Clements Inn, London, W.C., price 1d.

THE FIERY CROSS.

A Marching Song.

Hark! the ancient voice of Freedom sounds across the land, And the Fiery Cross of Conflict goes from hand to hand. Round the flag where, through the ages, man for man has stood, Rises now the call of battle, "God and Womanhood!"

In the cause of woman's freedom, Sisters! rouse the land; Pass the Fiery Cross of Conflict On from hand to hand.

Long have laws of tyrant Custom bound us hand and brain, Long have women's hearts in silence yearned to break the chain. Now the conquering word of Justice meets the sword of Might In the fight for equal service crowned with equal right.

In the cause, etc.

Not for gain of gold or glory, not for victor's crown, Raise we now the rebel banner, life itself lay down. But to free unfriended sisters held in Slavery's thrall, And to share with man the burden Life has laid on all.

In the cause, etc.

Forward, then, the night of struggle soon shall hasten by, Life's melodious morning brightness in the clouded sky, For the God of all, Who giveth unto all that live Freedom's holy chryseleth parison, Freedom's self shall give!

In the cause, etc.

—JAMES H. COUSINS

EXTRAORDINARY CHARGES AT MANCHESTER.

Extraordinary scenes were witnessed at Manchester on Monday, when three University women—Miss Mary Gawthorpe, Miss Dora Marsden, B.A., and Miss Rona Robinson, M.Sc.—were violently arrested while conversing outside the Victoria University Buildings. Wearing their University robes, they attended the meeting of the Victoria University, over which Lord Morley, the Chancellor, presided, and before Lord Morley could take his seat they questioned him with regard to the imprisoned women at Birmingham. One of the three added that she also had been imprisoned in the cause of women's enfranchisement. All three women were ejected, and conducted by the police to Cavendish Street Police Station. After the three had been ejected, Catherine Tolson stood up and cried, "Lord Morley, you ought to be ashamed to come to Manchester." She was immediately seized and ejected. The Daily Mirror wired a photograph of Miss Rona Robinson to London in nine minutes by the telegraph, alluding to her as "a Suffragette disguised as a graduate."

No one who knows these three women graduates, or who glances at the numerous photographs which have appeared in the Press of these women in the hands of the police, can fail to be struck with the pathos of the incident. Mary Gawthorpe, Rona Robinson, and Dora Marsden are all slight, petite women, who made their protest in a perfectly quiet and gentle manner, in striking contrast to the noise and rabble of the students whose time-honoured right to rowdiness on such an occasion no one dreams of questioning. They are women, moreover, who have done great credit to their respective Universities, while one, Rona Robinson, is actually a subscriber to the new laboratory opened by Lord Morley. Yet they are treated as "hooligans"; treated with such roughness that all three had to have medical attention, and hailed before a police magistrate and charged with disorderly behaviour. They were remanded for a week in order to obtain legal advice. The adjourned hearing of the case will come on next Tuesday, October 12.

THE PRIME MINISTER TRAVELS INCOGNITO.

Travelling as "Mr. Herbert," and accompanied by two detectives, Mr. Asquith visited Balmoral on Wednesday for an audience with the King. At Aboyne station he was intercepted by Miss Joan Dugdale, who conversed with him and gave him a copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

MR. HARCOURT AT THE GRAFTON GALLERIES.

At the opening of the National Loan Exhibition at the Grafton Galleries, on Wednesday, Mr. Harcourt was questioned by two women regarding the subject of the day—Votes for Women. The audience were markedly sympathetic, and both were able to make effective speeches of some moments' duration before they were courteously asked to leave, and only a few dissentient voices were heard, while many of those present applauded.

THE WHITE CITY DEMONSTRATION, MANCHESTER.

At the White City, Manchester, the ballroom, holding about 6,000 persons, was well filled on Saturday afternoon to hear Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Mary Gawthorpe on the militant tactics. There was a good sprinkling of men in the audience, and the Manchester Guardian remarks that it seemed as though a large proportion of those present had come to inform themselves. On the platform were the Hunger-strikers, and the decorations, in purple, white, and green, were most effective. Among other banners was that of the Manchester W.S.P.U. with the words, "First in the fight. Founded by Mrs. Pankhurst, 1903."

Miss Rona Robinson, Miss Florence Clarkson, Miss Healis, Miss Dora Marsden, the Misses Catherine and Helen Tolson, Miss Fanny Helliwell, and Miss Davison were then decorated with the W.S.P.U. Victoria Cross by Mrs. Pankhurst.

Miss Gawthorpe presided, and after reading messages of encouragement from relatives of the women in the Winson Green Prison—Mr. David Woodcock, Mr. Bentley Capper, and Mr. Leigh—Mrs. Pankhurst delivered a speech in the course of which she demanded that critics of the movement should recognise the fact that there was civil war in this country. The militant campaign had been characterised by no bloodshed, but rather by self-restraint never manifested by men in any of their con-

flicts. Speaking of the forcible feeding at Birmingham, Mrs. Pankhurst referred to Mr. Keir Hardie's questions in the House of Commons, and his name was greeted with cheers. "I am glad," said Mrs. Pankhurst, "that you applaud his name. Every man and woman not blinded by party politics honours the man who has had the courage to protest against this brutal outrage." In an article in the Manchester Guardian that morning, she added, it was admitted that militant methods had done good. Why, then, did not the Manchester Guardian do something to make these methods unnecessary? Let critics show how the Vote was to be won by any other means. Let Liberal men of Manchester make the fight a short one, and bring it to a conclusion without further suffering.

Short speeches were then made by the Hunger-strikers, and in the evening a meeting took place in the Concert Hall, while outdoor meetings were held at various parts of the Exhibition.

LORD PROVOST AT A HUNGER-STRIKERS' WELCOME.

The Lord Provost Urquhart presided at a public meeting in Dundee last week, when three Hunger-strikers—Miss Alice Paul, Miss Lucy Burns, and Miss Edith New—were presented with floral wreaths and the "Victoria Cross" of the W.S.P.U. The Lord Provost, in the course of his speech said the three ladies were wholly actuated by the purest and highest motives, but as a lawyer and a magistrate he ventured, even at the risk of giving offence and being considered a reactionary old fogey, to caution them as to law-breaking. Miss New, in a subsequent speech, asked the Lord Provost who was the worst sinner? Who had forced the women to violate police regulations? The Government and not the women were to be blamed.

Mrs. Drummond had a special message for Mr. Winston Churchill. "If Mr. Churchill does not give us a pledge," she said, "when he comes to Dundee, we will fill the streets with the citizens of Dundee and demand it." Mrs. Husband also made a short speech, and a vote of thanks to the Lord Provost for his kindness in presiding was unanimously passed.

MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence addressed two very sympathetic meetings last week at Redcar and Middlesbrough, and on the occasion of the opening of the new W.S.P.U. shop at 28, Berry Street, Liverpool, Miss A. Flatman in the chair, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence ridiculed the idea that militant methods had given a set-back to the movement. The W.S.P.U. subscription list alone showed the contrary; the week following the Bingley Hall meeting and the subsequent arrests £500 had been added to the £50,000 fund, and the following week the subscriptions amounted to over £600. She had come there with a definite message. Women were going to win the Vote. Those who, under great provocation, had thrown stones, had only been considered fit for four months' imprisonment with hard labour, and for torture by means of the stomach-pump. She appealed to Liverpool volunteers to join in the next deputation and to add another proof to that which the Birmingham women had shown the Government, namely, that methods of repression only roused the spirit of the women to greater determination.

WOMEN RE-SUMMONED AT LIVERPOOL.

Summonses have been served on four of the women recently imprisoned at Liverpool in connection with trifling damages to prison property. Those who have received the summonses are Miss Rona Robinson, Miss Florence Clarkson (two summonses), Miss Georgina Healis, and Miss Bertha Brewster. The summonses are returnable to-day (October 8) at Dale Street Police Court. It has been rumoured that Mrs. Leigh, who is at present in prison at Winson Green Gaol, Birmingham, would be required to journey to Liverpool to answer to a similar summons.

Mr. Keir Hardie's appeal to the Home Secretary on behalf of the forcibly fed Suffragettes was very injudiciously responded to by Mr. Masterman. Liberal M.P.'s, who think it a matter for laughter when they are told that women, worn and weak with hunger, are seized upon, held down by brute force, gagged, a tube inserted down their throats, and food poured or pumped into their stomachs, will not laugh presently in some of their constituencies!

—Weekly Times.

The militant movement, it is true, has made many captures outside the House. It has charged its supporters with the passion of a crusade. They are no longer men and women. They are a whirlwind.

—Daily News.

FIRST AUTUMN QUEEN'S HALL MEETING.

One's only regret at the "At Homes," as we still call the magnificent meetings held every week at the Queen's Hall, is that a row of front seats is not reserved for, and occupied by, the members of the Cabinet. At a time when the whole country is being won over to the cause of the brave women fighters ("Everywhere we have the working-men with us," said Mrs. Pankhurst, amid great applause), the men who govern the country remain blind to the signs around them, and a meeting such as that on Monday last, when after the summer interval, we had given them some salutary lessons in the invincible spirit, the unswerving loyalty, and the heart-warming generosity of the members of the W.S.P.U. Such a spirit, they must have recognised, could only lead to victory, and never to defeat.

This note of "onward" rang also through all the speeches. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence began by tracing the history of this movement for the freedom of woman's soul, and showed clearly how women had been driven to stronger measures by the Government.

It was the entire absence of fear in the women of the movement that made them so invincible. Mrs. Lawrence's reference to the prisoners in Birmingham evoked the greatest applause, particularly when she explained that, mingled with her intense sorrow for their sufferings, there was great reverence, pride, and joy in their courage and loyalty. All through the movement the leaders had known that one day it would come to a crisis, to a final conflict with the power of the authorities, and her message to the women present was, "Be of good courage; be not dismayed. All is well with our comrades; all is well with the movement. We are nearer than ever to victory."

The resolution protesting against the Government's assault was carried unanimously.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst made a most splendid fighting speech. Dealing first with the forcible feeding from its legal and medical aspects, she went on to treat of the attitude of the Press, holding up to scorn the statement in a Liberal paper—in reference to Mr. Asquith's meeting with Miss Kenney at Lympne Castle—that no man of fine feeling would ever lay his hands upon a woman. In view of what the Birmingham women had suffered, both before imprisonment and this last assault by the Government through their tools—the medical officers and wardresses—such statements were ridiculous. "Away with this sham talk about gentlemen!" said Miss Pankhurst, and she appealed to the political expediency, if not to the honour, of politicians to give the Vote to Women. The Union had been victorious all along, and they would be fools if they wavered in the fight which the action of the Government had compelled them to take.

Mrs. Pankhurst gave a solemn warning to Liberals that before they went to the country on the Budget they should give the Vote to Women, and thus prevent all the inconvenience and disgrace attached to their relations with the Suffrage movement. The responsibility rested entirely upon the Government.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's eloquent appeal for money from those who could not give service resulted in a total of over £150.

AT ST. JAMES'S HALL.

Presiding over a large and intensely enthusiastic audience, including a number of men, at St. James's Hall on Thursday evening, Miss Christabel Pankhurst drew forth storms of applause and hisses as she dealt alternately with the magnificent conduct of the women at Birmingham and the disgraceful conduct of the Home Secretary and the Prime Minister in instigating forcible feeding. There were cries of "Shame!" from all parts of the hall as Miss Pankhurst alluded to the levity of members of Parliament when the questions were asked with regard to the woman Suffragists in the House of Commons, and "Hear, hear" and "Bravo" sounded from the floor and balconies at the reading of a letter to the Manchester Guardian of that day from one who had gone through the torture of the "medical treatment" so lightly regarded by the Government. Miss Pankhurst closed an impressive address on a note of defiance to the Government—"Now we are on the warpath, and we do not care if the vote is given as a concession to methods of terrorism."

Miss Evelyn Sharp asked where was now the dignity of the House, so insisted upon by the Liberal Press when women sought to enter the sacred precincts? It was not pain that women resented but injustice and indignity, and it was a curious misuse of words that an injustice when it related to men was called an injustice, but when it related to women a grievance. Laughter rippled all over the hall as Miss Sharp quoted from William Penn's "Fruits of Solitude" criticisms of statesmen of his day who were evidently the counterparts of those with whom the militants have had to come into such close contact in recent years—"Some are so proud or testy, they won't hear what they should redress. . . . Others so weak that they sink or burst under the weight of their Office, though they can lightly run away with the Salary of it."

Mrs. Pankhurst, who was greeted by repeated cheers while the entire audience stood, in a most impressive speech declared that the women at Birmingham were prisoners of war. The women's war was as truly a civil war as that for American independence, or that between the northern and southern States, or that war in our own country during the time of Charles I. The Government entirely misunderstood women if they thought repressive measures would stop this agitation.

VOTES FOR WOMEN in its new form was evident everywhere, and excited the greatest possible interest. A total sum of £71 17s. 10d. was realised, either in promises or collection, Mr. Pethick Lawrence promising £5 for each of the nine women in Birmingham Gaol. Among questions was one relating to the reported resignation from the Union of Miss Wurrle, to which Miss Pankhurst gave the simple reply, "Miss Wurrle is acting as steward to-night."

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MISS BEAPRICE HARRADEN ON MILITANT ACTION.

Speaking at Manchester recently, Miss Beaprice Harraden, the well-known novelist, gave a most interesting account of her impressions of the militant movement.

"I have always been interested in the militant Suffragists from the beginning. They appealed, in the first instance, to my imagination; they did not always appeal to my brain.

"But as time went on I noticed that which I had judged to be a mistake on their part, an irretrievable mistake, invariably turned out to be a successful move, having quite unexpected and far-reaching consequences. So with Miss Dunlop's action in stamping the Bill of Rights Clause on the House.

"Well, Miss Dunlop first of all presented the knowledge of it to the members of Parliament, and, as she was arrested incidentally, to the police. It travelled to the lawyers, and through the lawyers it penetrated to the magistrates. So that at Bow Street Police Court, for the first time in the history of the agitation, the case of the militant Suffragist was stripped of its police-court disguise and found clothed in its true political garment.

"A grave constitutional issue was declared to be raised, and, as you know, the point is now under consideration in a higher court. Miss Dunlop's action, therefore, was, in reality, a splendid bit of astute diplomacy as well as a feat of daring and defiance.

"In a few years' time history will only tell us, and those who come after us, that a body of brave and self-sacrificing women, bent on obtaining the political emancipation of their sex, shirked nothing, feared nothing, and fought on in the face of every tradition, every hindrance, every scorn, every injustice, until they gained their citizenship, and, with their citizenship, the power of insisting on equal rights of men and women on the common battlefield of life. This, I feel sure, will be the verdict of history."

ARRESTS FOR CHALKING.

The authorities are evidently now endeavouring to put every obstacle in the way of the Suffragist campaign. Hitherto pavement chalkers have been unmolested in their harmless and useful work, but on Monday last Miss Catherine Margesson and Miss Elise Evans were arrested in the Strand for causing an obstruction. According to the police evidence the defendants were engaged in chalking upon the pavement announcements of a Suffragist meeting, and a crowd of about one hundred people collected.

Mr. Curtis Bennett said he should deal with the defendants in the same way as he would with anybody else charged with a similar offence. They would each be fined 20s., with the alternative of seven days' imprisonment (second division). The fines were paid by friends.

While politicians are talking the hollow party cant about the tyranny of the State under a future Socialist régime, writes a correspondent this morning on the feeding by force of Suffragettes, here under our nose is the State practising, in the most abandoned and inhuman fashion, an oligarchic oppression of the most revolting kind.

—Hall Daily Mail.

THE CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY

London.—Mrs. Flora Drummond, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.
West of England.—Miss Annie Kenney, 37, Queen's Road (opposite Art Gallery), Clifton, Bristol.

Some strikingly new developments are taking place throughout the country, and from one to two of the reports this week we gather fresh ideas which may be of use to other workers.

London and Home Counties.

Now that the great Albert Hall meeting is over London workers are making preparation for the demonstration at the Alexandra Palace on Wednesday, November 3, at 8 p.m.

Another W.S.P.U. shop is being added to those already in working order, and preparations are being made for vigorous combined propaganda work in the extensive Parliamentary division of Harrow (including Hendon).

West of England.

The next great event in the Bristol calendar is the great Colston Hall meeting on Wednesday, November 24, when Miss Christabel Pankhurst will speak.

Every Monday, Bristol, Victoria Rooms, at 3.30; every Tuesday, Exeter, Barnfield Hall, at 8.30; every Wednesday, Cardiff, Park Hall, at 2.30; every Thursday, Newport, Lecture Hall, Central Hall, at 3.30; every Saturday, Bath, Assembly Rooms, commencing October 23, 3 p.m.

In addition, a campaign is being opened in Dorsetshire, and Miss Margaret Hewitt is going to Weymouth; her official address will be reported next week on October 27, at 3.30, the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield will take the chair at a large meeting in Weymouth, and the speakers will be Miss Annie Kenney and Miss G. Brackenbury.

Lancashire and North Wales.

Work in Manchester and district during the week led up to the highly successful demonstration at the White City on Saturday, October 2, as reported elsewhere (p. 27).

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quence of the abominable treatment of our prisoners in Winslow Green Gaol, but also in consequence of the fact that Mr. Shaw's play, "Press Cuttings," was produced for the first time in the provinces at the Gaiety Theatre last week.

The Friday evening At Homes in the Onward Buildings, Deansgate, are now in full swing, and six ladies have guaranteed the expense of the hall on Wednesdays.

With the new issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN, Nottingham, Mondays, at 7.30 p.m., and at Derby, in the Market Place, on Wednesdays, at 7.30 p.m.

Yorkshire.

Great impetus to the work in North Yorkshire has been given at the meetings addressed by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence in Redcar and Middlesbrough. Brief reports will be found on p. 27.

Newcastle.

All energies here are being concentrated on preparations for Miss Pankhurst's meeting and Miss Edith New's welcome after her hunger strike to-day (Friday) and the protest meeting to-morrow (Saturday), which will be held simultaneously with Mr. Lloyd George's Budget meeting.

Glasgow and West of Scotland.

The first meeting ever held by the W.S.P.U. in Greenock took place on Monday evening. Much interest was manifested, and long before the advertised time of commencement the large Town Hall was crammed, numbers of people being unable to obtain admission.

Midlands.

Every night during the week a meeting has been held in the Bull Ring, Birmingham, and women have driven to Winslow Green gaol followed by speeches and bugle, not three but a hundred cheers have been given for the prisoners.

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"VOTES FOR WOMEN." Extending the Sale.

VOTES FOR WOMEN in its new form has been received everywhere with great enthusiasm. In its business-like, up-to-date newspaper shape, it is to be seen at Suffrage meetings, on omnibuses and trams, in railway trains, and indeed, wherever the newspaper reading public is to be found.

Special efforts are being made, especially in London, for increasing the sales, and in order to do this permanent pitches are taken in central points in the West End.

Another correspondent writes:—"Will you please accept my hearty congratulations on the appearance of the current issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN. I trust your hopes as to its increased circulation and usefulness may be more than fulfilled."

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this again has been greeted with interest and sympathy wherever it has gone. Starting at 11 o'clock in the morning from Clements Inn, the cart visits the pitches with fresh supplies of the paper.

As will be seen from a letter from Miss Barbara Ayrton which we publish in another column, workers are needed to help in this special effort.

Among many interesting letters received during the week is one which says:—"I am doing all I can for VOTES FOR WOMEN. I find I can sell fifty in one or two streets here in two afternoons, and am asking for helpers."

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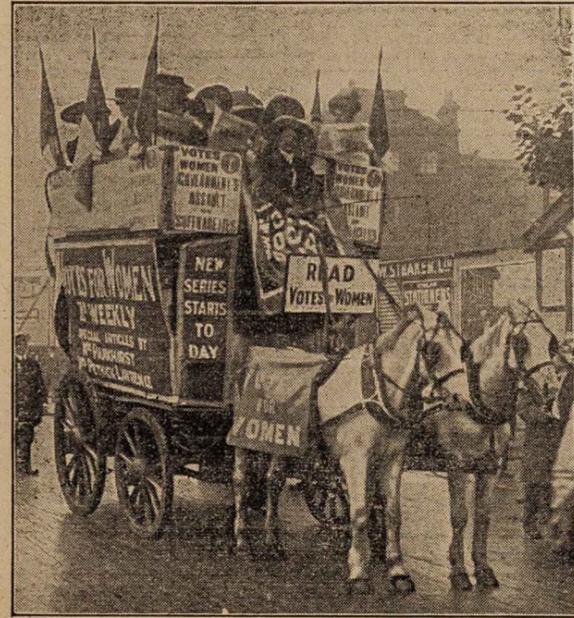
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PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Table with columns for Date, Location, and Name. Lists various events and speakers across different cities like Birmingham, London, Manchester, etc.

IMPORTANT FUTURE EVENTS.

Table with columns for Date, Location, and Name. Lists future events and speakers.



The "Votes for Women" Bus. [By the courtesy of Half Tones.]

Advertisement for Brinsmead Pianos, featuring the text 'TONE TOUCH DURABILITY' and 'BRINSMEAD PIANOS'. Includes a small illustration of a piano.

SECESSIONS OF LIBERAL WOMEN.

A significant feature of recent developments which Liberals would be wise to note in time is the number of secessions from the party of prominent Liberals. During the past week Mrs. Catherine C. Osler (President, Women's Auxiliary), Miss Gertrude E. Southall (Hon. Sec., Women's Auxiliary), Mrs. Alice Yoxall (Treasurer, Women's Auxiliary), and Mrs. Edith S. Reid (Chairman, Edgbaston Association) have resigned official connection with the Birmingham Liberal Association, in view of a possible General Election. They explain their action in a letter to the President, Mr. Brampton, in the course of which they say:— "Acknowledging, as we do, a primary allegiance to the cause of women's enfranchisement as a claim superior to that of party, we have long felt our divided duty to be a burden difficult to bear. As true Liberals we have hoped against hope that our claim to representation would be heard by the party with and for which we have loyally worked most of our lives; but continued disappointment has forced us to the resolve that we can take no further part in actively working for those who deny women the rights of citizenship."

LADY BLAKE RESIGNS.

Much regret has been caused among Berwick women Liberals by the resignation of the president of their Association, Lady Blake. As a member of the Women's Social and Political Union, Lady Blake, whose husband, Sir Francis Blake, is president of the Berwick Division Liberal Association, feels that, in accordance with the political neutrality enforced by the Union, she can no longer continue her connection with women Liberals.

Mrs. Branch, a prominent member of the Northampton Women's Liberal Association, has also resigned, on account of the attitude of the Liberal Government towards Women's Suffrage and as a protest against the "incredible manner" in which the House received the answers to Mr. Keir Hardie's questions.

LETTERS TO "THE TIMES."

Following on his leader denying the discontent among women, the Times has published many letters from which we extract the following:— "Sir,—Women whose names are known and honoured over the whole world far better known, far more honoured than those of the Prime Minister and the Home Secretary—can well afford to smile at your description of them as 'rather notorious'; but we other women who owe them a debt of gratitude that can never be repaid, remember a certain Man who was also 'depressed and rejected,' who was also imprisoned and insulted, and who was finally tortured and done to death.

"You say, 'There is no passionate discontent among women.' Surely, Sir, if you believe what you say, you must be both blind and deaf. The women who are now being tortured in prison, to the everlasting shame of a Liberal Government; the other women who have starved themselves rather than submit to be treated as criminals for a political offence; the hundreds of women who have suffered imprisonment all rise up in evidence against you. So passionate is the discontent, so widespread the determination to achieve political freedom, that not even the collusive silence of the Press can hide the force of the struggle. Hundreds of thousands of dumb, brooding women are behind the brave few, and every day more and more of these burst the bonds of their dumbness and join the ranks of the fighters.

"The public knows that this is a fight to a finish, and few people now remain indifferent spectators. The Suffragettes have quickened the sense of justice and revived the desire for fair play in the nation, and they have given hope to large masses of crushed and dispirited women. We all know that in liberty-loving England there can be but one end to such a fight as this. The public knows it, the Government knows it; yes, and even the Times knows it. May that end be not too long delayed, for the sake of the whole nation!"

"HERTHA AYTON."

"Sir,—Your statement that there is no passionate discontent amongst women has drawn forth many protests, most of them so far content that, in themselves, they possess the passionate note. "May I, none the less, be permitted a purely practical one, and ask you, or any other logical person, how, given the irrefragable premises, you can avoid the inevitable conclusion that there must be that keen sense of injustice which, at any rate, engenders passionate discontent?"

"For the last thirty years I have been pointing out these premises in warning to every man I meet. I recapitulate them now as briefly as I can to the public. Perhaps some faint consideration of them may help men at large to seriously consider a very serious question.

"A preponderance of women. That and our social system combined bringing a consequent shortage of motherhood.

"An equal education (wherefore God knows,

seeing that subsequent life is to be so unequal) in our schools for boys and girls up to the age of sixteen. "An almost incredibly unfavourable condition of the female labour market amongst the working classes.

"An absolute lack of any real employment for unmarried middle-class women.

"These are the factors in woman's life today. Are they conducive to peace? "I fear not. I fear that if something be not done, and that speedily, the world will find itself involved in a war in which women must prevail, since they possess the fulcrum of the future.

"FLORA ANNIE STEEL."

Lady Betty Balfour writes in the course of a letter to the Times:—

"I, too, have watched the history of the suffrage campaign of the last three years with growing dismay and disgust. Disgust that was admitted by the leaders of both political parties to be so strong, supported by such weight of argument, authority, and public opinion should be so insultingly ignored and despised by the Government of the day. Dismiss that the force of a noble enthusiasm should be goaded into anger, bitterness, and revulsion by a treatment devoid of courtesy or justice. There can be no manner of doubt that by the rough handlings they have received at public meetings, by their imprisonments as common criminals, by their self-inflicted torture of starvation, and their endurance of the horrible remedy of enforced feeding, the perpetrators of these lawless deeds have incurred incomparably more suffering than they have inflicted. They have, it must be admitted, done two things for the cause. They have proved beyond doubt their own passionate earnestness and that no coercion or repression can now check the movement, and they have also forced Ministers and Parliamentarians to think of it seriously too.

"BETTY BALFOUR."

The Artists Suffrage League is offering a £2 prize for a design for a picture postcard suitable for furthering the cause of woman suffrage. The design should be drawn in black and white; size about 10 by 7. The League reserves the right to purchase any design not receiving the prize for 10s., the prize design to become the property of the League. Designs should be sent in by the end of October to the Secretary, Britanny Studio, 259, King's Road, Chelsea.

MISS PANKHURST AND THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN."

The Social and Political Union has done its work—a work that will live. It has put heart and life into the Suffrage movement as nothing else has ever done, and has given to women a new confidence in themselves. It is none the less a fact that the same forces which quickened a great movement into life are now leading it towards destruction, and if it is to be saved it must be by the hands of others.

"BETTY BALFOUR."

Miss Pankhurst, writing to the Manchester Guardian on October 2, points out that the Government opposition to Women's Suffrage rests purely and solely on brute force. But for the employment of such force the Government would long ago have had to yield to the importunity of the members of the Women's Social and Political Union. "The physical force which they are employing is vastly greater than any used by us. Moreover, there is no justification whatever for the employment of forcible measures by the Government against women seeking their rights under the British Constitution. For those, however, who are in political submission to their oppressors by forcible means is a very different matter, and such action on the part of the oppressed has always been approved by the generations which come after them."

In a leader in the same issue the Manchester Guardian says:— The Women's Social and Political Union has played so great a part in the Suffrage movement of the last three years—its, indeed, by many persons, and even some fairly well-formed persons, supposed to direct the movement as a whole—and it is itself directed by so very small a number of persons that the views and principles of action of this small directing body cannot but be important. Directly the plea put forward by Miss Pankhurst for her agitation (with whose object we and perhaps most other people sympathise) would hold good, if at all for any similar agitation whose adherents believed it to be just. Thus it is only necessary for a few people—for it is not a question of numbers—to believe that they have a just cause in order that they may also feel themselves justified in endeavouring to compel the Government of the country, and presumably everybody else in the country, as represented by the Government, to accept and act on their view, and in resorting to acts of violence in case their demands are not at once conceded. The case surely needs only to be stated in order that its naked absurdity may appear, and not only its absurdity in principle, but its folly in practice. For, of course, society and Government must defend themselves, on pain of being reduced to impotence, against any such agitation which it will not have in a modern State overwhelming force at their command. That is why we have said, and why we must say again, that the appeal to force made with such tragic simplicity by the body which Miss Pankhurst represents and largely directs is doomed to failure. The further the policy is pressed the more vehement is the opposition which it will rouse, till, if all Suffragettes were her followers, the whole movement would be in danger of being swept away. Happily the vast majority are of a different temper and are acting on wholly different lines, and it is on this fact that hope for the future of the movement must rest.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

WHAT IS LIBERALISM?

This is a somewhat difficult question to answer. We all know what Liberalism used to be. What it is to-day no man knows. Twenty, or even ten years ago any Liberal who was told that his party would subject women to brutal treatment in prison simply because they demand what they have a right to have, that is, a vote, would have been highly indignant. To-day this is actually being done, and so far as we are aware only a mere handful of Liberals actively resent this scandalous outrage. We cannot help thinking and hoping that many other Liberals are profoundly dissatisfied with the position, even if they do not possess sufficient courage to say so. It is certain that no Liberal Government would ever treat men in the way that women are now being treated. No Liberal Government dare do such a thing, because the storm of indignation that would be aroused would be too strong. And the fact that women are brutally treated for pressing a political demand is a conclusive proof that the right to vote is necessary for women, because without it they can get no adequate protection. . . . If a Conservative Government had sent educated women to prison and treated them to stomach pumps there would have been howls of rage from Liberal platforms from one end of the country to the other. —Nottingham Guardian.

ARTISTS' SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

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THE DRUM & FIFE BAND.

The W.S.P.U. drum and fife band will leave Charing Cross at 5 o'clock to-morrow (Saturday) for Blackheath. At Blackheath Station they will be met by the Lewisham W.S.P.U. members with a banner to advertise the meeting in the Concert Hall, Blackheath, on October 13, at which Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak. The band will march through Lee to Lewisham, thence to New Cross, where they will take the train back to Charing Cross.

LOCAL NOTES.

BRIGHTON W.S.P.U.—At the members' meeting on Friday it was decided to send letters of thanks to Mr. Keir Hardie and Mr. P. Snowden for their efforts on behalf of the brave women in Birmingham prison. Special drawing-room meetings will be held on Friday, October 8, at 7.30 p.m. (speaker, Mrs. Knight). Members are requested to attend and help distributing handbills and selling our paper. A special appeal is made to members and friends to meet the Drum and Fife Band at Blackheath Station at 8.30 p.m. on Saturday, October 9, as many helpers are wanted to distribute handbills along the route. Mrs. Bonville (22, Mount Pleasant) will be pleased to have more names sent in of ladies and gentlemen willing to act as stewards at the Blackheath Concert Hall on October 13. Our principal speaker on Blackheath next Sunday at 3 p.m. will be Dr. Bather. Our Hon. Treasurer, Miss Billingshurst, 7, Oakcroft Road, appeals for more help towards rental of our shop—Mrs. J. A. BOUVIER.

MARLBOROUGH W.S.P.U.—Our Regent's Park meetings are discontinued for the present. We held our usual Friday meeting at Nutport Place, Edgware Road, addressed by Mrs. Cullen, Miss Watson, and Miss Auerbach, and another meeting at Bolsover Street on Saturday night, when the speakers were Miss L. Blundell and Miss Ekroyd. At both meetings there was a brisk sale of our paper. The speaker's class recommenced Friday, 19th, at 8.15 p.m., 147, Harley Street.—LILY NORTON.

PUTNEY AND FULHAM W.S.P.U.—Four open-air meetings have been held this week, two in Putney and two in Fulham, the speakers being Mrs. Mansell, Mrs. Tamer, Mrs. Penn-Gaskell, and Miss Ekroyd. Mrs. Penn-Gaskell spoke in Fulham the day after Mr. Masterman's meeting at the town hall. Our stock of papers was sold out, and at the close three hearty cheers were given for the prisoners at Birmingham. Meetings will be held on Saturday, October 9, in Putney at 7.30 p.m.; on Sunday, October 10, in Putney Heath at 3.30 p.m.; when Miss Ogden will speak; and on Monday, October 11, at Waltham Green, with Mrs. Tanner as speaker. An "At Home" will be held at the office, 5, High Street, Putney, on Friday, October 15, at 7.30 p.m. Will friends who are able to attend please write to the above address? Miss P. Ayrton and Miss K. Jarvis will speak. Contributions for the Jubilee Sale should be sent care of Miss Outten, Kiveton Park, Edgware Road, Fulham.—H. ROBERTS, L. CURTIS, Hon. Secs.

RICHMOND AND KEW W.S.P.U.—At the meeting last Saturday morning, October 2, in Heron Court, Mrs. Norton was our speaker, and Miss Williams took the chair. A good collection was taken before the close of the meeting. Miss Jacobs was the speaker at New Bridge Approach on Sunday on Saturday, and goods must be priced. All articles should be sent to me at 7, Wrentham Avenue, Willesden. I shall be at the shop every Friday morning to see workers.—LOUIS M. EATON.

LEWISHAM W.S.P.U.—Meetings were held on Friday, October 1, in the Lewisham Market Place (speaker, Miss N. U. Smith); and on Blackheath on Sunday, October 3 (speaker, Miss Cooke), Mrs. McKenna in the chair. On Friday, October 1, a

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