

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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THE CHAMPION BUBBLE BLOWER



[With apologies to the Proprietors of Pears' Soap.]

Land reformers are expressing doubts as to the value of Mr. Lloyd George's land campaign. Women Suffragists have long ceased to have any doubts as to the value of Mr. Lloyd George's Suffrage promises.

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DEDICATION

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

THE OUTLOOK

As this paper is likely to fall into the hands of an exceptionally large number of new readers, we have decided to restate in brief outline the elementary facts concerning the votes for women movement in this country.

The State of the Law at Present

Under the existing law no woman is entitled to the Parliamentary vote. A decision has been given in the Law Courts (Chorlton v. Lings, in 1868) to the

effect that the word "man" used in the Franchise Laws shall mean "male person" only, and shall not include women, though the same word "man" is used in many other statutes to include both men and women. In accordance with this decision electors are confined to those male persons who are either householders, other occupiers, owners, lodgers, or university graduates. There are in all about eight million electors, of whom the great majority qualify as householders.

How Women Want It Altered

The reform which women want to see accomplished is the reversal of this legal decision. They desire to have an Act of Parliament carried to remove the sex barrier which excludes them from the franchise. The effect of this new law will be to give the vote at once to women who fulfil the qualifications of house-

holders, other occupiers, owners, lodgers, or university graduates. These women number altogether a little more than one million, so that after the Act has been passed the great bulk of the electorate will still be male.

Why Women Ought to Have the Vote

Originally the claim of women for the franchise was made solely on the broad ground of human justice. Women as an intelligent, responsible half of the human race ought no more to be excluded, it was urged, from the full exercise of citizen rights on account of their sex than ought any other section of it to be excluded on account of some equally irrelevant considerations. This appeal to first principles had, at the time it was put forward, and still has, much weight; but nowadays in this country political decisions are apt to be based more upon practical utility than upon abstract right, and the questions which the modern woman suffragist has to answer are principally two. Firstly, will women's enfranchisement benefit women? Secondly, will it benefit the country? To both these questions we are prepared to give an emphatic affirmative.

Women's Enfranchisement will Benefit Women

To understand how women will benefit through winning the franchise it is necessary to appreciate that the vote is not merely a means of getting Mr. Smith elected instead of Mr. Jones; it is a means of making both Mr. Smith and Mr. Jones anxious (and what is

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still more important, making the party leaders of Mr. Smith and Mr. Jones anxious) to rectify the inequalities of the present law as they affect women. Here are a few of those inequalities:—

The bar, the higher grades in the civil service, and many other of the better-paid occupations, are closed to women. The State pays women in its employ less than it pays men for identical work. Contractors to the Government are able to sweat their women employees while compelled to pay a fair wage to their men.

Mothers are not reckoned as parents of their own children so long as the fathers are alive. (This, though startling, is literally true.) So long as women remain voteless not only do these and many other serious grievances remain unaltered, but in addition new laws pressing heavily upon women are being passed, such, for instance, as the Insurance Act, the unfairness of which both suffragists and anti-suffragists called attention to in vain.

Women's Enfranchisement will Benefit the Country

The country will benefit through the enfranchisement of women because they care more deeply than men for all those questions which touch most closely upon human life. Housing reform, the protection of child life, the prevention of food adulteration, and many kindred matters are not likely to receive adequate attention in Parliament until they are pressed upon the attention of politicians by the driving power of the votes of women. In making this assertion we are entitled to point to the examples of New Zealand, Australia, and the equal-suffrage States of America where effective legislation along these lines has been carried by the impetus given to it by women since they have been enfranchised.

It is Demanded by Women

It is sometimes put forward as a reason for withholding the vote from women that there is no evidence that a majority of them desire enfranchisement. When, however, this statement is critically examined it is found that though there is no direct means by which the majority of women can express their views upon this question, every indirect means that is available has been adopted to prove that women desire the vote. Processions and demonstrations, larger in size than those in favour of any other reforms, have been held; and practically every society representing women, including the doctors, nurses, teachers, headmistresses, university graduates, women co-operators, and, recently, the great National Union of Women Workers have passed suffrage resolutions by overwhelming majorities, while not a single society of women have passed a resolution against it.

The Demand is Supported by Men

Again, it is sometimes said that the men of the country are opposed to votes for women. This is directly contrary to the evidence. Nearly all the principal local councils of the country (elected mainly by men) have gone so far as to petition Parliament to pass a woman suffrage measure. Not a single one has presented a petition against it. Nearly two-thirds of the present House of Commons were elected after publicly proclaiming their support of votes for women, while of the remainder only a very few thought it expedient to proclaim publicly their hostility. The Trade Union Congress, the Labour Party, and recently the Miners' Federation have made definite and strong pronouncements in support of women's enfranchisement. These facts are a clear indication of the attitude of the men of the country.

What the Government Has Done

We have not space to give at length the recent political history of this question or to tell the whole story of the way in which the present Government has handled the situation. It is sufficient to say that from the first the Government has refused to put into practice what are essentially Liberal principles, that it has made promises which it has not kept, and that in place of these broken promises it has provided wholly worthless substitutes. By these means it has driven a section of the suffrage movement to such a state of exasperation that some of the most naturally law-abiding members of the community have turned to revolutionary courses.

Methods of Coercion

Instead of recognising that this terrible state of affairs is due to its own fundamental refusal of justice, the Government has attempted to meet the situation solely by coercion, including forcible feeding in prison and the application of the Cat and Mouse Act. When this Act was passed last May we not only offered it the most vigorous resistance on account of its brutality, but predicted that it would certainly fail in its avowed object of compelling prisoners to serve out their sentences. We have now what is practically an admission by Mr. McKenna

that we were correct. In a statement issued to the Press last Thursday, he announced that he intended to revert to the practice of forcible feeding in the case of two at least of the suffrage prisoners. This he would not have done if the Cat and Mouse Act had succeeded.

Facts About Forcible Feeding

As we regard it of the utmost importance that our readers should make themselves acquainted with the true facts as to forcible feeding, we have devoted a page of this issue (page 34) to the history of this treatment and to medical views with regard to it. We have also obtained from a large number of eminent men and women expressions of opinion based on a careful study of these facts. Our own views form the subject of our leading article this week. We need only add here that whatever be the difficulty in which the suffrage prisoners have placed the Government by their behaviour in prison, it is unthinkable that in a Christian civilised country such a practice as forcible feeding should be resorted to.

Arrest of Miss Sylvia Pankhurst

We desire also to express our indignation at the continued procedure against Miss Sylvia Pankhurst under the Cat and Mouse Act, and at the peculiarly barbarous methods of the police in arresting her. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst is not a convicted prisoner, but was sent to prison last July in default of giving sureties to keep the peace, precisely in the same way as Mr. Geo. Lansbury in London, and Mr. James Conolly in Dublin. After adopting the hunger strike and being reduced to death's door, Mr. Conolly was very properly set at liberty. Mr. Lansbury, though released under the Cat and Mouse Act, has not been re-arrested. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, on the other hand, was twice re-arrested last August, and has now been re-arrested for the third time, the authorities not being required to submit any proof of a breach of the peace. This arbitrary action constitutes in itself a grave scandal.

A Way They Have in Russia

But the scandal is increased by the gross conduct of the police who entered a meeting where she was speaking, and, drawing their batons, charged the platform in order to effect her arrest. The natural indignation aroused by these proceedings led to a prolonged struggle, in the course of which several people were severely injured and much property was destroyed. Meanwhile Miss Pankhurst succeeded in making good her escape, only to be arrested the following evening outside another meeting at which she had promised to speak. Leaving out of account the legal aspect which we understand Mr. Lansbury intends to take up, there can be no question that the action of the police in entering a hall engaged by private persons was grossly improper and highly provocative; up till the advent of the present Liberal Government we had supposed these police methods were confined to the autocracy of Russia.

The National Union of Women Workers

We are glad to see that Mrs. Humphry Ward has failed to induce the National Union of Women Workers to go back on their definite pronouncement in favour of woman suffrage. This is the more significant because this Union is by no means an extreme or advanced body. The fact is that a policy of opposition or even of neutrality to woman suffrage is incompatible with the common dignity of women, and bodies of women all over the world are rapidly realising that it is so. Perhaps even Mrs. Humphry Ward will discover it before long!

Items of Interest

Sir Henry Wood announces that in the forthcoming season of Symphony Concerts at the Queen's Hall his orchestra will, for the first time, include six women instrumentalists. This is an important innovation, which our readers will welcome with special pleasure in view of the fact that the women are to receive the same salary as the men.

The decision of the Miners' Federation to press forward a woman suffrage measure and to oppose all franchise bills unless women are included, is particularly interesting, in view of the attempt made at the Labour Conference in January to represent the miners as hostile to the women's cause. Unfortunately the Labour Party in Parliament do not act up to the resolutions passed by the rank and file outside.

The Scottish Liberal Association at its autumn meeting carried last Saturday by an overwhelming majority a resolution calling upon the Government to enfranchise women at the earliest opportunity.

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FORCIBLE FEEDING CONDEMNED

Strong Pronouncement by the Bishop of Lincoln

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN

I regard the plan of "forcible feeding" as both futile and cruel. I presided over a great meeting in Kingsway Hall on March 13 last to protest against it, and we thought it was at an end for ever. The only remedy for the present disorder is to grant to women what is justly due to them, and give them their share in the political life of the nation.

Edward: Lincoln.

MR. ISRAEL ZANGWILL

I recognise that the Suffragettes have put the Government in a very difficult dilemma, but to escape from it either by forcible feeding or the Cat and Mouse Act is simply not open to any civilised Government. Evil communications corrupt good manners, and, Sir Edward Grey having degraded Britain by the entente with Russia, Mr. McKenna not unnaturally imitates Russian barbarism. The Government has only two alternatives: to let the Suffragette hunger-strikers go free, or to have the courage of its magistrates' convictions and let them die. There is no half-and-half course possible to a Liberal Government in the twentieth century. I disapprove of arson, but the flame in the breasts of the women themselves is all that saves me from despairing of England.

Israel Zangwill.

MR. LAURENCE HOUSMAN

If the Government had set itself to breed hatred of government in the hearts of all lovers of freedom, it could not have chosen a better way than the course which it is now following. Driven on by its own bad past, desperate to save a face already lost, intent upon repression instead of remedy, it has tried coercion first in one form, then in another. It invoked the "Cat and Mouse Act" to cover the failure of forcible feeding, it invokes forcible feeding to cover the failure of the "Cat and Mouse Act," and by doubling the wrong seeks to make manifest a right. But that which it most effectively doubles is the rebel spirit, and the right which it makes manifest is the right of the unrepresented to rebel. Mr. Churchill's recent declaration of the true Liberal principle for the quelling of unrest and disorder is the most effective and unanswerable condemnation of the Government attitude toward militancy that I have yet seen. "I do not agree," he says, "with those who say that we cannot parley with the men who threaten violence and illegality. Liberalism is successful because it does not treat the symptom, but always seeks the cause. When the cause is abated the violence and other ugly symptoms disappear. Liberalism has been successful because in all its quarrels it tries patiently to understand and make allowances for the sincere point of view on the other side."

This, as regards the suffrage agitation, is precisely what the Liberal Government has not done—has, on the contrary, strenuously avoided doing. Thus, out of its own mouth—or one of the biggest of its own mouths—it stands condemned.

Laurence Housman.

MRS. GEORGE LANSBURY

It is with feelings of horror and disgust that I write to protest against the return of forcible feeding. It is quite time something was done to prevent such a terrible and brutal state of things. I don't wonder at the women taking the law into their own hands when the men who are in power prove themselves such cowards and traitors. The action of the Government in once more resorting to the infamous practice of forcible feeding is a disgrace to the country, especially as they have only found the courage to do so behind the back of the House of Commons.

There can be no doubt that when the true magnitude of the offence against civilisation is fully realised, there will be such a revulsion of feeling against the present Government, that we shall not have to wait for the reassembling of Parliament to see these women torturers driven from the offices which they have disgraced in every possible manner. In any case we have only to continue the fight and use every means in our power to convince each Government as it arises that there will be no peace for them until every adult woman and man is placed

upon an equal footing, with equal opportunities to live and labour.

The way has been long, but the sun is rising in the heavens, and in our own time we know that the clouds of persecution, tyranny, and oppression will be scattered, and that motherhood, brotherhood, and love, will come into their own.

E. J. Lansbury.

MR. H. D. HARBEN

The return to forcible feeding is significant (1) as an admission that the Cat and Mouse Bill has broken down, as everybody outside Parliament knew it would; and (2) as illustrating afresh the slippery methods of the Home Secretary, who secured an easy passage for the Cat and Mouse Bill by pretending that it was an alternative to forcible feeding, whereas he was really seeking powers to repeat the process on the same prisoner at intervals during the rest of her life.

These additional powers will not, of course, have the effect desired by their promoters. But one serious result they are bound to have; and that is, considerably to undermine the moral sanction of the Law. We look to the Law to protect us and ours. If it merely failed to do this we should feel justified in protecting ourselves. But when the Law itself turns aggressor, and brutally assaults the bodies of our women, ruining their health and shortening lives, no one can be surprised if we regard it as a sacred duty to resist that Law. We have appealed to the humanity and better feeling of our Government in vain. We must now take other steps to put a stop to these barbarities. There is no time to waste. At this moment women are being tortured for their faith.

Henry D. Harben.

MR. L. A. ATHERLEY JONES, M.P.

The question of forcible feeding is one of great perplexity. It must be conceded that if a criminal of the ordinary type, by self-deprivation of food, seriously endangers his life, the public authority would not be justified in suffering him to go at large. The only alternative to this is what is termed the "Cat and Mouse" process. It is difficult to decide which is the more oppressive and repulsive course.

These observations are of general application. As regards Suffrage prisoners, I am disposed to think neither form of treatment is reasonable or just. Violence

of the law must necessarily involve punishment of the detected culprit, and motive and object must regulate punishment. The authorities have made a bad bundle of the whole business. They at the commencement treated for venial offences the offenders with unnecessary harshness and even cruelty, and this treatment has been the provoking cause of all the subsequent deplorable events.

Moreover, I think the punishment of some of the offenders has been tainted with vindictiveness, and there is no natural ground for prolonging punishment which in its early stages caused acute suffering, and thereby amply satisfied the ends of justice.

L. A. Atherley Jones.

MR. JOHN SCURR

I can hardly trust my pen to give expression to my feelings concerning the latest action of the Government. The revival of forcible feeding in the case of Mary Richardson, taken in conjunction with the Holloway doctor's statement of August last, points to the fact that a deliberate attempt is being made to drive this brave, unflinching spirit insane. Such action has gone beyond contempt. It is not the stupid work of a demented man, as up to now I had considered most of McKenna's actions. It is an attempt at deliberate torture and murder disguised under legal forms. I trust that every decent man and woman in the community will fight—and fight now—not only to have all this villainous administration and legislation abandoned, but also to have the Home Secretary removed from office as a public danger.

Every pain endured by Miss Richardson, every injury inflicted upon her; and upon each and every one of the suffrage prisoners is a personal injury to every one of us, and should be resented as such. We should be unworthy of walking abroad in the light of God's sunshine if we are not up and doing at once. The time for talking is over; it is the time for action.

John Scurr.

MISS BEATRICE HARRADEN

Miss Beatrice Harraden, who, we regret to say, is unable, through ill-health, to write a statement of her views on the revival of forcible feeding, has sent us a message in which she emphasises how strongly she feels as to the iniquity of this latest move on the part of the Home Office, and says that she would have done anything in her power to help in the matter had she been well enough.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Colours: Purple, White, and Red. Motto: "Come on! Hold on! Fight on!"

The VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship is an association of suffragists of all parties. Its centre is not a group of persons, but a Paper which is entirely independent of all the suffrage societies, yet closely in touch with every side of the suffrage movement, a Paper that represents the movement as a whole, and appeals to the whole public, calling upon men and women of every class, of every religious faith, and of every political creed to rally to the great cause of human liberty which is now embodied in the claims of women to enfranchisement.

"Votes for Women" a Corporate Enterprise

VOTES FOR WOMEN is a corporate enterprise. The editors devote their time and services to the paper without remuneration, the literary contributors give their articles as the offering of their goodwill to the movement, and the readers, especially the Fellows, undertake by various methods specified in the membership to increase by every means in their power the circulation, the influence, and the financial strength of the paper, which is gaining recognition in English-speaking countries all over the world as the mouthpiece of the universal yet many-sided woman's movement.

To All Men and All Women

All men and women who believe in human equality and see in the inclusion of both halves of the great human family within the pale of citizenship a new hope and promise of better national life, are invited to write to the hon. sec., Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., for a membership card, and if they find themselves in sympathy and agreement they are asked to become Fellows and enter into the partnership of a common purpose and a common endeavour.

A Conference of Fellows

On Tuesday, October 28, a Conference of Fellows will be held in the Doré Galleries, New Bond Street, at 8 o'clock. The business of this conference will be to discuss new ideas and new schemes of work with a view to developing them in practice during the coming winter months. It will be strictly a workers' or would-be workers' meeting. Short

speeches, practical and to the point, will be invited, and the conference will be glad to hear and to discuss any suggestion or project offered by any Fellow by which voluntary effort can be organised and developed to secure the four following results.

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- 3. Increased Influence.
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The advertisement manager, Miss Flatman, the paper selling (London) organiser, Miss Boutling, and other members of the staff will be present, and will be delighted to have this opportunity of coming into touch with the Fellows. The Chair will be taken by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence at 8 o'clock. Will all Fellows consider themselves included in this general invitation which is warmly extended to every member of the Fellowship in London on Tuesday, October 28.

One Word More

Will every Fellow write to the Hon. Secretary, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C. for more membership cards, and make it a definite and regular practice to enrol new Fellows every week. There is work for thousands in the Fellowship—work that badly needs to be done. The suffrage field is very white unto harvest, but still the labourers are all too few. They can be pressed into the service if individuals will put their power of personal influence into use.

PAPER-SELLING REPORT

Sir Almoth Wright's book much increased our circulation last week! People flocked to our sellers to buy Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's reply. Now that even more interest than before has been aroused, we shall hope that Fellows who have not sold will come forward and show in this effective way that our opponents have no case, and that we are prepared to accept any challenge.

A new pitch has been started with success; but we are never satisfied! Please come to the new office and swell the numbers of our paper-selling brigade.

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN WORKERS STAND FIRM FOR SUFFRAGE

Mrs. Humphry Ward Secedes

A crisis was reached in the career of the National Union of Women Workers when, last Thursday at Hull, the National Council considered and carried at the closing session of its annual Conference the proposals for the revision of the constitution which had been put forward by a sub-committee. A secession of Anti-Suffragist members of the Union, led by Mrs. Humphry Ward, was the result.

It will be remembered that an extraordinary meeting of the Council was called last November, at which a resolution was carried by a two-thirds majority, calling upon all the party leaders in the House of Commons to support the inclusion of Women's Suffrage in the Franchise Bill then before Parliament. A protest, led by the Anti-Suffragists, but supported also by some Suffragists, was raised against this procedure, and an appeal was made to the constitution of the Union, and the plea was put forward that a resolution on one highly contentious subject would be followed by others, to the detriment of the work of the Union. As, however, the revision of the constitution was to be under discussion at the next annual meeting, the dissentients decided to wait until then before sending in their resignations.

Last Thursday's Discussion

The chief discussion ranged round the sub-committee's proposals to extend the power of the Society to place resolutions on the agenda of Council meetings. These had hitherto been limited to three, in addition to urgency resolutions. The sub-committee now proposed that all resolutions which had obtained the support of three branches of the Union and three of the affiliated Societies should be placed automatically on the agenda.

Mrs. Humphry Ward's Amendment

Mrs. Humphry Ward moved: "That in the case of resolutions of a highly controversial character, it shall be possible for not less than five branches and five affiliated societies to exercise a power of veto on their adoption by the National Council, the veto to mean that they may be discussed but not voted upon. Notice of the exercise of this power must be given not less than one month before the meeting of the National Council."

In moving it, she said while finding herself in agreement with nearly all the resolutions hitherto carried by the Council—with the salient exception of the resolution in support of Woman Suffrage—she earnestly desired that resolutions, dealing with subjects of a highly controversial character on which opinion in the Union was strongly divided, might by the exercise of a veto be prevented from being put to the vote.

Her amendment was lost by a large majority, and the proposals of the sub-committee were carried with the exception of the one determining the majority by which a resolution should be deemed carried. The sub-committee had suggested three-fourths of those voting, and two-thirds was the number decided upon.

"The Help and Advice of Women"

As a result of the vote taken, a communication, signed by Edith Macleod, Mary A. Ward, and Jaquetta Williams, was issued the same evening. This, after summarising what occurred last November, and pointing out that in that afternoon's discussion every suggestion made by the minority had been ruthlessly voted down, concluded by saying: "Under these circumstances it is proposed to enlarge and strengthen the protest movement, and to provide it, if possible, with a new centre and rallying point for social work, involving probably active co-operation with a certain number of members of Parliament, who, on wholly neutral ground, for or against the question of the Suffrage for or against the help and advice of women in social legislation. After the representatives have returned to their branches a large number of resignations are certain to take place."

THE MINERS' FEDERATION AND WOMEN'S VOTES

Mr. Smillie on Militant Methods

At a meeting held at Scarborough, under the auspices of the N.U.W.S.S. last Sunday, the adherence of the miners to the woman's cause was announced amid cheers, and further applause from militant Suffragists was aroused by a sympathetic

reference to law-breaking when effected by unfranchised persons.

"The Overwhelming Majority"

Mr. Albert Stanley, M.P., said that the overwhelming majority of the Miners' Federation had decided to join the women's cause and to use all their efforts to bring it to success as soon as they possibly could. (Cheers.)

Mr. R. Smillie, the President of the Miners' Federation, said, amid cries of "Bravo!" from militants in the hall, that no person ought to be expected to obey laws in the making of which they had no voice. He went on to say that if he was asked whether the miners would declare a general strike in order to secure votes for women—which would be his method of doing it—he questioned whether they would get a majority of that way of thinking.

An Advance Since Last January

The decision of the miners to promote the cause of women's enfranchisement is interesting, viewed in connection with the fact that at the Labour Conference held in the Lambeth Baths last January, Mr. Walsh, M.P., on behalf of the miners, opposed the franchise amendment (afterwards carried by an overwhelming majority) which called upon the Labour Party in Parliament to oppose any Franchise Bill not including women.

A good deal of controversy was aroused over this attitude of the miners, and a rumour having become current that the miners might split the Labour Party on the subject, the following announcement was made in the *Labour Leader* (February 7) over the signature of Robert Smillie: "Opinion among the miners has made considerable progress on the question of Woman Suffrage during the year, but, unfortunately, at the preliminary Conference of the miners' delegates . . . we did not reach the franchise motions. Because of this, our vote was withheld, but the probability is that our vote would have been given in favour of instructing the Parliamentary Party to fight strenuously against any Bill which does not extend the franchise to women."

SCOTTISH LIBERALS AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE

"At the Earliest Opportunity"

Last Saturday, at the autumn meeting of the General Council of the Scottish Liberal Association at Kilmarnock, Professor J. Arthur Thomson (Aberdeen) moved the following resolution: "That in view of (1) the large and rapidly-increasing number of women who have attained economic independence as wage-earners and as members of the professions; (2) the gain to the State of having the entire co-operation of women as full citizens; and (3) the unprofitable disarray and mischievous unrest, which is being caused by delay in effecting a readjustment in the political position of women in accordance with the changes in social conditions, it is recommended that such measures be at the earliest opportunity proceeded with as shall meet the needs of the case and be consistent with the principles of Liberalism."

Amendment Defeated

An amendment was proposed to the effect that, in view of the division on this question both in the Cabinet and in the rank and file of the party, the conference did not consider it advisable to pass any resolution either for or against Women's Suffrage. Only nineteen voted for the amendment, and the original resolution was declared carried by an overwhelming majority.

THE SITUATION IN DENMARK

(From Our Danish Correspondent)

Our Danish correspondent informs us that the Government's Reform Bill (which includes votes for women on equal terms with men), having passed the Lower House of the Danish Parliament, was introduced in the Upper House by the Prime Minister on October 7. This is the same Bill which last year, although passed in the Lower House, was thrown out in the Upper House by a Conservative majority of two votes. This year, adds our correspondent, there is every hope of a compromise being effected by the opposing parties, so that the Bill may pass also in the Upper House. But we must remind our readers that in order to meet the requirements of the Danish Constitution, the Bill, even if it is carried by the present Parliament, will have to pass through both Houses in a succeeding Parliament before it can become law.

No Critic in Copenhagen

Our correspondent also tells us that Miss Sylvia Pankhurst was an interested visitor in the distinguished strangers' gallery on the day that the Bill was introduced in the Upper House. "In our country," she communicated proceeds to say, "we do not put women behind bars in a dark room when they want to listen to the proceedings in Parliament."

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES HEAVY SENTENCES

Ruin of Little Girls

The *Child's Guardian* (October) reports case of a draper's assistant charged with assaulting a seven years old girl. A deacon of a chapel testified to his being a good father and a good husband at the time. Sentence: *Bound over for 12 months in the sum of £5.*

For Forging Stamps

The *Daily Telegraph* (October 11) reports case of a youth of 17 charged at the Common Serjeant with forging stamps and exposing them for sale. Defence was that he did not know they were forged. Sentence: *3 years' penal servitude.*

Assault on a Wife

The *Birkenhead News* (October 8) reports case of a man charged before Mr. G. H. Cox and Mr. L. C. Elmhurst at the Borough Police Court, with assaulting and feloniously wounding his wife. Evidence was given that he had "leathered" her, kicked her, threatened her with a knife, shut her out of the house, and thrown something on her head from the window. She was taken to the hospital, and a lacerated wound three inches long was sewn up. The doctor said she was sober when admitted. Defence was that she aggravated her husband by coming home drunk. Chairman admitted he might have had some doubt. Sentence: *20s. or 14 days.*

Assault on Police Constables

The same paper reports case on same day, in same Court, before same magistrates, of two men charged with assaulting two police constables, who, it was alleged, were knocked down, kicked, and bruised by the defendants. In the Court, however, it was the defendants whose faces bore marks of being bruised and cut. Chairman said it was a very, very serious case indeed. Sentence: *6 months' hard labour for each prisoner.*

THE LEGAL "PARENT"

We have often had occasion to draw attention to the inconsistency, not to say the injustice, of penalising the mother as the responsible parent when some wrong has been done to the child, and refusing her the title of parenthood when this carries with it both dignity and advantage. Apparently this tendency to blame the woman more than the man, when both are concerned in a wrong done to the child, is even shown when step-parents are in question. A man and a woman, according to the *Child's Guardian* (October), were charged at Marylebone Police Court for disgraceful ill-treatment of their step-daughter, aged twelve. The man was bound over and the woman was sentenced to one month's imprisonment. The sentence is light enough in any case, compared with the heavy sentences given continually for soliciting or petty theft. But if the mother is not the legal parent of the child, still less can the step-mother be so-called. Then why was it only the step-mother and not the step-father, who in this case was penalised? It cannot logically be argued that the woman was the more guilty of the two (if this was so), because this would imply that she was an individual separate from her husband, and the law does not recognise the married mother as such.

WHERE WOMEN COUNT

The Illinois Mother

The newly enfranchised women of Illinois have lost no time in getting to work. According to the *Montreal Daily Telegraph* (September 13), a Bill has been introduced into the Legislature of that State to provide that the birth of an illegitimate child shall constitute a common law marriage. That is, the child shall be legitimate, bear the father's name, and be a lawful heir; the dissolution of such a marriage shall require a legal divorce, and if the father be already married he shall be prosecuted for bigamy, and be held responsible for the child's upbringing. Compare such a ruling with the law and the custom of this country, where the unmarried mother is alone held responsible for the upbringing of her child, and is alone placed in the dock if in her despair she seeks to take its life! In Illinois, where women are enfranchised, the mother counts.

THE NEW POOR LAW ORDER

"The Sufferings of the Workhouse Inmate"

In our issue of September 5 we published an article with the above title by Mrs. Cobden-Sanderson, condemning the new Poor Law order about to be issued by Mr. John Burns. We now see that a national campaign is to be organised against this new order by the National Committee for the Prevention of Destitution, and in a statement issued by the Committee Mrs. Sidney Webb draws attention not only to the shortcomings of the rule but also to the fact that "this perpetuation of the general mixed workhouse is all the more grave now that we see that other Government measures are failing to save many of the destitute from the Poor Law."

WOMEN REFUSE TO BE BLACKLEGS

At Birmingham the other day, during the strike in the furnishing trade, one employer (he must have been an "Anti" who thought that women had no sense of honour) offered the women polishers the choice of doing the men's work at increased wages, or clearing out. The women, we are glad but not surprised to say, cleared out sooner than he blacklegs. When will some people learn that women can play the game as well as men?

JUST THIS ONCE

By G. Colmore

It was a lovely day, warm and sunshiny, the very day for the river, and she might have been going on the river if—

It was not that she was enormously interested in the Suffrage question. She was a Suffragist, of course, because the "anti" position was intellectually impossible, and she went to meetings sometimes and applauded speakers who put their case well or were apt or witty in their replies to questions, but she was not emotionally stirred by the Woman's Movement, not swept off her feet, not, as she herself would have said, the least bit "faddy" about it. It was she hardly knew what in the speaker's appeal for help, for workers, a few days since, which had impelled her to give in her name as a paper-seller for this particular morning, and, having promised, she was, of course, not going to draw back, although. . . . The river invitation had not come till the day before yesterday, and if she had only known she could just as well have sold papers any other day—if she had sold them at all. She was not sure—it was rather extreme, perhaps—exaggerated—and she hated exaggeration, anything in the nature of crankiness. Still, she had given her word, and so—just this once. . . .

She set out in the beautiful morning sunshine, fetched her stock of papers, and took her way towards her pitch. The pavements were hot already, and the air; later on it would be broiling, stifling, whereas on the river. . . . She wondered what train they were all going by; they were arriving perhaps now at the station; her thoughts were at Paddington when they should have been in Piccadilly. There would be Maud and Emily and Charlie and Fred and Mrs. Clarke and her husband, and—the man she had met in Italy in the spring, really a nice man, easy to talk to. They had talked of all sorts of things in Italy, from the origin of man to bazaars. Her father fancied herself on the origin of man, but somehow, perhaps because of the task she had undertaken, it was the bazaar conversation that she recalled most clearly this morning. She had stood up for bazaars and he had run them down. It was the only way of getting money out of people, she maintained, and he had replied that if the girls who begged fellows to give their money at bazaars begged from them anywhere else, the fellows would give it just as readily, nay, more readily, knowing that they would not as a result be burdened with paper parcels and their impossible contents. "I would give to you anywhere," he had said. Supposing she had gone on the river to-day instead of standing in the gutter, and had asked him for a sum representing the cost of her stock, would he have given it? Might she have had her day's enjoyment without—

"Well, Miss, do you want to sell them papers of yours, or do you not?"

"Oh, I—I beg your pardon!" Suddenly she was plumped down out of the clouds into the street. She gave the paper, took the penny, then separated another copy from her bundle and held it out as she had seen other paper-sellers do.

It was rather horrible down there in the street. It was not the jeering faces that she minded, for pride was proof against them, nor the contemptuous remarks of some and the angry words of others, for these came from the few—but the apathy of the many, the indifference, till her thought shaped itself to the words: "Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?" After all, why should it be anything? It was nothing much to her, beyond an academic question, this cause of which she found herself the representative. She began to consider what, indeed, had induced her to represent it. Something in the speaker's words, voice, face that had touched her—could it be emotionally? Oh, no; it must have been in the words alone, arguments that evoked her intellectual acquiescence. Yet there had been no very cogent arguments in that particular speech, or she could not recall them; there had been statements

rather—facts—about the lives of women—children; things, well, true, but not *seeming* true, not actual, like—like picnics up the river. Yet the face of that woman who passed just now—and the eyes in that other face! She began to study the faces; she began to remember all sorts of things that she had heard and not heeded; she began to think that supposing it were of necessity and not of choice that she was standing there, trying to sell, for herself and not for a cause, goods that most people did not want, and that at the end of the day. . . .

Then, coming towards her along the street, she saw the man she had met in Italy. Her first thought was a desire to sink into the ground, her second was to run away, her third to stand still and keep her eyes down, her fourth to look him in the face. She acted on the fourth. Her gaze drew his, and he stopped short.

"You—here?" He took off his hat, but his face was the face of a man who has kept it on.

"I thought you were up the river," was her answer; then with a smile, born not at all of amusement or of joy, but of pure nervousness, she said: "Will you give me something for my Cause? I remember that you said you preferred to give anywhere rather than at bazaars."

"With the exception of the public street; an exception I did not think it necessary to mention—to you."

"The exception has proved—has proved—" (she was terribly nervous; she really did not know what she was saying; she only felt she must say something, finish the sentence somehow) "has proved you a fool," she ended. "Oh, I didn't mean—"

He looked her straight in the face; he took no notice of her implied apology. "Quite so," he said, and passed on.

She bit her lip and held out another paper. In a minute he was back again; his face was less hard than a minute since, his voice less cold. "Look

here," he said, "is this the first time you've done this?"

She nodded.

"I thought so. You have been over-persuaded, carried away—women are so emotional. But you—you might be—an A1 woman."

"I was wondering before you came whether I ever might."

"I know you might. Won't you chuck it and come away!"

"Oh, no."

"Why?"

"Because—" and now again she hardly knew what she was saying, yet she was no longer nervous, "because of the sad faces and the people who don't care; because of the tired women, the starved and ruined children, the lost girls; because of the things that go on year after year and were never heeded till women brought them to light; because of the brave women who are giving all they have and make me ashamed to stand aside."

"I see," he said; "bitten by the craze!" He paused. "Then it's no good? You won't come?"

She shook her head, and as he went away she knew that, as a friend, she would never see him again.

Did she mind? Hardly. She had stepped—and he had helped to place the stepping-stones—into a new world, hazy yet, but growing clearer, and to that world he did not belong. His place—he had proved it—was in the other, the world in which river picnics and clever talk were the realities, and the thing she was doing now amongst the shadows, a subject for conversation, to be touched on and brushed aside.

She sold her papers and went home. She had kept her word, she had done the task she had told herself she would do "just this once"; but before she went home she had undertaken to do the task again, not once or twice, but regularly, and her name was entered on the list of permanent workers. She had stepped from the province of the head into the kingdom of the heart, and before her the stepping-stones stretched on and on.

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THE TRAGEDY OF THE PEASANTS' LIFE

"The Hungry Forties"

"The Hungry Forties—Life under the Bread Tax," was first published in 1904. As most of our readers probably know, the book consisted of "descriptive letters and other testimonies from contemporary witnesses," with an introduction by Mrs. Cobden Unwin, and it has now been reprinted and issued for the second time in a complete and unabridged form at a penny, by the Cobden Club, and published by Mr. Fisher Unwin. The horrible conditions of working-class life in England revealed in these letters were certainly not caused entirely by the Corn Laws, and were not abolished by Free Trade. But that the misery of the poor was increased by the Corn Laws, and in some cases lessened by the Repeal of these laws, few can doubt. In any case, these letters of "The Hungry Forties" should be read by all who would understand the long tragedy of the British peasants' life. J. C.

"The Land Hunger"

This book* is a sequel to "The Hungry Forties," and Mrs. Cobden Unwin does well to remind her Liberal friends how strongly Richard Cobden desired the total abolition of all taxes upon food and a re-valuation of the land for the purpose of raising revenue by its taxation. Mr. Brougham Villiers spends a good deal of space in the criticism of single taxers in general and of Mr. J. Wedgwood, M.P., in particular. His own remedy is apparently Land Nationalisation—buying out the landlords and paying the cost of the purchase with the money raised by a tax on land values. The letters of the various correspondents are not by any means so valuable as the letters of "The Hungry Forties." Most of them contain windy rhetoric and vague generalisations, and there is no sort of agreement amongst the letter writers as to what is to be done to satisfy the land hunger. Free Trade in land is desired by several correspondents, but others point out that Free Trade in land merely enables the rich to buy up land when and where he will. The old land wars in the Highlands, and the militant part played by the women in the Crofter Revolts are recalled, and if agrarian conditions are still deplorable in Scotland, the male Scot can, at least, take comfort in his faithful support of the Liberal party. In agricultural Ireland things have been changed for the better enormously by the land legislation of Parliament; but then the Irish M.P.'s, for many years, were rebels, and cared nothing for the British Government. Mr. George Edwards, of the Norfolk Agricultural Labourers' Union, notes that in Norfolk to-day, amongst the labourers, "in nine cases out of ten the woman starves: the first thing she thinks about is her children and husband." And, "As a result of this chronic underfeeding we have a very large percentage of insanity among the women." The unreasonableness of these women! Why can't they be content to starve quietly without putting the country to the cost of maintaining them in asylums? Mr. Edwards is a member of the Asylums Committee of the Norfolk County Council, and finds that "we have over 300 wives of the labouring classes under our care. I attribute this large number to the anxiety, necessitated in making ends meet, and to the poor food."

A few things stand out clearly in these disconnected expressions of land hunger. (1) The desire is for occupation, or land holdings, not ownership of the land. (2) The need for cottages is even greater than the demand for small holdings. (3) The great results to be obtained by spade labour.

It is no new thing, this land hunger. It was felt all over England in the sixteenth century, and drove Robert Kett and the men of Norfolk to take up arms and "mix heaven and earth together" in vain attempt to end the evil. We can hardly hope that anything useful will be done about this land question before women are enfranchised. The belief in Mr. Lloyd George as a popular leader, affirmed by many correspondents in this book, is, perhaps, the most pathetic thing in all these stories of land hunger. J. C.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Diana and Two Symphonies." By Francis Toye. (London: Heinemann. Price 6s.)
"First Steps in Collecting." By Grace M. Vallois. (London: T. Werner Laurie. Price 6s. net.)
"The Real Tolerance." (London: A. C. Fifield. Price 2s. net.)
"The Chairman's and Debater's Handbook." By D. M. Ransom. (London: G. Routledge and Sons, Ltd. Price 6d. net.)

*"The Land Hunger: Life Under Monopoly." Descriptive letters and other testimonies from those who have suffered. With an Introduction by Mrs. Cobden Unwin and an Essay by Brougham Villiers. (London: Fisher Unwin. Price 2s. net.)

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IN THE WILDERNESS FOR A CAUSE

Miss Montagu strikes the keynote to her memoir of the Abbé Edgeworth* in the opening words of her introduction—

The history of the human race is the story of exile; it is full of anecdotes of dethroned kings, vanquished warriors, disappointed politicians, persecuted sectarians, zealous crusaders, all sufferers for religious or political opinions. The very first chapter closes in exile; our first parents were exiles in the fullest sense of the word.

The Abbé Edgeworth, cousin of the writer, Maria Edgeworth, and member of a strongly Protestant-Irish family, went out into the wilderness for his opinions at an early age, when, in the year 1749, he changed his religion and had to leave his home and his friends in Ireland and start life afresh in France. Even there, however, he did not escape persecution for his opinions; and he had not long been confessor to Madame Elisabeth de France before the Revolution broke out and life became insecure for all Catholic priests and others who represented the old régime.

Throughout his life, the Abbé Edgeworth showed the magnificent courage that belongs to those who go straight ahead and do what seems to them the right thing, be the risk and the cost what it may. He took his life in his hands when he obeyed the summons to attend Louis XVI. in his last hours, and one of the most interesting passages in Miss Montagu's book is the description of the quiet and persistent manner in which the courageous priest forced his way to the King's presence, and remained with him until the moment of his death. Then came the period of hiding, during which he was hunted from place to place, escaping finally to England, where he might have ended his life in honourable retirement, surrounded with friends, had such a life been possible to one who had embraced a cause. It was, of course, impossible to the Abbé Edgeworth; and so we find him in exile once more, this time following the worthless Louis XVIII. from one Continental city to another until, at Mitau near Moscow, he caught the prison fever while nursing the French soldiers who had been taken prisoners by the Russians in the terrible Retreat of 1807. He was nursed by Madame Royale herself, the King's niece, to whom he had long been both father confessor and friend; and after five days' illness died on May 22, 1807. A sentence in a letter written by Louis after his death shows, as his biographer says, "what sort of man the Abbé Edgeworth was better than volumes of praise." It was this—"All classes, all religions met together at his funeral."

Apart from the interest surrounding the character of the Abbé himself, there is a great deal in Miss Montagu's book about the French Revolution, which will be read with understanding by those who are engaged to-day in another revolution. The courage of women in facing death was a commonplace in that tragic period of French history; but Miss Montagu gives us two instances that are, in a quiet way, perhaps particularly noticeable. One refers to the Duchesse D'Ayen who mounted the guillotine with her mother, the Maréchale de Noailles, and her young daughter, the newly-married wife of Louis de Noailles.

The Duc D'Ayen emigrated in time to save his life, but not his honour. He was not the only noble who left his nearest and dearest to face the fury of the Revolution. His wife met death with a courage above all praise. She was tending a sick fellow-prisoner when she heard that she, and her aged mother, and her daughter, were in a few short hours to mount the steps of the scaffold. She expressed no surprise, but continued to attend to the comfort of the suffering friend, and on her return to her cell begged her daughter to lie down and rest, that she might have strength to face the end.

The second incident is that of "Le Chevalier Adams," as she was called—a certain Antoinette Adams who, in the rising of La Vendée, "showed such bravery that the Republican troops in taking her out to be executed, shot her standing upright, instead of guillotining her, as a mark of respect for her courage."

Women, who in this generation have suffered imprisonment for a cause without being accorded their political status, will be interested in the description (on pp. 114-116) of the means of communication established by the Royal prisoners in the Temple which the outside world. While they were well fed and were provided both with literature and with materials for needlework, the interchange of letters was forbidden as strictly as if they had been Suffragettes in Holloway Goal. The municipal guards visited the kitchen, cut the rolls in two to see if they contained notes, even examined the dining-table, the napkins and the tablecloth. However, there was one of the guards, named Turgu, who became their friend.

While carrying their dinner up the dark staircase which led from the kitchen to the dining-room, he was often able to abstract the paper stoppers which were used instead of corks in the bottles of wine and change them for others upon which important messages had been written with lemon juice or extract of gall-nuts. When the paper happened to contain any very important communication, Turgu used to roll it round a little leaden ball and cover this with a piece of extra thick paper; he would then drop the whole into a bottle of almond milk of sufficient thickness to conceal anything at the bottom, and carry it to one of the princesses. Sometimes the paper-stopper was left untouched and was used by the prisoners for writing their replies.

The whole of Miss Montagu's book is by no means so interesting as the passages we have quoted. The

* "The Abbé Edgeworth and his Friends." By Violette M. Montagu. (London: Herbert Jenkins, Limited, 12s. 6d. net.)

Abbé's letters, for instance, are distinctly dull and give one little idea of his personality. But as a whole, the memoir is a good picture of the period from a Royalist point of view, without in any way exaggerating the qualities of the Bourbon family; and as such it is worth reading, even by the more advanced rebels who may happen to look into it to-day. E. S.

OCTOBER REVIEWS

The October number of the *Englishwoman* is an interesting one, containing several articles on problems of great importance to women. The position of "Woman Suffrage in Ireland" by Dora Mellone, "The Children in Our Midst," "Women in the Police Courts," and "How Women Workers are Exploited" are all articles full of useful information. In the last-named Mr. James Haslam, once a factory hand himself, concludes that woman workers will always be exploited until they get the vote. "Women in the Legal Profession," in England and in Italy, is also much to the point.

In an article on a burning question of the day, "Eugenics in Relation to Social Reform," which appears in this month's *Westminster Review*, Dr. S. Herbert points out the shocking inheritance bequeathed by parents suffering from tuberculosis, alcoholism and syphilis. As regards the second of these, he considers the bad effects on offspring are not definitely proved; they are still an open question. Those of syphilis are, of course, indisputable, and "it is generally the male parent who is the cause of this baneful heritage." A complete change in our present sex-morality is needed. He advocates notification and segregation. "But there is little hope of seeing and consummation of such a proposal," he says, "at least, so long as women are prevented from making their voices effectively heard and respected by our politicians."

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FRIDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1913.

FORCIBLE FEEDING

When forcible feeding was first resorted to in the case of suffragist prisoners, exactly four years ago, two contentions were put forward in its favour. Firstly, it was alleged that it was not in itself either a painful or a dangerous process. Secondly, it was recommended as a means of upholding the law and compelling prisoners to serve out their sentences. The decision of the Home Secretary to revert to forcible feeding to-day comes after both these contentions have been demonstrated to be false.

The evidence that forcible feeding of a sane resisting patient is both exceedingly painful and highly dangerous is overwhelming. In the first place we have the direct testimony of over a hundred men and women upon whom it has been inflicted, including that of both the editors of this paper. This testimony has been reinforced in large numbers of instances by that of medical men who have attended the prisoners after their release, and have noted injuries to nose, mouth, throat, lung, stomach, as well as to the nervous system. In several well-authenticated cases these injuries have been of a highly dangerous character. Thus Lady Constance Lytton, who, as Jane Warton, was forcibly fed in Liverpool Prison, was released after six days in such a state that her medical attendant despaired of her life, and she has, in fact, never fully recovered. Miss Lillian Lenton, after a single operation, was hurriedly released, and was found to be suffering from acute pleurisy (pleuro-pneumonia), so that for several days her life hung in the balance. Another suffragist, William Ball, who was in thoroughly sound health on entering the prison, after being forcibly fed for a considerable time became distraught, and was sent away by the authorities to a lunatic asylum. Two men (not suffragists), Patrick Reardon, in Bethnal Green Infirmary, and James McGavigan, in Letterkenny Asylum, died in October, 1911, and December, 1912, respectively, within an hour of forcible feeding being adopted. Even Mr. McKenna himself was constrained to admit, on April 2, in the House of Commons, that forcible feeding was "a most objectionable practice."

The failure of forcible feeding to compel prisoners to serve out their sentences is also a simple matter of fact which was brought home to the public during the summer of 1912. Let us give our own personal experience. One of the editors of this paper (Mrs.

Pethick Lawrence) adopted the hunger strike in prison in June, 1912, as a protest against the refusal of the authorities to give the same political treatment to her fellow suffragist prisoners as to herself. After three days without food a single operation of forcible feeding was performed on her by the medical staff of the prison. So serious were the consequences that no attempt at repetition was ventured upon, and she was shortly afterwards released. Mr. Pethick Lawrence, after a hunger strike of forty-eight hours, was forcibly fed eleven times, and had then been reduced to such a state of weakness that the Home Office (carefully verifying by its own experts the report of the prison doctor) found it necessary to release him. Similar results were experienced in countless other instances, the prisoners being frequently released after a single or after a very few attempts at feeding by force. By a comparison of these facts with the facts as to the number of days which hunger striking prisoners have been detained in prison when forcible feeding has not been attempted it can be demonstrated that as a means of compelling prisoners to serve out their sentences this operation is wholly futile, for though it may in some cases have prolonged the period of detention, in many other cases it actually served to reduce it.

But if forcible feeding is at once intensely painful, highly dangerous, and altogether futile as to achieving its avowed object, there is only one name by which it can be designated and only one purpose which it can be intended to serve. It is torture, carried on with the object of breaking the spirit of those on whom it is inflicted. As such it is repugnant to all modern ideas of punishment, and is a return to the dark ages of barbarism.

In passing this severe condemnation upon it we do not speak for ourselves alone. We have behind us a united suffrage movement. The Bishop of Lincoln, in the clear and forceful message which he sends to this paper, expresses the opinion of the most law-abiding suffragist no less than the most revolutionary. And behind the great suffrage army stand further the great body of thinking men and women of this country who recognise that torture must not be inflicted by a civilised community upon any criminal whatever be the nature of the crime committed.

We are aware that the Government seek to defend their action in the eyes of humane persons by attempting to throw upon their shoulders the burden of finding a workable alternative. "What else," they say, "would you have us do? Are we to let the women go and so give them an opportunity of repeating their crimes, or are we to let them die?"

This question does not present to us the smallest difficulty. We can imagine a precisely similar question being put to a humane person who objected to a slave owner brutally thrashing his slaves. "What am I to do," he would say, "with those of my slaves who are lazy? I cannot send them away, for that would be to deprive myself of my own property; I cannot starve them, for when they are reduced to weakness they will do still less work than they do to-day. Unless you can show me a better alternative I shall continue to employ the whip." To this pitiless logic there would be only one reply: "Slavery must be abolished; by proving that under slavery there is no alternative to the use of the lash you have proved that slavery itself can have no place in a civilised community."

A similar answer should be made to the Government in the present instance. By their denial of Liberal principles and by their crooked handling of the suffrage question they have driven women, the most law-abiding part of the population, into revolt, and have goaded a considerable section of them into active crime. They now propose to try to quell the fierce spirit they have provoked by the use of torture, and when we rebuke them, bid us provide them with an alternative. We answer: "Put away your instruments of torture and at the same time put away your methods of double dealing and your refusal to carry out the root principles of the constitution. By these means and by no other can you restore this country to that state of internal tranquility which through your perfidy and injustice has been destroyed."

GENERAL ELECTION POLICY

Very great interest has been aroused in the suffrage world by the article published in this paper a fortnight ago upon the policy to be adopted in the event of an immediate general election. We print elsewhere, on page 35, further correspondence with regard to it. Among the letters are included important pronouncements by the Men's Political Union and by the Forward Cymric Union, as well as interesting criticisms from private individuals. In addition, the W.S.P.U. has issued separately a statement of its own intentions.

Before dealing with these criticisms and those of last week in detail, it will be well to state once more the general proposition which we ourselves put forward and which has given rise to the discussion. We called upon Suffragists in the first place to take stock of the present position and to consider carefully whether, in the event of an early declaration of a general election, some new and if possible combined step might not be taken. The step which we ourselves proposed was that the leaders of both the great political parties should be formally approached and asked to declare the intentions of their respective governments if returned to power. We pointed out that in the present position of the Suffrage question both leaders would in all probability give an early reply, and that on receipt of these replies the Suffrage societies would be in a position to formulate their policies.

Apart from certain correspondents who take up other interesting points, the replies fall into two natural groups—those who approve the main proposition that the party leaders should be approached before a definite policy be decided upon, and those who regard any attempt to approach the two leaders as useless or positively harmful.

In our issue last week, Mrs. Arnelife Sennett, writing on behalf of the Northern Men's Federation, announced that that body will base its policy at a general election upon the position of the party leaders, and that a special conference will be called to consider the situation. We take this to mean that the Federation is in full agreement with our position.

The M.P.U. Position

The Men's Political Union, in a closely reasoned letter in this week's issue published over the signatures of all the members of its committee, goes considerably further than we suggested, and, taking it for granted that the party leaders will be approached by certain Suffrage organisations, proceeds to set out categorically the policy which it will adopt in view of the four possible contingencies which it foresees. With much of what is said in this letter we find ourselves in hearty agreement, though we may be permitted to express a doubt whether it is politically expedient to expose one's hand so openly in advance before one's opponents have spoken.

Of the societies and individuals who disagree with our main proposition, one signing "G. S." points out that Liberal women would not be likely in any case to work for Conservatives, nor would members of the Unionist Suffrage Society work for Liberals. This does not seem to us a very grave objection, as it applies to nearly every other possible policy, and is simply an inherent weakness in the position of all Woman Suffragists who place party before the enfranchisement of their sex.

The remaining critics take the view that the only policy to pursue is relentless hostility to the Liberals, and that any preliminary attempt to ascertain the intentions of the leaders of both parties would be a mistake. Mrs. Mansell-Moullin, on behalf of the Cymric Suffrage Union, and Miss Dorothy Granville, as a private individual, state unequivocally that in view of past experience they would refuse to place the smallest reliance upon any pledge, however definite, given by any member of the Liberal Cabinet, while the former urges further that women can only show their abhorrence of the cruelty and coercion practised by the Liberal Government against women by relentless war and opposition against the Government.

The official statement of the W.S.P.U. puts the matter slightly differently. After calling attention to the worthlessness of the Liberal promises of the past seven years, it proceeds: "We want no more suffrage promises of the kind that the Government have already made and broken. Mr. Lloyd George may here and now take notice that the W.S.P.U. will not be turned aside from the course of opposing the Liberal Government by any pledges such as the one he invented and the Government at his instigation offered to women in 1912." With this sentiment we are in full and complete agreement, but as a reason for not approaching the party leaders before

finally deciding on an election policy it seems to us entirely unconvincing.

We venture to think that it arises either from a misunderstanding of what the fundamental proposition is or from a confusion of ideas as to the result. If it were proposed to go to the party leaders and say to them that the Suffrage vote was on sale to the highest bidder, that whoever could put forward the most enticing promises could count upon the whole-hearted support of the Suffrage societies, irrespective of the nature of the actual promise given and of the character of the party leader offering it, we should ourselves denounce the proposition as utter madness. It would correspond in the business world to inviting tenders from rival firms and informing them that only the price tendered would be taken into account, and that no attention would be paid to the specification submitted with it or to the reputation for good work of the respective firms. If the Suffrage societies decide to approach the party leaders they must do so absolutely unpledged as to the grounds on which their ultimate judgment will be based. Naturally in considering the replies they will treat all worthless offers on precisely the same footing as no offers at all; naturally, also, they will take into serious account the disgraceful and dishonest record of the leaders of the Liberal Party.

What are the Dangers?

What, then, is the danger which the advanced Suffrage societies think they have to fear? Is it that they themselves, having been committed to approaching the party leaders, will be subsequently committed to accepting a worthless promise from Mr. Lloyd George? We cannot believe this; clearly they will be fully able to reject such a promise after it has been actually made. Or do they fear that other societies and unattached Suffragists may be enticed away from opposition to the Liberals by false promises? We quite agree that this is a very real danger, but it is a danger which exists quite independently of the proposition which we are discussing. If Mr. Lloyd George or any other member of the Liberal Cabinet thinks it worth while to put forward false promises in the hope of entrapping foolish Suffragists, we may be quite sure he will find a means of doing so whatever course the Suffrage societies pursue. As a matter of fact, there is nothing new about the suggestion that the W.S.P.U. should make a special point of approaching the Government before the election to obtain a statement as to the future, because it has invariably done so in the past, and even if this policy is to be abandoned next time, the Liberal Suffragists are certain to approach the Government themselves and give the leaders an opportunity of reply. It is of no use, therefore,

hoping to muzzle Mr. Lloyd George in advance; what can be done and must be done as far as possible is to expose the falsity of any sham promise, assuming that he makes one.

The New Feature

The really new feature of our proposition is that a simultaneous approach should be made to the leader of the Conservative Party, and we have seen nothing in any of the criticisms which leads us to modify our view of the essential desirability of this step in the event of an immediate general election. The statement of the W.S.P.U. that "we would rather have nothing from the Tories than nothing from the Liberals" is a point of view which would very probably affect the decision as to policy after the party leaders had given their replies, but is no ground for refusing to approach them; while the statement that the W.S.P.U. policy of opposing the Liberals at the forthcoming general election would not mean that the Tories would be subject to no pressure at the election, seems to us to be without foundation.

We are aware, of course, that the knowledge that refusal to give votes to women will mean an endless store of trouble of all kinds for a Conservative Government will powerfully affect the minds of the Conservative leaders and incline them to yield when the time comes for action, but we know also that the most anxious moment for the Conservative Party will be before and not after the election, and that it is while the issue is still trembling in the balance that the greatest pressure can be most effectively exerted. If this psychological moment be allowed to slip by, a grave error in political tactics will have been made.

There is one further consideration in favour of our suggestion which we believe to be of great importance. We are convinced that the proposal to commence by approaching both parties will commend itself to the electors as reasonable, and that therefore, when the final decision as to policy is taken, a larger number of electors will fall into line than would otherwise be the case. In view of the fact that in an election Suffragists can only be effective through the medium of the electors, this point is of vital significance.

It only remains to notice that since our first article on this subject was written a fortnight ago there has been a considerable change in the general political outlook, and the prospect of an early election seems much less likely than it was. Assuming that an election is postponed for several months, it by no means follows that the political outlook will be then identical with what it is to-day; accordingly the whole question will have to be considered afresh, for, as we said at the commencement, the wise politician must be prepared to deal with facts as they are and not as they were some time ago. In the meanwhile, women, who are determined, are bound to pursue rigid and uncompromising hostility to the present Government, which has not only refused women justice, but has dealt with them by methods of dishonesty and barbarism.

DEATH OF AN ALLEGED HUNGER STRIKER

A closer investigation into the facts concerning the death of a so-called hunger striker in prison, to which we referred last week, gives rise to very well-founded suspicions that the theory of the hunger strike has been falsely put forward to the public to serve a double purpose, namely, in the first place to shield the prison authorities who let this man slip through their fingers as a result of careless methods of diagnosis, and in the second place as a device for smoothing the way of the Home Secretary and of the prison officials should one of the militants die of exhaustion in prison.

From the full account of the case, which we print elsewhere (page 39), it will be seen that the prisoner had to be led round the exercise yard by two warders (in another account it was explained that he had to be held up between them); that he was always wanting to lie down, and that he refused solid food, but took milk occasionally. He was evidently treated as a malingering, when, as a matter of fact, he was mortally ill. The idea that the man was copying the methods of the suffragists in prison never occurred to the authorities at the time—obviously not, for the drinking of milk is not an item in the hunger strikers' programme. Had they imagined they were dealing with a hunger striker they would no doubt have reported the matter to the Home Secretary.

The idea that it was a hunger strike was suggested in the form of a question by the foreman of the jury, and eagerly seized upon as an explanation by the Governor, who saw in it a way of getting the prison staff absolved from the charge of culpable neglect. Thereupon the suggestion was hailed with delight by that section of the Press which has long been crying out for the blood of militant suffragists, and the false version of the story was given to the public that must first be hoodwinked into acquiescence. The collusion between the Press and the authorities in this respect is so sinister in its ultimate intention that it is of utmost importance to nail down this concocted story

as a lie. If it gain currency unchallenged it will be employed as a means of stifling the outcry that the death of a suffragist in prison would occasion.

A SUFFRAGIST ACTRESS



MISS IRENE ROOKE

Whose magnificent rendering of the principal part in Mr. Galsworthy's play "The Fugitive" is attracting all thoughtful playgoers to the Prince of Wales' Theatre

THE DECREE OF TORTURE

Home Office Revives Forcible Feeding—Former Cases Recalled—Its Dangers and Effects—Press Criticism

Last Friday's morning papers contained an announcement which came as a shock even to those who are to some extent familiar with the reactionary and coercive methods of the present Government. Although the public had been given to understand that the Cat and Mouse Act was to offer an alternative to the practice of forcible feeding—and it was largely on this assumption, in spite of a covering phrase uttered by Mr. McKenna during the debate on it, that the House of Commons passed the Bill—the following order was issued by the Home Office on Thursday evening in last week:—

"The Home Secretary has decided that Mary Richardson and Rachel Peace, alias Jane Short, who are charged with arson at Hampton, and who have refused food in prison, are not to be released under the Prisoners' (Temporary Discharge for Ill-Health) Act.

"This decision is in accordance with the statement made by the Home Secretary in the House of Commons on the second reading of the Bill that, while the Bill would make it possible to abandon forcible feeding in ordinary cases, it would not apply to the case of a prisoner whose offence was of such a kind or whose determination to repeat the offence at every opportunity was so pronounced that it would be unsafe in the public interest to allow such a person to be at large.

"Instructions have been given to the prison authorities to take all proper medical measures, including, if necessary, artificial feeding, to prevent the prisoners from endangering their lives or health by their voluntary starvation.

"The decision does not imply any change of policy in the administration of the Act, which will continue to be applied in the case of minor offenders of the suffragist class, and those whose crimes do not include actual acts of serious violence."

The Two Victims

Of the two victims of this decree of torture, Miss Mary Richardson illustrates the more completely the utter failure of the Cat and Mouse Act. Since her first conviction on July 8 for window-breaking, she has been sentenced three times and committed for trial twice, the actual sentences given to her amounting to seven months, of which she has served fourteen days in four periods, each marked by the hunger-strike. It was therefore on the occasion of her fifth hunger-strike within three months (when on remand last week) that the Home Secretary thought her a fit subject for the added suffering of forcible feeding. Her companion, Miss Rachel Peace, alias Jane Short, has not long finished serving the monstrous sentence of six months for window-breaking.

On page 27 we publish some drastic criticisms by well-known men and women which have reached us since the new Home Office order was issued; and we give on the opposite page a selection from the many comments which have appeared in the Press during the last few days.

HOW IT BEGAN

In view of the gravity of the situation, we think it will be as well to recall a few facts in connection with the history of forcible feeding as practised in our prisons. It was first perpetrated by the Government on Suffragist prisoners in the autumn of 1909, when nine women, including Mrs. Leigh, Miss Charlotte Marsh and Miss Patricia Woodlock, adopted the hunger-strike in Wilson Green Gaol, Birmingham, and were forcibly fed by order of Mr. Herbert Gladstone, then Home Secretary. Eminent physicians at once denounced the process in the Press and elsewhere.

Dr. Forbes Ross

Dr. Forbes Ross wrote to the *Observer* as follows:—

"As a medical man, without any particular feeling for the cause of the Suffragettes, I consider that forcible feeding by the methods employed is an act of brutality beyond common endurance. . . . Any Suffragette subjected for long to this method of feeding is likely to contract chronic pigmentary colitis. . . . I have myself seen a man die after being fed artificially for one or two weeks, and the post-mortem examination revealed unmistakable chronic pigmentary colitis."

Dr. Hugh Fenton, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.

Dr. Hugh Fenton wrote: "It is an absolutely beastly and revolting procedure. When patients resist the forced feeding it becomes positively dangerous. Sooner or later there will be fatal results. . . . This method of coercion is, after all, more objectionable than anything the Suffragettes have done on their own."

Other Medical Opinions

Other medical men and women, too numerous to mention, also denounced the abominable practice both in October, 1909, and later when it was again resorted to from time to time. Sir Victor Horsley, F.R.S., F.R.C.S., writing to the *Westminster Gazette* in December, 1909, said:—

"In my opinion, ladies who, when excited by political injures, resort to violence and are driven to a prison hunger strike as a further protest, are amply punished for their violence by imprisonment and a few days' starvation. I think forcible feeding is a miserable expedient of a weak Minister and an outrage on a political offender."

Mr. Mansell-Moullin, F.R.C.S., who has denounced forcible feeding again and again, wrote to *VOTES FOR WOMEN* in July, 1912, saying: "Torturing those who are willing to face imprisonment for a cause in which they conscientiously believe, has never succeeded yet, and never will. . . . In the course of a few days it brings a person who is certified as being able to stand it, to death's door. I have seen some of those who were discharged, and I can quite understand the eagerness of the authorities to get rid of the responsibility of keeping them further."

Deaths from Forcible Feeding

That these statements are by no means highly coloured can be borne out by facts. In October, 1911, a death from forcible feeding occurred in Bethnal Green Infirmary, where a man died as a result of the process, some of the food having escaped into the lung.

Another case occurred on December 13, 1912, when a man died in Letterkenny Asylum, co. Donegal, from heart failure following upon one application of tube feeding. In the latter case no resistance was offered by the patient. In the case of the Suffragists who resist the process, the risks are, of course, doubled. Everything tends to prove, indeed, that

it is only by a miracle that no Suffragist prisoner has paid the supreme penalty of death. Since the autumn of 1909 between 100 and 200 Suffragists, including the Editors of this paper, have been subjected to the process, and although in one or two cases, as in that of Mrs. Leigh and Miss Charlotte Marsh, it has been found possible to inflict it for a considerable time, in the majority of instances the prisoners have been hurriedly released after a much shorter period, sometimes after being fed only once, in order that they might not die in prison on the Government's hands.

Risks that have been run

The Report on Forcible Feeding published in the *Lancet* on August 24, 1912, gives, for instance, the case of a Suffragist prisoner into whose lung the food became injected. She was hurriedly released, and was afterwards found to be suffering from pneumonia and pleurisy. "Being a young and strong woman," concludes the Report, "she escaped with her life."

More miraculous escape was that of Miss Lilian Lenton (now again in prison on remand, and said to be hunger-striking). When she was in prison last February she was seen by her solicitor a few hours before being forcibly fed, and except for a natural weakness consequent on the hunger strike, she appeared to him perfectly well and normal. After being forcibly fed once, on the same day, she became immediately so dangerously ill, suffering such acute pain, that she had to be released at a moment's notice; and, having been given two hypodermic injections, was taken home in a critical condition by the doctor himself. Three physicians, Sir Victor Horsley, Dr. Agnes Savill, and Mr. Mansell-Moullin, stated in a letter which appeared in the Press at the time that on the night she was released "her temperature was above 120 degrees, and she was gravely ill. Her own doctor found pleurisy (pleuro-pneumonia) at the base of the left lung and slighter symptoms in the right. . . . These plain facts prove clearly that the food which was forcibly injected into her lung set up a pleuro-pneumonic condition which, but for her youth and good, healthy physique, would have ended more seriously."

Mr. William Ball and Others

In February, 1912, Mr. William Ball, a working man, who was an athlete and for twenty years had had no serious illness,

was reduced by five and a half weeks' tube feeding in Pentonville Gaol to such a condition of emaciation, throat inflammation and nervous breakdown that the prison authorities had him conveyed to Colney Hatch Asylum, whence he was rescued by his wife and placed in a nursing home. It was many weeks before he regained his normal health.

Many other cases, showing not only the danger of forcible feeding, but also the anguish and torture of it, can be found in our readers in the *Lancet* report referred to above, a summary of which appeared in *VOTES FOR WOMEN* on August 30, 1912. The Report, signed by three eminent physicians, was based on facts supplied by ninety of the women who were forcibly fed last year, many of whom were personally examined after their release by these doctors.

The Case of Jane Warton

The most glaring case of official callousness is, however, that of Lady Constance Letton, alias Jane Warton, in January, 1910. Finding that under her own name she was conveniently discovered after two or three days' hunger-strike to be suffering from a weak heart (according to a specialist who was sent by the Home Office to examine her), Lady Constance afterwards disguised herself as a working woman, took the name of Jane Warton, and was again arrested and convicted for obstruction, and again adopted the hunger-strike. But this time no Home Office specialist came to examine her heart, and after a four days' hunger-strike the prison doctor—she was in Walton Gaol, Liverpool—fed her forcibly and with so little care for her health and general physique that when she was released after being fed twice a day for six days she was in a condition of health from which she never fully recovered, and which was accountable for a very serious illness that disabled her two years later.

This Assault upon Women

We have said nothing of the horrible insult offered to women by this unathletic assault upon their persons, nothing of what it means to a woman to have hands laid upon her when she is offering resistance for a great principle, to be held down by force while a atrocious operation is performed upon her with none of the medical precautions that are taken in hospitals to guard against septic poisoning; nor have we spoken of the awful nerve strain undergone by the prisoner while waiting in her cell for the torturers to come and do their hateful work. "These things can be left to the imagination of any woman. What we wish to impress upon our readers is the fact that this form of prison treatment, condemned by every thinking Christian person, from the Bishop of Lincoln onwards (who addressed a great protest meeting on the subject in the Kingsway Hall last March, and has sent a message to this paper to-day which we print on page 27), condemned by the best-known members of the medical profession, and thought even by the House of Commons to be abolished for ever, has been revived by Mr. McKenna, and is being practised as we go to press upon the persons of two women in Holloway Gaol, whose undying passion for freedom has driven them into revolt against shameful injustice."

THE HAMPTON FIRE CHARGE

"Turning a Leaf Back"

At Feltham Police Court, last Monday, Miss Rachel Peace, alias Jane Short, and Miss Mary Richardson, the two Suffragists who have been forcibly fed while in prison on remand, were committed for trial at the Central Criminal Court. There was a scene in court as they were being removed in custody, and two women were ejected for shouting, "Shame on English justice!" Before she left, Miss Richardson said:—

"Although the Home Office has succeeded in bringing me here this morning by turning a leaf back in the history of its infamy to women, neither it, nor any other office in the kingdom, however high, or however cruel, can compel me to serve any sentences, past, present, or future. And I say this in no manner of boasting, but to try and point out by this one fact alone that the cause which animates me is unconquerable before the vacillating forces which oppose. No power on earth can blot out the new ideal which has grown up in the minds of thousands of women, and until those in authority realise this and are willing to meet the claim of women justly, I shall consider it my duty to oppose law and order in every way it is possible for me to oppose it."

Miss Richardson, we may remind our readers, is the Suffragist who stated last August that she would consider it her duty to oppose law and order in every way it is possible for her to do so.

"NEW POLICY FOR A GENERAL ELECTION"

Views of Correspondents

THE M.P.U. POLICY

To the Editors of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*.
Dear Editors,—You ask for opinions on your suggested scheme of election policy. As the committee of the Men's Political Union our position in regard to it would be this:—

If the leaders of the two Front Benches are approached by Suffrage societies before the General Election, one of the following things must happen. Either:—

(1) Both Benches will refuse to give any answer or make any pledge. In that case, we should oppose the Liberal Government, both on account of its atrocious record in the past, and in confidence that a Tory Government could not do worse, and might be constrained to do better by the criticism of their opponents, however hypocritical. At the worst, the Tories would approach the question with fresh minds and a clean sheet; or

(2) Both will give pledges to bring in a Government Bill at once. In that case also we should oppose the Liberal Government for the above reasons, and because it is almost impossible to put faith in a Liberal Minister's word, and we feel a strong personal detestation for almost every Liberal politician, owing to the party's behaviour on this question; or

(3) Mr. Bonar Law (or whoever may be the leader of the party) will give a definite pledge of a Government Bill in the first session, while the Liberals refuse any pledge. In that case also we should oppose the Liberal Government for obvious reasons; or

(4) The leader of the Liberal party will give a similar pledge, while the Tories refuse it. In this case only might we consider a withdrawal of opposition to the Liberal Government, and we should consider it only if the pledge were made by Sir Edward Grey, and if he were designated future Prime Minister in case the Liberals were returned to power. We should regard a pledge from any other Liberal Cabinet Minister as utterly worthless. One of these things must happen, and whichever happens, that will be our position with regard to it.

We hope and believe that your position will be the same. Indeed, we can hardly doubt it, for supposing that Mr. Asquith or Mr. Lloyd George, or Mr. Winston Churchill (apparently the only possible alternative to Sir Edward Grey for the Liberal leadership)—supposing one of them gave a pledge, who would now pay the slightest attention to it?—Yours, &c.,
HENRY W. NEVENS (Chairman),
HENRY D. HARRIS (Treasurer),
VICTOR D. DUVAL (Hon. Sec.),
DONALD CAMERON-SWAN (Hon. Parliamentary Sec.),
JOHN SCURR,
H. T. GILLESPIE,
F. R. HENDERSON,
Men's Political Union for Women's Emancipation, 13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.
October 14, 1913.

A WELSH POLICY

To the Editors of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*.

Dear Editors,—As you courteously ask for expressions of opinion on your suggested General Election policy, I wish to say, briefly, that as far as the Forward Civic Suffrage Union is concerned it would only be a sign of cowardice if we were to support any members of the Liberal Government, whatever their pledges may be. Henceforward we believe in no pledge. Mr. Lloyd George definitely declared war upon us when he refused to receive a deputation of his countrywomen from our Union after having promised to do so. We have taken up the challenge!

Further, every member who joins the Union gives a pledge to oppose the present Government and to work for no political party, though many of our members had been life-long Liberals until the present Government betrayed all the principles of Liberalism. In addition, we hold every member of the Coalition Government responsible for forcible feeding, "Cat and Mouse," and other tortures of women, and we can only show our abhorrence of cruelty, coercion, and barbarism by relentless war and opposition to them all.

We think your fear that this policy will "bring no pressure whatever to bear on the Unionist Party" is groundless. We believe that dread of what may be in store for them in the future exerts more pressure than reason does on all politicians, and we are convinced that the vote will never be given to British women as it has been given to the women of other countries, where the men are more enlightened and more just. Here it has to be taken, and we shall take it when we have planted the fear of God and the terror of women as opponents in the hearts of the men voters, and of the Government—and not before!

E. R. MASSILL MOULIN,
Hon. Organiser, F.C.S.U.

A DOCTOR'S VIEW

To the Editors of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*.

Dear Editors,—There is not the slightest doubt in my mind that it would only be in accordance with common sense to ask the leaders of the parties, if you can know them, as to what their policies would be with regard to the suffrage in the event of their party being returned to power. With the Unionist party this should be simple enough; what Mr. Bonar Law and Mr. Balfour say, goes. But with the Liberal party things are different. We do not know if Mr. Asquith will retire, nor if he does, who will succeed him, and unless these two things are known, it is difficult to see how the leaders' views could be ascertained.

Under these circumstances it seems to me that there is a good deal to be said for the policy of opposing the present Government even until the end of a General Election. Supposing the Unionists do get in, we cannot be worse off than before, and there are several reasons for thinking otherwise.

First, that the time of Parliament under a Unionist Government will not be taken up by gigantic schemes of reform like Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment, as the time of Parliament has been under the Liberal Government.

Secondly, that the only part of the United Kingdom which has at present promised the women the vote is the most Unionist part, i.e., Ulster.

Thirdly, that to enfranchise women on the present basis on the same terms as men would probably be of benefit to the Unionist Party. This, I think, is the most cogent reason of all.

As to the other policies, that of supporting the individual member has been tried and found wanting, and that of supporting the Labour Party, which cannot achieve power for fifty years or so, seems to be childishly futile when we want the Bill now.—Yours faithfully,
E. D. KIRBY, M.D.,
106, Hagley Road, Edgbaston.

ANOTHER SUGGESTION

To the Editors of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*.

Dear Editors,—In reply to your request for discussion as to a policy for the next General Election, may I suggest that each Suffragist elector should accept for himself and urge on others a "self-defending ordinance," and write to his sitting Member, candidates for election, and election agents, announcing that, since he deems Woman Suffrage to be the most important of all present questions, yet one that has been hypocritically manipulated and unscrupulously shelved during a number of years, he will abstain from recording his vote until such time as one party or the other shall make it a plank in its platform, when he will vote for the party that definitely commits itself to a Suffrage policy.—Yours, &c.,
WILLIAM BOULTING,
31, Argyle Mansions, Chelsea, S.W.

A DEPUTATION TO SIR EDWARD GREY

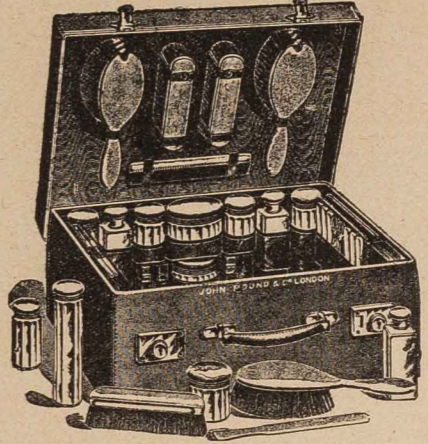
No doubt it would be an advantage to any member of the present Cabinet to be both deaf and dumb when approached on the subject of Woman Suffrage, but accustomed as we are to the ingenious evasion of the subject that is common to all the members of the Government now in power, we cannot help wondering what would be the feelings of any ordinary body of electors if the Foreign Secretary were to reply to them on any man's question as he has replied to the Berwick Branch of the Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage. In consenting to receive a deputation from them on the occasion of his visit to Berwick on October 27, Sir Edward Grey is reported to have said that he cannot, however, undertake to make promises as to what may be done next session, nor any promises on behalf of the Government.

A pleasant chat on the principle of votes for women was all very well in 1867; but when are Liberals going to creep up to 1913?

John Pound & Co.

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WRITE FOR CATALOGUE.

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- Fancy Leather Goods.
- Silver and Electro Plate.
- Sheffield Cutlery.

IN THE PRESS

A LIBERAL COMMENT

In any case, we certainly imagined that forcible feeding was to be abandoned. How will its resumption help matters? The women will go on till they have reached exhaustion, and will then go out, free, if they like, to commit arson again. And if forcible feeding be torture, under what warrant is it reintroduced?—*The Nation*.

WHICH IS IT?

He is taking the one sure way of reviving interest in the Suffrage campaign, he is going to make us hot with anger once more at the brutality and tactlessness of the authorities. Why is he doing it? Has he been converted to Woman Suffrage? or has he lost his senses?—*Daily Sketch*.

SAME AS EVER!

Some innocent or credulous folk had imagined that McKenna had found some measure of grace, others assumed that he had grown more or less ashamed of himself. Everybody now realises that he is as much of the woman-torturer as ever.
Daily Herald.

DOWNHILL WITHOUT A BRAKE

Mr. McKenna merely rushes from one weak folly to another.—*Daily Express*.

SENTIMENT!

This recourse to forcible feeding in the case of even those hunger-strikers of whom Mr. McKenna is not afraid is most unwise. It revolts public sentiment, and makes martyrs of those who, if they were left to carry out their starvation policy, would only be regarded as obstinate and misguided criminals.—*Globe*.

OF COURSE?

It was evident at the time that many of those who supported the Bill did so not because they liked the measure, but because they felt that some alternative to forcible feeding must be found. So far a practicable alternative is not forthcoming, always excepting, of course, the one that would solve the whole question.
Manchester Guardian

MORE HASTE, WORSE SPEED

A short way with Suffrage hunger strikers of the more dangerous class has at last been decided on by the Home Secretary.—*Evening Standard*.

DEPLORABLE!

We think it would be more humane to let hunger-strikers die in prison than to inflict upon them the torture of either forcible feeding or Cat-and-Mouse handling. Can the authorities find no other alternative? It is deplorable that the Government turn a deaf ear alike to non-militant and militant Suffragists. Neither the Cabinet collectively nor any individual member of it has placed any constructive proposal before the country. It would be absurd to plead that because of the violence of a few the rights of the many are to be indefinitely denied.—*Christian Commonwealth*.

MISS KERR'S CASE

Press Comments
Mr. McKenna is deliberately taking advantage of a mistake and sanctioning the continuance of wrongful imprisonment for the sake of forcing Mr. Miss Kerr a promise which, under the circumstances, he is not entitled to demand. Blackmail is not quite the word, but it is something very like it.—*New Statesman*.

THE UNEXPIRGED

The new book will almost persuade some to take sides with woman suffragists. Anyhow, such as are persuaded that the case against woman's franchise is not made out will not welcome Sir Almoth to their side. *Non tali auxiliio, nec sic amicitia*, they will say—move further off from him.—*New Witness*.

It seems a pity Sir Almoth did not come on the scene at least as late as before the beginning of Genesis! His advice might have been of much value when that rib was removed.—*Bystander*.



"FOR WHAT YOU ARE ABOUT TO RECEIVE . . ."

[Mr. McKenna, Forcible-Feeder-in-Chief to the Cabinet, has described with moving candour the loving and chivalrous care, the almost pious delicacy, with which the Government treats those of its Suffragist enemies who fall into its tender hands.]

McKENNA, F.F.-in-C. (to the World at Large):—
"Observe how we treat every case—
With the chivalrous tact of our Race—
How before we proceed
To forcibly feed
We NEVER omit to say Grace!"

(With acknowledgments to the "Daily Herald," in which this cartoon appeared last May.)

THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

"The ballot in men's hands is less dangerous to society than a sense of wrong in their heads."—J. R. Lowell

ESCAPE AND RE-ARREST OF MISS SYLVIA PANKHURST

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's reappearance in Bow after her holiday in Denmark was the signal for an amazing exhibition of official brutality last Monday evening.

The Attempted Re-arrest

It was reasonable to suppose that on her return to Bow she would be allowed to pursue the constitutional work of the Suffrage movement in the East End without further interference from the authorities.

THE RE-ARREST

The result of this letter was to some extent seen in the fact that on Tuesday night the police refrained from invading the premises of the Poplar Town Hall.

OTHER "CAT AND MOUSE" PRISONERS

After enduring the hunger and thirst strike for seven whole days and nights, Miss Annie Kenney was released on Monday evening last at 8.30.

MISS IRENE CASEY

Miss Irene Casey, who was sentenced at Bradford on October 3 to three months' hard labour for damaging letters in a pillar box, was released under the Cat and Mouse Act on October 9 on a nine days' licence.

RE-ARREST OF THE "UNKNOWN" SUFFRAGIST

On Tuesday last, during the progress of the Cabinet meeting, a Suffragist poster parade took place in Whitehall, but was denied access to Downing Street, which was, as usual, guarded by a force of police as against an invading army.

PRAYERS OFFERED FOR SUFFRAGISTS

At the afternoon service in Westminster Abbey last Friday some twenty women rose and chanted: "God save Mary Richardson and Jane Short. They are being forcibly fed in Holloway Prison. Their enemies torture them. They know their cause is

righteous. Hear us when we pray to Thee." There was a large congregation in the Abbey and the prayer for Peace had just been offered; vergers immediately hurried forward, but the chant was repeated several times before the women quietly left.

During the morning service at St. Paul's Cathedral last Sunday morning a number of women, and some men, numbering about thirty in all, chanted in unison the same words as those used at the Abbey. The Suffragists were, of course, at once requested to leave, which they did in an orderly manner.

A Jewish Appeal

At the Jewish Synagogue in St. Peterburgh Place, Bevismark, during the services on Saturday, the Day of Atonement and the most solemn day in the Jewish calendar, three women in the gallery stood up and repeated the following words: "May God forgive Herbert Samuel and Sir Rufus Isaacs for denying freedom to women."

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following incidents have been attributed in the Press to Suffragists during the week: Friday, October 10.—Windows in a number of medical men's houses in Harley Street and Wimpole Street broken by stones and bottles.

Saturday, October 11.—Attempt to burn Heaton Railway Station, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Sunday, October 12.—Contents of pillar-box fired at Calford.

Monday, October 13.—Attempt to fire Free Library at Tipton, Staffs; Suffrage literature found, no damage.

THE MEDICAL RESPONSIBILITY

In consequence of the Home Office order for the resumption of forcible feeding, the windows of a number of doctors' houses in Harley Street and Wimpole Street were broken early on Friday morning. Stones and bottles were used, which were wrapped in paper bearing such messages as "Release Miss Richardson and Miss Short."

Prison Doctor Thrashed

As Dr. Forward, the Holloway doctor, was leaving his house for the prison on Saturday morning he was addressed by three women. One of them said to him, "Good morning, Dr. Forward. It is you who are forcibly feeding our women." The doctor is understood to have said, "You know I can't help myself." "Yes, you can," was the reply; "you can resign."

SUFFRAGISTS AND THE KING AND QUEEN

As their Majesties were driving along the Mall on their way to the wedding of Prince Arthur of Connaught and the Duchess of York last Wednesday a Miss Stirling rushed through the police cordon and tried to approach the Royal carriage.

At the Coliseum

As the King and Queen drove up to the Coliseum last Saturday night two Suffragists stepped forward and said to their Majesties, "Women are being tortured in prison." A large number of police were on guard, but in spite of this the women managed to get inside the cordon, and afterwards to escape without being hurt or arrested.

Similar bills were scattered from the galleries of other theatres. At some of the theatres the women were hissed, but at others they were applauded as soon as the nature of the bills was seen.

MISS LENTON

Miss Lilian Lenton, who was arrested at Paddington Station on October 7, was brought up at Richmond on October 9 and charged with setting fire to the tea pavilion at Kew Gardens in February last.

Miss Lenton went on to say that the whole proceedings were an utter absurdity. In February last she was before the Court and remanded. Three days later she was out of prison. Then she disappeared, and subsequently gave herself up at Doncaster. A few days later she was released again, and now she was before the Court once more.

THE MAYORAL INSULT

The Mayor said it was exceedingly deplorable to see a young woman like the defendant, with great personal charm, taking up a criminal movement and running the risk of committing suicide. It did not altogether point to a normal state of mind. She ought rather to be seen by experts who could ascertain whether she was really responsible for what she did.

Miss Lenton was released after hunger-striking on Wednesday evening.

IN THE COURTS

Thursday, October 9.—At the Richmond Police Court, charged with firing the Kew Gardens tea pavilion last February, Miss Lilian Lenton, committed for trial under three charges; no bail.

Monday, October 13.—At the Feltham Police Court, charged with firing a house at Hampton, Miss Mary Richardson and Miss Rachel Peace, committed for trial at the Central Criminal Court; bail refused.

Tuesday, October 14.—At the Bow Street Police Court, charged with breaking a Home Office window, Miss Verity Oates, fined 40s. and 85s. damages, or 14 days.

Wednesday, October 15.—At Glasgow High Court, charged with attempting to fire a house; Dr. Dorothea Smith and Miss Margaret Morrison, case proceeding.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE L.C.C. AND MARRIED WOMEN

To the Editors of Votes for Women. Dear Editors.—I should like to draw the attention of the readers of Votes for Women to a recent decision of the L.C.C. not to employ married women to clean the schools.

WEST END FLAT CASE

To the Editors of Votes for Women. Dear Editors.—If you will give me space I should be glad to put before you the feeling of the public in regard to this case. I have written in the name of the White Rose League letter after letter to Mr. McKenna, asking him what further proceedings he intends taking in regard to the reopening of this case.

of £1 and upwards, making in all £450. The response to this request has been splendid, but we are still a little short of the sum required. As the scheme is intended particularly to make profits for Suffrage societies, and as on the financial score we are safe for a very big success, since almost the whole east contains the names of star actresses, who are giving us their services, it is obvious that unless individual members of societies become guarantors the Suffrage will not share in the profits, which are going to be considerable.

On all sides the enthusiasm and interest in our woman's theatre week is increasing, and should culminate in a record week, both artistically and financially, so that I make this last appeal to the Suffrage public to take advantage of the co-operative scheme by sending guarantees of £1 or upwards before the fund is closed.

THE PRESS AND "ROWDY" SUFFRAGISTS

To the Editors of Votes for Women. Dear Editors.—There is no doubting the splendid courage hitherto displayed by women in their fight for freedom, but it seems to me there is yet a further sacrifice (?) they should make—that is, from a date to be decided upon, to strictly boycott both Tory and Liberal newspapers and the various publications issuing from their offices for a period of one month or six weeks.

THAT "SPOILT DARLING"

To the Editors of Votes for Women. Dear Editors.—I think the paragraph which I enclose, taken from the Law Journal of September 6, 1913, might interest you, if it has not already been brought to your notice.

It contains a strange error, for, as should be known to any writer on legal points, a clause was inserted in the Married Women's Property Act, 1882, on this point. Provision was made by Section 3 that a wife, if a creditor in the bankruptcy of her husband, should only claim dividends after other creditors for value had been satisfied.

THE WOMAN'S THEATRE

To the Editors of Votes for Women. Dear Editors.—May I crave the space to remind your readers about the advantages of this co-operative woman's theatre scheme? The expenses of our inaugural week were originally asked for by means of guarantees

SALE AT SHOOLBRED'S NEXT WEEK Witney Blankets. Carpets. Rugs. Household Linens. Tapestry Curtains &c. AT BARGAIN PRICES

A GIRL HERO

No story of human heroism is more touching than that of the rescue by Miss Grace Woodruff, first of her mother and then of the boatman Collins, both of whom were involved with herself in a boating accident that occurred on September 22. It will be remembered that Mrs. Woodruff and her daughter, Grace (aged 20), set out for a cruise in their boat, taking with them the boatman, Collins. They had gone some distance when they were overtaken by a small, which turned the boat over and sank it.

FROM A WASHINGTON WOMAN VOTER

To the Editors of Votes for Women. Dear Editors.—It is the desire of "The Woman's Non-Partisan League of Spokane" to extend a letter of sympathy to you ladies in your struggle for equal rights. The good work that has been accomplished in our suffrage States for the good of the home is marvellous. We had two women in our State Legislature this year. The State Public Instructor is a woman. We have had many women jurors. Our State has a woman Mayor, and the laws which were passed in this State this year by women's efforts are as follows:—Lazy Husband Act, Mothers' Pension Act, Revision of Juvenile Code, Minimum Wage for Women, Eight Hour Law for Women Workers, Child Labour Law (which will pass next Session), and a general clarification of our political bodies. We are now working to help our sister States get the same rights as we have.—Yours, &c.

THE CHANCELLOR'S POLICE-GUARDED SPEECH

As the Evening News says, the arrangements for Mr. Lloyd George's Bedford meetings last Saturday "were a fantastic tribute to the Suffragettes." Police reinforcements were literally poured into Bedford, and some 120 policemen were drawn up outside the door of the Skating Rink, where the meetings were held.

The Eubankment, on which the Rink stands, was barricaded at either end, and only ticket-holders were allowed to pass through. The tickets themselves, which had been applied for weeks ago, were only sent out the night before the meeting, so that no one knew until the actual day whether they were to be present or not.

Each scrutinized five times, and the hall itself was provided with 200 stalwart stewards. The afternoon's meeting passed without Suffrage interruption, but in the evening, although the precautions became even more stringent, half-a-dozen men supporters of Woman Suffrage managed to gain admittance, and bravely reminded Mr. Lloyd George of his duty to the women of the country.

A Suffrage meeting was then held on Market Hill, at which there was a good deal of disturbance; finally the speakers had to climb the railings of St. Paul's churchyard, some of which were pulled down by the crowd.

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

Speaking at the Cardiff Conference on the taxation of land values last Monday, Mrs. Wedgwood said there was nothing free about the Government except the name of Liberal. They had attacked the right of free speech, the personal liberty of citizens in the Cat and Mouse Act, and the liberty of the workers.

We are not surprised that this speech was considered "out of order" at a "Liberal" meeting.

APPEAL TO THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL CHURCH

Mrs. Ancliffe Sennett, Hon. Organiser of the Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage, has sent a letter to the Presbytery Clerk of Glasgow to be brought before the next meeting of the Presbytery, calling upon the National Church of Scotland to "realise its duty as a spiritual leader in this vital matter of Woman Suffrage."

Pointing out that the Church is "dependent to an enormous extent for its advancement upon the spiritual power of women, the letter goes on to say:— "The country is clamouring for her practical co-operation with its men to save it from the evils which beset it, and from which men alone have been unable to save it. This country has been fathered, but its mother has been set aside, and now claims the right to mother all her children. The white slaves, the deserted wives, the poor, outraged and deserted little children, the feeble-minded, the diseased, the inebriate, and the sweated women—all call to her for help, and she is determined they will not call in vain. She now appeals to you in the name of religion and of common humanity, as to those responsible for the spiritual health of the nation, to lead and to protect, by precept and example, the people committed to your care."

ANOTHER SUFFRAGIST BISHOP

Preaching the Conference sermon at Hull last week to the National Union of Women Workers, the Bishop of Leitchfield said that the whole of our national life would be richer and purer and fuller if women could take a direct part in politics. He looked forward with great hope to the time when women would be given the place in the councils of the Church which they had undoubtedly earned by their devoted service to all kinds of Church work.

AMERICAN WOMEN WORKERS SUPPORT US

The following resolution was passed unanimously by the National Women's Trade Union League of America, assembled in convention at St. Louis, Missouri, in June, 1913:

"Whereas the democratic movement for freeing women from all political and economic shackles is in all lands one, and whereas we feel the deepest sympathy with our British sisters in the long and arduous struggle which has now extended over half a century to obtain the ballot, and

"Whereas the bringing of this all-important question before Parliament is persistently delayed and blocked by the action of the British Government, be it Resolved that we, the delegates to the National Women's Trade Union League of America, in convention assembled, do protest against the attitude of the British Government as opposed to those liberal and democratic traditions, which they and we alike inherit, and for which in the eyes of the world's British statesmen, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the British Prime Minister and to the principal suffrage societies of Great Britain."

THE WOMAN NOVELIST

Referring to the recent statement of a man writer, "that no woman novelist has ever created a man that was credible apart from his outside," the Sunday Times said the other day in an amusing leading article that here we have "the last refuge of the male from the challenge of the other sex. And it is an inexpugnable refuge, because woman can never prove her case, man being the judge as well as the defendant. He can always say that the insight of woman, however inspired by close observation, has failed to penetrate to the heart of his mystery, and woman, not being man, cannot convincingly deny his assertion. But it is quite a new pretension on the part of man to have any mystery to penetrate. Hitherto he has been proud to pose as a simple creature, whose processes were all so entirely logical that they might be analysed by anyone with an elementary knowledge of Euclid. Now, driven to his last resort, he is found posing as something subtle, complex, and elusive. We fear that women will decline to be taken in by this singularly belated pretension—a pretension which is shattered by the daily experience in millions of homes that are happy simply because the women of them have taken exactly the measure of their menkind, and know how to humour them. As Thackeray frankly confessed, the story of Titania and Bottom the Weaver is an allegory of domestic life. Fortunately the woman is capable of an infatuation for a creature with an ass's head, whose chief concern is to be sufficiently scratched. If the woman novelists have foreborne to present that view of man, are they not entitled to gratitude for their polite forbearance?"

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Objects.—To dispel the ignorance that exists in the mind of the public with regard to the "Votes for Women" agitation. To tell the true story of the Movement, both in its constitutional and militant development, and also to show the causes that have produced and are still fomenting the present revolt. To educate and arouse opinion throughout the country, and rally sympathy and support to the lighters in this campaign for human liberty; to stimulate strenuous opposition to the Government's policy of futile and wicked coercion, and to persuade all who love justice and liberty to bring pressure upon the King's ministers to carry out the spirit of the British Constitution, and to concede the just and

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OLD WORLD FURNISHING

Conspicuous at the Ideal Home Exhibition, Olympia, is Messrs. Waring and Gillow's work. The nursery designed by Queen Alexandra has been carried out by them, and they have also executed an Adam's drawing-room, a Georgian dining-room, a 17th century parlour, and a number of other very artistic rooms.

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NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge. President: Mrs. Cecil Chapman

Our Hyde Park meetings continue to draw huge crowds. Sunday after Sunday one notices many persons in the audience who appear to attend as regularly as the speakers themselves. New members have been made as a result of these meetings; but many more would join the Society if present members would volunteer to act as stewards and distribute membership cards, &c., among those interested.

The work of the N.C.S. has grown very largely of late. New organisers have been taken on and fresh ground broken. Campaigns in charge of Miss Frye, at Wantage, and Miss Simeon, at Bristol, are now in full swing. Besides the usual London work, meetings are being arranged at Ashford, Dover, and other parts of the country. All this organisation means a heavy drain on the funds of the Society, and it is absolutely imperative that members should co-operate with the Committee in trying to replenish our coffers.

Whenever it has been needed, members have never failed to help. We hope we can count, therefore, upon each individual giving as generously as possible to the Christmas Bazaar. But in order to raise funds as soon as possible, Mrs. Pertwee has very kindly promised to arrange a

CONCERT, November 21.—A most attractive programme has already been drawn up, and among the artists will be the following:

Vocalists: Mme. Molitor Meux, Miss Lillian Berger, Miss Flora Mann, Miss N. Addison, Miss Eugenie Crofts, and Mr. Robert Marland.

Recitation: Miss G. Crocker. Monologue: Miss M. Bussé. Piano: Miss Gertrude Peppercorn. Piano Sketch: Miss Fanny Wentworth.

We appeal specially to every member to take tickets for this concert, which will be held in the afternoon in our new lecture room.

SPEAKERS' CLASS.—This has now been resumed under the direction of Mrs. Pertwee. The class meets every Wednesday at 143A, Park Mansions Arcade. The fee for the course is 10s., including two shillings, or one shilling for single lessons.

FUTURE MEETINGS

Sunday, October 19.—Hyde Park, noon. Mrs. Morivalo Mayer. Tuesday, October 21.—143A, Park Mansions Arcade, Miss Raymond Bentinck, Miss Ashwell, Mrs. Cayford Bentinck, Hostess; Miss Ravenshill Jackson.

DEATH OF ALLEGED HUNGER STRIKER

The following account of the death of an alleged hunger striker (on which we comment on page 33) appeared in the Standard on October 8:

A death from hunger striking, the first on record, has occurred at Bedford Prison. The facts came out yesterday at the inquest on the death of Albert Davis, a young man of twenty-one years of age, who was undergoing a sentence of fifteen months' hard labour for theft at Biggleswade, and who had been several times convicted previously.

The inquiry was conducted by Mr. G. M. Whyley, deputy coroner for the county. Mr. Sewell, governor of the prison, said that though Davis gave his age as twenty-one, he appeared much older. He had been under medical treatment since his first admission to the prison, and was a most perfect prisoner, although he appeared perfectly sane. He stated he was a native of Stafford; his father and mother died from small-pox when he was nine years of age. He had no brothers or sisters.

Other evidence was given by warders. A juryman asked whether Davis took his food properly. Dr. Skelding, the medical officer, replied that prisoner had been under his observation since he was admitted to the prison. They had the greatest difficulty in getting him to take his food; in fact, he absolutely refused it, but took a little milk occasionally. They also experienced difficulty in getting him to take the ordinary daily exercises, and two warders had to lead him round the yard; he continually wanted to lie down in the cell, and would do little work, although all that was required was very light. He died from exhaustion. He brought on a great deal of this himself through refusing to eat. The witness added that he pointed out to Davis that he was punishing himself through refusing his food, and that he had had greater licence than that usually given to prisoners.

The Foreman (to the coroner): It is a hunger strike, then. Don't you think it should have been reported to the Home Secretary?

The Coroner: You are thinking about the suffragists. The Governor said it was only necessary to report to the Home Secretary when forcible feeding was resorted to. During the time the prisoner was awaiting trial he read the newspapers, and no doubt thought he would imitate the women at Holloway Prison.

The jury returned a verdict of death from natural causes.

COMING EVENTS

Mr. Laurence Housman will lecture on "Petitcoat Government" at a meeting of the Women's Freedom League at the Carlton Hall on October 20 at 8 p.m.

A dramatic version of Longfellow's "Hiawatha" will be given by the League on November 4, at 3 p.m. and at 8 p.m. in the Cripplegate Institute, Golden Lane, E.C.

At the Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, on October 21, at 8.30 p.m., Mrs. Walter Gallician (C. Gaspoigne Hartley) will speak on "Some Problems Concerning Women." Chair: H. D. Harben, Esq.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck will speak at a meeting of the League of Justice at the Queen's (small) Hall on October 23, at 3 p.m.

A workers' meeting of VOTES FOR WOMEN will be held in the Doré Gallery, New Bond Street, on October 28, at 8 p.m.

The Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association will hold a meeting at the Suffrage Club on October 30, at 3 p.m. Speaker: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

SUNDAY SERVICES

ST. ANNE'S, SOHO.—Preachers and music for Sunday next, 11 a.m.—Te Deum and Benedictus, Garrett in D; Anthem, "I will sing of Thy power" (Sullivan); Preacher, Rev. Dr. S. Macgowan, 7 p.m.—Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis, Garrett in D. Anthem, "If the Lord Himself" (Walmesley Russell); Organ Voluntary, Introd. and Fugue; Preacher, Rev. W. H. G. Shapcott.

ST. MARY-AT-HILL, MONUMENT.—Services at 9 a.m. and 7 p.m. At 8 p.m., sacred music with orchestra.

ETHICAL CHURCH, Queen's Road, Bayswater.—Sunday, Oct. 19, at 11 a.m., Mr. C. Kennedy Scott, "English Music and the Genius of the Nation"; at 7 p.m., Mr. Laurence Housman, "National Drama and the National Theatre."

KINGSWAY HALL, KINGSWAY (West London Mission)—Sunday, October 19. Preacher, 11 a.m. and 7 p.m., Rev. J. E. Rattenbury. Morning subject: "The Twelve Apostles"; 6. "James." Evening subject: "What a Christian really is." 6.30-7 p.m., musical service. Soloist: Miss Helen Blain (contralto); Mr. ERNEST TIDLE at the organ. Programme will include the "Peer Gynt" Suite (Grieg). 3.30, FELLOWSHIP: Recital by Mr. John Duxbury, "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde."

NEW THOUGHT CHURCH.—11.15, at Steinway Hall, Lower Seymour Street. Speaker, Miss Muriel Brown, 7.15, at 78, Edgware Road.

WESTBOURNE PARK CHAPEL (opposite Royal Oak Station), Porchester Road.—Dr. C. H. Watkins, M.A., at 11. Dr. J. Clifford, M.A., at 7.

THEATRES, CONCERTS, &c. CORONET THEATRE, W.—Phone, 1273. Park, Monday, Oct. 20, one week, at 8. Mats, Weds. and Sat., at 2.30. "The Younger Generation," by Stanley Houghton, author of "Hindle Wakes." Seats booked from 1s. No booking fee.

MARGARET MEREDITH'S CONCERT of Chamber Music at Queen's Hall, on Tuesday next, Oct. 21, at 3. Tickets, 10s. 6d. to 1s.

MISS THEODORA JOHNSON.—Bolian Hall, Bond Street, Wednesday next, Oct. 22, at 8.50, will speak on the "BEAUTY OF HEALTH" with living illustrations. Esthetic movement and old Swedish peasant dances in national costume. Tickets, 10s. 6d. to 2s.

PRINCE OF WALES.—Every evening at 9 (last weeks), Algonon Greig and Milton Rosmer's production, "The Fugitive," by John Galsworthy. At 8.30, Henry J. Franklin. Mats., Weds. and Sats., 2.30.

SAVOY THEATRE.—EVERY EVENING at 8.15, "The Grand Seigneur." Mats., Weds. and Sats., at 2.30. H. B. Irving, Marie Lohr.

THE INTERNATIONAL SUFFRAGE SHOP Owing to the premises at 15, Adam Street, being required for Strand improvement, the International Suffrage Shop has had to find fresh quarters. These it has obtained at 11, Adam Street, immediately opposite the old address. Miss Trim, who has been in charge of the Book-selling Department, has now taken over the management. As the shop does not receive the official support of any society, whilst catering for the needs of all its friends are asked to use it as much, and to make it as widely known as possible, and so help to fulfil the idea of presenting to all Suffragists, as well as to the Man in the Street, the magnitude of the woman's movement.

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

- Actresses' Franchise League, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C. Artists' Suffrage League, 229, King's Road, S.W. Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association, C/o International Women's Franchise Club, 9, Grafton Street, W. Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, 55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W. Church League for Women's Suffrage, 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C. Civil Service Suffrage Society, 19, Sobey Road, Highbury. Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, 48, Dover Street, W. Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies, 14, St. James' Street, S.W. Free Church League for Women's Suffrage, 55, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W. Friends' League for Women's Suffrage, Mill Field, Street, Somerset. Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society, 2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester. International Suffrage Shop, 11, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C. International Woman Suffrage Alliance, 49, Balliol Street, Adelphi, W.C. International Women's Franchise Club, 9, Grafton Street, W. Irish League for Woman Suffrage, The Union of the Four Provinces Club, 15, John Street, Adelphi, W.C. Irishwomen's Franchise League, Ancient Concert Buildings, 61, Brunswick St., Dublin. Irishwomen's Reform League, 28, South Anne Street, Dublin. Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association, 143, Rathbarney Road, Dublin. Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation, 23, South Anne Street, Dublin. Irishwomen's Suffrage Society, 27, Donegal Place, Bellast. Jewish League for Woman Suffrage, 32, Hyde Park Gardens, W. League of Justice, 22, South Molton Street, W. London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage, Chester Gate, Ealing. Marchers' Quile Vive Corps, Dunston, Exmouth, Sussex.

QUEEN'S HALL

MARGARET MEREDITH'S CONCERT OF CHAMBER MUSIC. TUESDAY NEXT, Oct. 21, at THREE.

M. Jacques Thibaud, Miss May Muckle, Miss Edith Penville, Mr. Charles Draper, Mrs. Margaret Meredith, Miss Ada Forrest, Miss Phyllis Lett, Mr. Charles Mott. Tickets, 10s. 6d., 2s. 6d., 1s. Concert-Director E. L. ROBINSON, 7, Wigmore St., W.

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE holds Public Meetings at Caxton Hall every Wednesday afternoon. Speakers, Oct. 23, Miss Eunice Murray and Miss Nina Boyle. The chair will be taken by Mrs. Tanner at 3.30 Admission free.

LEAGUE OF JUSTICE.—Public Meeting in the Queen's (small) Hall, Thursday, Oct. 23, 1913, at 3 p.m. Speakers, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Cavendish-Bentinck. Chair, Miss Gwyneth Chapman. Come and support a new militancy: law-abiding, but effective. Tickets, 1s., reserved; 6d., unreserved; from the League Offices, 22, South Molton Street, W.

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