

"The Suffragette," January 30, 1914.

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Suffragette

Edited by Christabel Pankhurst.

The Official Organ of the
Women's Social and Political Union.

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A Review of the Week.

The Bishop of London and Forcible Feeding.

An important step towards the abolition of forcible feeding was taken by the W.S.P.U. deputation which interviewed the Bishop of London last Monday. As an outcome of the discussion the Bishop of London wrote a letter to the prison chaplain which was immediately conveyed to him, and further undertook to seek admission to Holloway Gaol in company with the Bishop of Kensington in order to make direct and personal inquiry into the torture of Suffragists there imprisoned. The deputation pointed out that it would be impossible to obtain the truth from the Government or the prison officials, and urged the Bishop of London to be himself a witness of the actual process of forcible feeding. It is felt that the Bishop has a very special responsibility for woman torture perpetrated in his diocese. Further developments are awaited and will be dealt with in our next issue.

To See the King.

During the past week a large number of women have expressed their wish to join the deputation to the King. In this issue we publish an article by Miss F. E. M. Macaulay dealing with instances in which the right of the subject to lay demands before the King in person has been exercised. As we have before now pointed out, women's right to see the King is even stronger than that possessed by men because men enjoy the alternative right of electing Members of Parliament who can represent them and carry their views into effect. The object of the W.S.P.U. deputation to the King, is as our readers are aware, to demand the immediate political enfranchisement of women and to protest against the torture of Suffragist prisoners. The larger the deputation is, the more effective it will be, and therefore, it is for every woman to consider most seriously the question of her own personal duty in regard to joining the deputation.

Tortured Prisoners.

Miss Ella Stevenson was on January 23 rearrested under the "Cat-and-Mouse Act" and released on Tuesday after a hunger and thirst strike. Miss Stevenson can show a fine record of selfless devotion to the cause of Votes for Women. Hers was one of the

longest and most painful imprisonments of last spring. Although of fragile physique she held out against seven weeks of forcible feeding. Then came the passing of the "Cat-and-Mouse Act" and the Government ordered her temporary release in order that she might regain strength sufficient to enable them to put her again under torture. As soon as she had somewhat recovered from the effects of forcible feeding Miss Stevenson took advantage of her period of freedom to continue to serve the Votes for Women cause. She was rearrested in August while selling the SUFFRAGETTE in the street and released as the result of a hunger strike. Forcible feeding is still being carried out in the case of Miss Rachel Peace, of Miss Kitty Marion, and of Miss Phyllis Brady. The need of further and continuous protest is therefore vital.

The Liberal Policy of Intrigue.

Owing to the progress of the militant movement the Government become more and more anxious, if not by direct attack, then by their favourite method of intrigue, to weaken the W.S.P.U. The history of the W.S.P.U. shows that such intrigue must fail, although it would succeed in weakening any society less prepared to cope with it. One difficulty, however, is, that the Government in their unwillingness to surrender and give votes to women are apt to entertain false hopes of the success of their methods of intrigue. Such hopes they will base upon any kind of connection, however remote and however indirect, subsisting or appearing to subsist between members (and more especially officials) of the W.S.P.U. and persons in any way related to the Liberal Party.

To Be and Seem Independent.

It is, therefore, increasingly the object of the W.S.P.U. to bring home to the mind of the Government a conviction of its absolute independence of Liberal influences however faint and however distant. No chain of connection must exist between Liberalism and militant Suffragism, and whenever, or if ever, such links exist, or appear to exist, they must be broken, and their appearance must be dissolved. The subject is dealt with at greater length in a special article entitled "The Inner Policy of the W.S.P.U." In the early days the W.S.P.U. had little to consider save the Government's frontal attack. Now that it has been proved that this attack does not weaken, but actually strengthens, the Union, the Government will more and more resort to wirepulling and intrigue. To expect the contrary would be to harbour a dangerous illusion. Strict independence, and what is more the full appearance of it—therein lies the safeguard against Liberal treachery and intrigue!

"I Am the Leader of Ulster Women."

It is stated that as soon as the Home Rule Bill becomes law the Provisional Government will come into active existence. Before concluding his visit to Ulster, Sir Edward Carson addressing the members of the Provisional Government made special references to the women's share in the Ulster revolution. "Women were," he said, "prepared to play as noble a part as the manhood of Ulster," and he continued:

"It is perhaps one of the greatest signs of the justice of our cause and one of the greatest assurances of the victory we contemplate, that if anything the women have realised almost more than the men that they must make every sacrifice to see this thing through to the end."

Sir Edward Carson then uttered these memorable words: "I am not only the leader of the men, but also the leader of the women of Ulster."

Sir Edward Carson's Pledge to Women.

Thus we have renewed the pledge already made that Ulster women are to share with Ulster men not only the dangers, but the triumphs of the militant opposition to Home Rule. In other words Sir Edward Carson is pledged not to accept any settlement of the Irish question which does not provide that women shall have the vote on the same

terms as men. An Ulster woman has written to the "Belfast News Letter" to point out that Sir Edward Carson did not include in his speech at the Ulster Hall any endorsement of the statement made on this subject by the Ulster Unionist Council last September, whereupon the editor of the "Belfast News Letter" has replied that "the declaration made by the Ulster Unionist Council was official and therefore authoritative and binding." It is in order to guard against any breach of this undertaking that the W.S.P.U. has instituted its campaign in Ulster.

Unionist Press Praises Militant Women.

The Unionist Press, which is by no means unanimously in favour of the militancy of Suffragists, is rejoicing greatly in the militant attitude of women opponents to Home Rule. The "Daily Telegraph" speaking of the recent gathering in Ulster says:

No one, of course, who has read history, either ancient or modern, will be surprised at this firm and dauntless resolution of the women of Ulster. When was besieged city ever handed over in despair to its besiegers because the women had grown weary of enduring privation and loss? What happened at the famous siege of Derry? Macaulay, in his vivid narrative of the heroic defence, says that the women were "seen among the thickest fire, serving out water and ammunition to their husbands and brothers!" What was the attitude of the Boer women in the South African war, when the field armies of the Boer Republics had been destroyed beyond hope of reformation, and the war had developed into a fierce guerilla conflict, which imposed upon the British generals the cruel necessity of burning the scattered farms of the burghers, whence the guerilla bands drew their sustenance and support? Testimony is unanimous that the Boer women urged resistance to the last and spurned the suggestion of surrender.

When shall we see some such glowing tribute to the women who are fighting for the vote! What an answer to those who condemn the method of arson is the "Daily Telegraph's" reference to the "cruel necessity of burning the scattered farms of the burghers!"

Mr. Redmond's Anti Suffrage Policy.

Turning from the declared policy of the Ulster leader, Sir Edward Carson, to that of the Nationalist leader, Mr. John Redmond, we find a striking contrast. Mr. Redmond has from the beginning set his face against the enfranchisement of his countrywomen. The Liberal Press are covering him with unctuous congratulation upon his readiness, by all manner of concessions, to conciliate the men of Ulster. That this conciliatory attitude is due to a mixture of fear and gross sex-prejudice is proved by the fact that Mr. Redmond will not at any price allow either Ulster women or Nationalist women to have the rights of citizenship in Ireland. Like Mr. Asquith he will not even discuss the matter, for he has refused the request for an interview preferred to him by the women's franchise society in his constituency. The utter destruction of the present one-sided and fraudulent Home Rule Bill would be a well-deserved punishment for Mr. Redmond.

Like Liberal Women.

One of the questions of the day in the Suffrage movement is: What is the difference between the Liberal women and the anti-militant Suffragists? The difference is truly very hard to see. More and more the anti-militants become associated with the official Labour Party. We hear of anti-militant Suffragists at the N.W. Durham by-election speaking on the platform of the Labour candidate, and as it would seem, strongly identifying themselves with the whole policy of official Labourism. Yet there is no political justification, whatsoever, for such a policy. The Labour Party, though it puts votes for women somewhere or other on its academic programme, makes no effective fight for the cause in Parliament. It is actually in alliance with the anti-Suffragist Liberal Government, being part of the Coalition which keeps that Government in office. Thus we see that the anti-militant Suffragists

have fallen into the old trap laid by the party politicians. Like the Liberal women they are becoming the handmaidens of a political party. All the more need, therefore, for the rigid and scrupulous independence of the Women's Social and Political Union!

Women's Right to Live.

Entrapped as the anti-militants have been by the official Labour Party, they must surely feel a twinge of doubt as to their position when they find a member of the Labour Party, Mr. Wadsworth, M.P., opposing the employment of women at the pit brow. A favourable argument of Mr. Wadsworth and these men engaged in the mining industry whose point of view he represents, is that the work in question is not fit for women. It has been proved over and over again that such work is better paid and infinitely more healthy than much of the other work in which wage-earning women are engaged. Also it is a fact that in many mining districts alternative employment for women is very scarce. Taking the country as a whole, the employment at which women can earn a living wage is much less than the need of such employment, and therefore as the result of closing one industry to women the struggle for life for women workers as a whole is made more difficult. It is all very well to protest that certain work is unsuitable for women, but the women in question must often choose between that work and the horrible trade of prostitution. When shall we find Mr. Wadsworth, M.P., and others of the same way of thinking instituting a moral crusade against prostitution and striving to provide for women new means of honest livelihood?

Wanted—Women's Co-operation.

Discussing the question of children and the cinematograph, the "Times" in a leading article says that although the children's habit of frequenting cinematograph exhibitions in the evenings may be bad for their health, yet any proposal to exclude them from such exhibitions suggests a number of questions as follows:

Are their homes better ventilated than the "palaces" or the street corners less draughty? Are the stories they are likely to be reading more conducive to knowledge and virtue than the pictures which they are not allowed to enjoy? Is the print of such stories read in such light as their homes are likely to possess, any better for their eyesight than are the films? Will they go to bed any earlier or sleep the sounder for being left at home? Is the education which they receive at school presented in the most attractive way possible, and offered to them as a pathway to knowledge and activity, not as a punishment for being young?

If as the "Times" suggests these questions must be answered in the negative, then this is evidence of faulty social conditions which have grown up under the Government of men only and can be remedied only by the active co-operation of women. Can it be that the "Times" is becoming a Suffragist in spite of herself?

Women and the Navy.

Legislating for the better care and protection of children is obviously women's work. So it seems legislating for the Navy. For if we are to judge by a report in the "Naval and Military Record," men in spite of all their loud trumpeting on the subject of Dreadnoughts and the like, are incapable of looking after the sailors upon whom, after all, naval efficiency mainly depends. Says the "Naval and Military Record": "In the newest ships the sleeping quarters are like ice houses until midnight, and after that—well, the reverse. The heating and ventilating arrangements have not come up to expectations and the result is that the hospitals have been more than full of chest complaints." Evidently women voters are needed to play the part of Florence Nightingale and by saving the sailors from needless loss of health, efficiency, and life, to play the most important part in naval administration and reform!

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STOP FORCIBLE FEEDING. Martyrs for Liberty in Holloway Gaol SHRIEKS OF PAIN—AND LOUD MOANS IS RACHEL PEACE IN A PADDED CELL?

TERRIBLE news has been received of the women who are being forcibly fed in Holloway Gaol. On Monday, January 19, Miss Ansell was re-arrested under the Cat and Mouse Act and released on the following Thursday. Miss Ansell states that on Tuesday afternoon she was awakened by a shriek of pain—of uncontrollable terrible pain. This was followed by loud moans which Miss Ansell described as "heart breaking." Then a door was slammed and she heard no more. Between nine and ten the next morning she heard several people go to the same cell and the shrieks and moans were repeated. Again in the afternoon the same thing happened, and it was repeated twice a day while she was in prison.

A sinister feature of Miss Ansell's experiences was the ceasing of all sound when the door was slammed. The shrieks were heard as someone came to wash the instrument at the tap in the corridor. This suggests that the tortured prisoner whom Miss Ansell thought to be Rachel Peace is in a padded cell.

This frail woman forcibly fed even while on remand and innocent under the English Law has already been tortured to what she felt to be the verge of insanity by forcible feeding. After a short interval to gather together her shattered forces she resumed the hunger strike. Alone in her cell, in physical pain and mental agony, at the mercy of two men instruments of the Government, whom Miss Ansell describes as "strongly built men, coarse and unfeeling," what is happening to her?

Two other women are also being forcibly fed, Miss Kitty Marion and Miss Phyllis Brady. Miss Kitty Marion, who is reported as being very ill, in January, 1913, endured the same torture and described it in the following words: "When the tube was put up my nose it twisted, and part of it came out of my mouth. The pain was so horrible I felt as if my nose were being pulled off, and I struggled violently. I was violently sick, and when the operation was over I cried with relief and pain."

Miss Brady told the doctors that she had had appendicitis attacks, and asked them to examine her. They did examine her and one of them said, "Yes, you have had it, and are liable to have it again, but I don't consider that sufficient ground to exempt you." She has been fed twice a day by the nasal tube since Sunday, by two doctors, with the assistance of six wardresses. She resists and struggles vigorously on each occasion.

We are informed that she looks very weak and ill, and that her digestion is in a very bad state as a result of the forcible feeding she has already endured.

THIS HORROR MUST BE STOPPED.

WHAT YOU CAN DO TO STOP IT.

Go and protest against it in any and every place where the public are gathered together, such as churches, restaurants and theatres. Tell them what forcible feeding means, and give them leaflets to take away with them, so that their imagination and their consciences may be roused on the matter.

See that every medical man in your neighbourhood is called upon and personally interviewed. He should be made to understand that he is individually responsible for the torture inflicted on suffragist prisoners by members of his profession. Leave him a copy of the leaflet "Doctors as Torturers," and the leaflet giving medical quotations showing the pain and danger to health and life involved in forcible feeding.

Personally interview the clergy of all denominations upon the matter. See to it that every clergyman in your neighbourhood is fully informed on the question of forcible feeding. It is the duty of the Christian Church to denounce the oppressors and torturers now in power.

Remember, "He who permits oppression shares the crime." Anyone who does not do all in his or her power to put an end to forcible feeding acquiesces in it, and shares in the crime of the Government and the prison officials.

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FRIDAY, JANUARY 30, 1914.

The Question of Torture.

Very urgent is the question of torture just now in view of the fact that forcible feeding is, at this every moment, being inflicted upon Miss Rachel Peace and others in Holloway Gaol.

The Government admit forcible feeding to be torture by the secrecy with which they practise it. No independent witnesses have ever yet been permitted to be present while forcible feeding is being performed upon the Suffrage prisoners.

If forcible feeding were not torture, why this determination to practise it in secrecy behind locked doors? Visitors are admitted to see ordinary prisoners and to witness the working of the prison system in its other phases. But neither impartial witnesses, nor medical advisers, nor friends of Suffragist prisoners have ever been allowed to be present while the torture of forcible feeding was being inflicted upon them.

There was a time when the Government tried to deceive the public into thinking that forcible feeding was ordinary medical treatment—in other words, to confuse forcible feeding with artificial feeding.

Now if a prisoner were in a condition to need artificial feeding (which should be carefully distinguished from forcible feeding) there is little doubt that such a prisoner would be released because the prison hospitals are neither equipped nor staffed for the treatment of serious illness. Yet, forcibly fed Suffragist prisoners are kept as long as possible in prison!

Besides, the question of whether forcible feeding is medical treatment or torture is no longer an open one, because the Government themselves, through the mouth of Mr. McKenna, have admitted that forcible feeding is a "most objectionable practice."

Forcible feeding is, therefore, torture by the plain admission of the torturers themselves.

The "Cat-and-Mouse Act" provides for torture in another form. Sometimes, the "Cat-and-Mouse Act" and forcible feeding are applied at the expense of one and the same prisoner, so that when forcible feeding has brought a prisoner to the point of death, she is released for a time in order to enable her to regain some strength and then re-arrested and tortured anew. Over and over the process of torture, release, rearrest, and renewed torture, continues, the Government being thus enabled to apply forcible feeding for a much longer period than if they were obliged after one spell of torture to give a prisoner unconditional release.

The Members of Parliament who instead of insisting upon the complete abolition of torture slavishly supported the "Cat-and-Mouse Act" as an alternative to forcible feeding, ought to have foreseen, if they did not foresee, that the treacherous Liberal Government, instead of making the "Cat-and-Mouse Act" an alternative to forcible feeding would employ it as an accompaniment of, and an aggravation of, forcible feeding.

It used to be said that no man of any breeding would ever do physical injury to a woman. This alleged exemption from physical attack has been pointed to as one of the privileges enjoyed by women in lieu of the vote. But the real fact is that men are much safer from being hurt by other men than women are, for as the Government's policy of torture shows it is only so long as women are submissive and obedient to men's rule and commands that their immunity

from physical attack endures. Let women differ actively from men on the vital matter of citizenship, and men rain blows upon them and torture them!

But when men rebel, their fellow men are very chary of crushing them by physical force. Witness the Liberal Government's reluctance to arrest and imprison and use violence against the Ulster rebels! Mr. Herbert Samuel expressed this reluctance in words when he said in his recent speech at Morley:

It is conceivable to the imagination that the Government shall carry Home Rule into law under the Parliament Act without alteration and to take whatever measures are necessary if Ulster resists. It may be that events will come to that pass, but I for one am inclined to think that public opinion in Great Britain would prefer, if it be possible by some compromise, to allay the anxieties of Ulster and to meet her wishes.

Thus we see that the way of men is to offer concession to members of their own sex and violence to women.

"Why do you say that men torture women instead of saying that the Government torture them?" we may be asked. There are two reasons for saying it. In the first place, men have chosen the present Government to represent them. They have placed this Government in office, and therefore, they must accept full responsibility for what is done by the Government.

In the second place, the members of the Government are accepted by their fellow men as being ordinary average members of their sex. What reason have we to suppose that if other men had happened to compose the Liberal Government they would have behaved differently, and would have given votes to women instead of torturing them? The Labour Party's connivance at torture, their support of the Government that practises it is significant from this point of view.

If men want to convince us that the members of the Liberal Government are exceptionally vile, then they must use their power as electors to put an end to torture.

For so long as woman torture continues, not only will the Government be held responsible, the electors will be held responsible too. Every man is either for or against torture of Suffragist prisoners and he confesses himself as an upholder of woman torture unless he actively opposes it. And be it noticed that active opposition to torture is not an act of special nobility and sacrifice, entitling men to the special gratitude of women. It is a plain and immediate duty such as that of paying taxes.

Politically speaking, torture is the great barrier between women and their enfranchisement, for so long as the Government are able to continue to torture Suffragist prisoners, they will maintain the pretence that they are succeeding in governing women without their consent.

Put an end to torture and the whole fabric of anti-Suffragism which until now the Government have so unscrupulously and cruelly maintained will fall to pieces and the enfranchisement of women will be inevitable!

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

SHE WILL PREVAIL.

By V. TAUBMAN GOLDIE.

(Author of "Nigel Thomson," "Escapades," "Nephele," "The Declension of Henry D'Albiac," etc.)

The word truth is, I believe, in most languages of the feminine gender. I neglect to labour the point overmuch, in view of the fact that most of the cardinal virtues were similarly personified in a female form, probably in accordance with the established belief that compliments, inexpensive gifts in themselves, tend to divert the mind of the recipient from seeking costlier favours. But in the case of this particular quality, I am beginning to fancy that the inventors of the various tongues knew what they were about. Oddly enough, I was brought up to believe, and did believe, that truth was a peculiarly masculine attribute. Great and small writers and philosophers (of my own sex) have never tired of repeating that lying, illusion and false pretence are rooted ineradicably in woman's nature. The dear, delightful creatures possess, of course, many excellent characteristics, of a kind the most convenient to their rougher and franker associates. Cool chastity is inherent in them; they have none of the overmastering desires that so amply excuse our little virile shortcomings and backslidings; or if some negligible number are so afflicted, they are scarcely to be reckoned as women at all, and can without injustice be treated as outcasts from society; indeed, the sex itself insists (so these discerning masculine teachers point out) on such ostracism of erring members of its body, where the kindlier charity of men would perhaps be disposed to accord a reproachful forgiveness. Self-sacrifice, again, amounts to a passion with them. They seek nothing for themselves, utterly content to devote their energies to fostering the magnificence of the nobler half of the race, to relieve it of all the paltry but necessary trivialities of life, to minister to its comforts and to provide splendid sons to die on the battle-field, or elsewhere when these glorious plains offer insufficient accommodation. Moreover, they are, without exception, extremely gentle and forbearing in dealing with the irritability and stern fierceness that necessarily result from the wider and vaster activities of their protectors; and the exceptions are suitable material for the ducking stool and the scold's bridle, or their modern equivalents, the comic paper, the music-hall song and Holloway Gaol. Then they are so beautiful—all that really matter, at any rate. But the truth is not in them; they prefer to live in a little, silly, pretty world, decently draped in rosy mists and vocal with false statements, as with bird-song. It was not only from avowed contemners of womanhood, such as Schopenhauer, that I acquired this interesting information; the proposition was accepted as incontrovertible fact by many of the most feminist writers who diverted my youth. They smilingly recorded it as a basic fact, childish and almost charming, of the female temperament.

My experience seemed to confirm their belief. I perceived that wives frequently deceived their husbands in the matter of dress accounts, household expenses and kindred matters, and I gagged a tolerant head. I was aware, of course, that sons lie to their fathers, schoolboys to their masters, employees to their employers, timid small men to angry big men, prisoners to judges, individual poor to individual rich, rich in general to poor in general, and professional politicians to everybody. But I drew no conclusion. Woman's regrettable tendency to falsehood was not, it seemed clear, as in other cases, the result of circumstances, but a natural predilection for the Thing that is not. Cabinet Ministers, fresh from the most unfortunate and irrefutable disclosures of their own inaccuracies, refer with grave disapproval to the habitual mendacity of the Women's Social and Political Union; from many a platform and editorial office we hear the chanted reiteration of woman's hatred of the facts of life, of her obstinate, and commendable, determination to shut her eyes to the stark and bony form of truth.

And yet, if there is one thing more than another that impresses me in the great revolutionary movement that is disclosing the working and ferment of womanhood, it is the passionate striving for the real, the undisguised and the true. In the middle of a world of sham and hypocrisy, of the covering up of unpleasing objects and the sweeping of dust under furniture and into cupboards, it is to-day the women, broadly I might almost say the women only, who are clamouring for a tearing aside of the swathings, for relentless broomwork in the dark corners, and for plain discussion of the best method of removing all the dirty finery of contemporary civilisation into the dust-hole and setting the house into clean and impeccable order. Nothing is sacred from their zeal for light and air; no veil, even the most majestically folded, resists their profane hands and searching eyes. These sonorous words on which the more comfortable and powerful of us have been building our habitations for so long—the Empire, the Crown, the Church, the Constitution, the Family, the Home, the Law and what not—strike no terror into their rash souls. These may be—some of them; all of them perhaps—the names of excellent institutions, they seem to say, but we cannot take the fact for granted; we must know the things that they stand for, inside and out; we must have them out under the pitiless sky, so that we can walk round them, contemplate them from every point of view, discuss their merits, if any, pick out their inevitable faults, and devise means of perfecting their entire economy. Epeolatry has no attraction for us; symbolism, where the meaning of the symbol is occult, we refuse to reverence. We wish to see; and what we see we propose to tell in the simplest and least decorated terms, regardless of the shuddering screams of outraged pudency and convention.

I do not know that there is anything in the upheaval that delights me as much as this, or makes so strong an appeal to my

personal ideals. The courage of the fighting line is undoubtedly superb; it is a quality that astounds and abashes one in whom, as in myself, it is conspicuous by its absence. But courage, however heroic, may be—often is—wasted on useless or even noxious ends; it is a weapon and a splendid and essential one, but it may be drawn in defence of darkness no less than of light. Besides we have long known women to be brave; that is a fact that even the most prejudiced historians and scientists have been unable to dissemble; whereas the birth of any widespread desire to see the world as it is was a thing that some of us had come to despair of living to witness; and that such desire should be thus manifested in what we had been taught to regard as the least-expected quarter is surely one of the wholesomest and gladdest signs of the times. Like many another unsuccessful novelist (to say nothing of successful ones), I have naturally suffered many things from the rigid laws of reticence imposed on my craft; and the reason given to me for the existence of these constricting rules has always been the same: women, the prop of the fictional publisher and the circulating library, would not tolerate plain speech on unpleasant subjects. The less luminous and fascinating sides of life must be kept from their delicate notice. We men might know these things, discuss them privately (and generally facetiously), but woman's rose-leaf fastidiousness must not be brutally handled. It was no part of a system this; no deliberate plan to keep them in the dark, for fear of disturbing consequences. Good heavens, no! What an extraordinary idea! It was by their own express command (enunciated through the mouthpiece of their manly champions) that Art was to be arrayed in crinoline. One of my own critics (an approved discriminator of smoking-room stories) objected to my first novel not so much on the grounds of its impudicity as because I had dedicated it to my wife, on whose behalf he perceived it to be his duty to register a protest. I offer no apology for referring thus to my private affairs, for this was one of the earliest indications given to me of the significance of the fine old tradition of female nicety. My wife was oddly unembarrassed by the book; no woman I met or heard of appeared in the least shocked; it was the men who were outraged, and these entirely for the sake of their sisters, wives and mothers. So first it began to dawn upon me that perhaps the opinion of these shrinking blossoms had been insufficiently consulted as to what they wished to know or ignore in the scheme of things; that conceivably the position had been more frankly stated by a delightful and ingenious creator of detective tales, when, in criticising a work written by one of these regrettably outspoken foreign romancists, he had declared, with really inimitable fatuity: "I should not like any woman under forty to read this book."

(To be continued.)

THE DEPUTATION TO THE KING—HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS.

Special Article by Miss F. E. M. MACAULAY.

We publish below an article by an historical expert dealing with the ancient right of petitioning the King in person, which is embodied in the British Constitution. The article shows clearly that in claiming this right the Women's Social and Political Union are acting in accordance with recognised historical precedent.

There is every prospect that the deputation will be large and representative. By every post letters continue to arrive from women in all parts of the country expressing their eagerness to use their only constitutional right, and to lay their claims to enfranchisement before the head of the Constitution—the reigning Sovereign. We print below a selection from these letters, and we shall continue to do so week by week.

All letters should be addressed to the Deputation Secretary, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

The Deputation to the King.

Historical Precedents.

By Miss F. E. M. MACAULAY.

One of the most priceless rights possessed by British subjects—perhaps only less priceless than the vote itself—is that of petitioning the Crown and Parliament. According to Erskine May, it "is acknowledged as a fundamental principle of the Constitution, and has been uninterruptedly exercised from very early times." "*Nulli negabimus, aut differemus rectum vel justitiam*," proclaims the Sovereign in the Great Charter—"To none will we deny, to none delay right or justice"; and the Bill of Rights reasserts the principle in the well-known clause which declares that "it is the right of the subjects to petition the King, and that all commitments or prosecutions for such petitions are illegal."

Passing over such well-known examples of petitions to the King as that of the "company of gode women" who, as the Mercers relate, "travailled en barfote, there men darst nought, to owre lige Lorde (King Richard II.) to seeke grace of hym for trewe men"; or the still more famous one presented by the Seven Bishops to James II, we find two instances, since the readjustment of the

Constitution at the Revolution, of deputations bringing petitions to the Sovereign himself, complaining of the tyranny and oppression of his Ministers. These are of peculiar interest just now, and form valuable precedents for the deputation which the women are arranging to send to his Majesty King George V.

There was first the Address, Petition, and Remonstrance presented in 1770 to George III. by the Lord Mayor and Livery of London in connection with the Wilkes election, when the Commons, supported by the Government, had overridden the electoral rights of the people of Middlesex, and refused to allow their duly chosen representative to sit in Parliament.

A previous petition, arraigning the conduct

HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE V.



of his Ministers, had been received by his Majesty, but had remained unanswered, and the City of London now added a Remonstrance couched in remarkably bold and free terms. The King was unsympathetic, but listened, nevertheless, to the accusations brought by the deputation against the Government.

The discussion that followed in Parliament—when the Opposition, led by Chatham himself, defended the action of the City—is described by a contemporary writer, and his summary of the debate is interesting, as illustrating the general feeling on the right of petitioning. He says that "the injustice of censuring any part of the people for the exercise of a right in which they are warranted by the Constitution; which is supported by the dictates of reason, the authority

of precedents, and the positive declaration of our laws, was largely entered upon"; and he continues: "Our sole consideration is simply whether the people have, or have not, a right to petition; whether they are, or are not, legally authorised to lay their grievances before the Throne, wherever they imagine themselves oppressed; and whether all prosecution at law for the exercise of this privilege is not expressly prohibited in that palladium of public liberty, the Bill of Rights." It was also urged, says our writer, that "among the many blessings arising to the kingdom from the Revolution, the privilege of complaining to the Throne—asserted, not acquired, at the time—without the danger of punishment, is one of the noblest; the people in this respect are the sole judges of the necessity for petitioning—it is as much a part of their right, as it is a part of the Royal prerogative to assemble Parliaments or to exercise any other power warranted by the Constitution."

Although the Commons obtained the concurrence of the Lords in an address to the King censuring the promoters of the petition, no punishment was inflicted on the latter, and shortly afterwards another City deputation was received by the Sovereign. The object of the petitioners was gained a little later on: Wilkes was allowed to take his seat for Middlesex, and the resolution of the Commons expelling him from the House was expunged from its journals.

The second instance is extremely to the point at the present juncture, for it is the case of a petition of Irish non-voters—disfranchised because of their religion—who appealed early in 1793 to George III. against the refusal of the Irish Government and Parliament (in the days when a Parliament still sat in Dublin) to grant them the rights of citizens. This Catholic deputation, the members of which, as Wolfe Tone says, "fought their way through innumerable difficulties to the foot of the Throne," was very graciously received by King George, a fact highly displeasing to the Irish Government.

Dundas, the English Home Secretary, who introduced the deputation at St. James's, defended the King's action in a long and able letter to the Lord-Lieutenant. It was impossible, he said, that a respectful petition from a great body of the King's subjects should not be presented—and it was equally impossible that it should be received with a "sullen silence."

As a matter of fact, the pressure brought to bear on the Irish Government resulted in the immediate removal of the harshest disabilities of the Irish Catholics.

King George III, then, in spite of the fact that he was furious with Wilkes and his

Letters from Volunteers.

"Let the King Know the Truth."

A Mother of Soldiers writes:

I am gladly joining our Deputation to the King. I have always thought we ought to give him a real opportunity of knowing what we are asking for. How otherwise can he know the truth. I am the mother of sons, all in His Majesty's Service, and one has already given his young life at his King and country's call. Surely there can be no reason, political or otherwise, that ought to be allowed to shut us out from his presence. We are only asking, with all sincere respect, to be allowed to put our own cause before him, as in no other way can a truthful statement of it reach his ears.

HER MAJESTY QUEEN MARY.



"The Best Step Ever Taken."

Another member writes:

The Deputation to the King is the best step you have taken. Every individual should feel it her duty to take her place in the ranks that day, which will be the most eventful in women's history.

As it is by the advice of the Cabinet, who are chosen at the discretion of the King and are His Majesty's intermediaries in governing, and as that Government withstand the just demands of more than half the democracy solely because they happen to be women, it is time to go direct to "the head of the Constitution," King George V. of England, grandson of the late Queen Victoria, and demand from him the right of representation in the Government which will carry with it the dignity of citizenship. As His Majesty, through his Ministers, has signed and thereby sanctioned the bar-

friends, and notwithstanding his well-known dislike of altering the status of the Catholics, did not refuse his subjects the right to appeal to him in person on these matters.

The women who are about to approach King George V. in the same spirit as that in which the disfranchised Irish Catholics approached his illustrious predecessor, anticipate at least as good a reception as was accorded to the latter and to the champions of Wilkes. Is there any valid reason why they should not obtain it? There are two extremely cogent ones why they should.

In the first place, the cause for which they are contending is of immensely greater importance than that of the men who petitioned George III. on the question of the Middlesex election. The latter was a matter which concerned the loss for a short time of their electoral rights by a comparatively small number of voters. But the women to-day are struggling to deliver half the human race—not merely from a temporary but a permanent deprivation of their citizen rights, and its attendant consequences of exploitation and degradation.

The second reason is equally strong. Whatever may have been the gravity of the charges brought by the City of London against the Ministers of George III., every unprejudiced, thinking person knows how shamefully the women have been tricked and betrayed by the Ministers of George V. Much more than those Middlesex electors must they need to exercise their ancient and undoubted birthright. Turning in disgust from the mean, cruel and dishonest politicians who are degrading the high offices they hold, they will lay their accusations of tyrannical oppression and injustice at the foot of the Throne itself.

At this great moment of making history—and how great it is the historian of the future alone will be able to estimate—those sonorous words of the ancient charter, familiar to us all just now, familiar also, we may certainly assume, to His Majesty, echo and re-echo in our minds: "*Nulli negabimus, aut differemus rectum vel justitiam*."

To British women right and justice have not only been delayed, but again and again denied by time-serving and expediency-worshipping Ministers.

The King, therefore, will surely remember the pledge solemnly made by his ancestors to their subjects in the far-distant past; and, remembering, he will redeem it, thus winning for himself the everlasting gratitude and esteem of women, not only in his own dominions, but over the whole world, to-day and in the days that are to be.

barously cruel "Cat-and-Mouse Act" by way of coercive government, then women have a right to demand from the Ruler and from him alone the repeal of that Act.

"Justice for the King's Subjects."

The following is from a Rector's wife:

I am joining the Deputation to the King by a desire to be one of those who wish to show His Majesty how much in earnest the brave women of England are in this matter of the Vote. We have tried again and again to interview the Prime Minister and have not succeeded; now we approach the Prime Minister's Master, the King of England, who by his Coronation Oath has promised justice to his subjects, and we women who give our work, our money and our sons for the upkeep of this Empire are asking now of the head of this Empire that to us shall be given the symbol of citizenship—the Vote. This is the justice for which we are seeking.

"Our Last Appeal."

The following is from a member who has practical experience among poor women:

For a considerable number of years I have been a teacher of Domestic Science in poor city districts, and for a long time have had an increasingly strong conviction of the futility of such work so long as the law-makers and administrators were men only.

I resigned my position last summer, and am devoting all my energies to the fight for the vote. I intend to fight in whatever way I have the strength and courage to do.

The Deputation to the King is, I consider, our last appeal. The King, the Government and the country have been well warned and have had every opportunity of understanding this great and holy war, so, whatever be the result of this special effort to obtain justice in a constitutional manner, the honour or the disgrace shall lie with the country's Head.

"A Glorious Way."

A sympathiser writes:

I am joining the Deputation to the King because Mr. Asquith is not our Prime Minister, he was chosen by men, and represents them; whereas His Majesty the King reigns over us all equally. It will be a glorious way of getting our equality! That our King should grant it to us! Not at the point of the sword, but because he sees that it will be for the benefit of humanity that we should stand shoulder to shoulder with the men of the Nation.

The following is from an aged invalid, one of the earliest members of the W.S.P.U.:

Dear Deputation Secretary,—In writing to ask you to include me in the Deputation to the King, I feel strongly that the followers of this wonderful movement should continuously support the leaders who have guided it from the beginning with genius and with unselfish single-minded devotion, and who are now giving of their very lives to it.

The Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage.

Founders and Hon. Organiser: Mrs. ARNCLIFFE-SENNETT. "NOW'S THE TIME AND NOW'S THE HOUR!"

MASS MEETING OF THE MEN OF THE NORTH

MEMORIAL HALL, (FARRINGTON STREET, LUDGATE CIRCUS), SATURDAY AFTERNOON, FEB. 14, at 3 o'clock. (Doors open 2.30 p.m.)

BOOK THE TIME AND BOOK THE HOUR! Preliminary list of Councillors who are coming 400 miles to give a MANDATE for a GOVERNMENT MEASURE for WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

- List of Councillors: Baille Alston, J.P., Councillor Barrie, Councillor Hamilton Brown, J.P., Councillor Cameron, J.P., Councillor Charlton, Councillor Crawford, Ex-Councillor Colbron, Ex-Baille Gordon, Councillor Hamilton, Councillor Alexander Wilkie, M.P., Mr. Robert Smillie, etc.

LONDONERS, COME AND WELCOME THE MEN OF THE NORTH ON FEBRUARY 14.

SPEAKERS' NAMES WILL BE ANNOUNCED LATER. ADMISSION FREE. A few reserved seats at 2s. 6d. to be obtained at the Addressess' Franchise League, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, the Secretary to Convention, 6, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, and at the Hall.



NEXT WEEK "CLEARING-UP" WEEK.

FINAL REDUCTIONS IN ALL DEPARTMENTS PREVIOUS TO STOCKTAKING.



Campaign Throughout the Country.

We give below an account of some of the constitutional and educational work being done on behalf of the W.S.P.U. in various parts of the country.

LONDON.

Balham and Tooting. Members, please note members' meeting Feb. 2. Gratefully acknowledged: the subscription from Miss Ross. The meeting in Bijou Hall unavoidably postponed.

Battersea. Miss Benett made very interesting speech at women's meeting on Jan. 22. Meetings at Latchmore Barbe will in future take place on Thursdays at 3 p.m.

Bow and Bromley. Good meetings held and SUFFRAGETTES sold well. Will all members please come to Out and Out Mission House, Buckley, day? Help wanted for new hall in Bow Road.

Bowes Park and District. Thanks to Miss Leahy for very interesting paper given on "Women and Friends" Will members and friends please note that a very short time remains between now and the dance (Feb. 14)? It is hoped that all are very busy selling tickets. Whist is being arranged for those who do not dance.

Chelsea. Annual general meeting of members held on Jan. 22. Members enjoyed the gathering and Miss Naylor's speech. Will all members who have even half an hour to spare come to shop for bills to distribute?

Clapham. The "Clapham Observer" and "South-Western Star," dated Jan. 23, both have a very good account of the annual meeting. All unsold tickets for Friday's whist drive must be returned.

Croydon. Large gathering of members greatly interested in Mrs. Dacre Fox's speech last Friday. Miss Julian is thanked for delicious home-made bread sold at meeting.

Forest Hill and East Dulwich. More help at shop needed. Will any member undertake a regular afternoon? Working women's meetings have been held at Dulwich and Forest Hill, and it is hoped to arrange for a series of them during remainder of winter.

Harrow. Members' meeting held in Committee Rooms on Jan. 12. Thanks to the members who have promised to help in various ways, especially to those who have canvassed booksellers re Miss Pankhurst's book.

Hornsey. Grateful thanks to Miss Barbara Wylie for inspiring speech at Assembly Rooms. Thanks, too, to all workers who helped to make meeting such a success.

Hornsey (cont.). Jumble sale fixed for Saturday, Feb. 7, at 56, Langdon Park Road, Highgate. All helpers please be there at 2 p.m.

Hornsey (cont.). Excellent women's meeting held on Thursday, and Mrs. Scurr's speech greatly enjoyed. Next women's meeting Thursday, Feb. 5. Who will act as hostesses and give cakes, etc.?

Hornsey (cont.). Thanks are due to Mrs. Seagor for having the tea party at her house last Tuesday. A great many names have been added to the list of members as a result of the tea parties.

Programme of the Week.

LONDON. Friday, January 30.

- Bow, Ford Road. 8 p.m. Kenilch Town, Modbury Street. Miss Coombs. 8 p.m. Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway. Speakers' Class. Miss Rosa Leo. 7.45 p.m.

Saturday, January 31.

- Harleiden, Manor Park Road. Miss P. Rickards. 7.30 p.m. Iford, Seven King's Station. Miss Davies. 8 p.m. Kilburn, Victoria Road. Mrs. E. Duval. 8 p.m.

Sunday, February 1.

- Hampstead Heath, Flagstaff. Miss Gilliat. 11.30 a.m. Lewisham, Market Place. Mr. E. Duval. 6.30 p.m. Poplar, East India Dock Gates. Miss Palmer. 6.30 p.m.

Monday, February 2.

- Bromley, Obelisk, Devon's Road. 8 p.m. Chelsea, 308, King's Road. Women's Meeting. Mrs. Grant. 8 p.m. Kenilch Town, 44, Malden Road. Women's Meeting. Miss M. Wright. 3.15 p.m.

Tuesday, February 3.

- Battersea, Comyn Road. Mrs. Duval, and others. 8 p.m. Bow, Out-and-Out Mission Hall, Tredgar Road. Mrs. Smithwick. 8 p.m.

Wednesday, February 4.

- Bromley, Crisp Street and Morris Road. 8 p.m. Chelsea, World's End. Miss Coombs. Chair: Miss Atkinson. 8 p.m. Hampstead, 178, Finchley Road. Members Meeting. 8 p.m.

Thursday, February 5.

- Bayswater, Elysee Galleries, Queen's Road. Rev. Cyril Asherwood. Miss Olive Bartels. Chair: Mrs. Dacre Fox. 8 p.m. Bow, Out-and-Out Mission Hall, Tredgar Road. Women's Meeting. 3 p.m.

Friday, February 6.

- Bow, Ford Road. Miss Benett. 8 p.m. Croydon, Katherine Street. Miss P. Rickards. 7.30 p.m. Kenilch Town, Modbury Street. Miss Eisa Myers. 8 p.m.

COUNTRY. Friday, January 30.

- Bath, Assembly Rooms. Mrs. Drummond, Miss Gladys Hazel. 8 p.m. Doncaster, Glyn Hotel. Miss Ada Suffield. 8 p.m. Edinburgh, West End. Miss Fitzroy. 8 p.m.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst's book, "The Great Scourge, and How to End It," is on sale at office. Will each member take at least three copies of the SUFFRAGETTE every week to sell to her neighbours? A list of those willing to give Tuesday tea parties is wanted at office. (Office, 519, East India Dock Road, E.)

Queen's Gate. Many thanks to those who have offered to give drawing-room meetings. This district must be worked greatly in this way. A meeting will take place on Tuesday, Feb. 10, at 3.30, at 55, Cornwall Gardens, for members and those wishing to join the branch. SUFFRAGETTE sellers wanted for Clouet Street and South Kensington Stations. (Hon. Sec. Mrs. Matthews, 55, Cornwall Gardens, S.W.)

Streatham. Tickets are now on sale at shop for whist drive, Feb. 5, given by Mrs. Chinn. Please support. Town Hall meetings are going very well. Bring your friends and distribute handbills. Mrs. Start has made lovely posters. Will members volunteer for parades every Saturday and Monday morning, 11.30 a.m., at shop? (Hon. Sec., 5, Shrubbery Road; telephone, 1575 Streatham.)

West Ham. Heartly thanks to Mrs. Wilcox and the Misses Wilcox for most successful whist drive at their house. Thanks also to all others who helped, and to Miss Kent, Miss Regan, Miss Fairweather, and Mr. Indge for prizes. For details of drawing-room meeting, Jan. 30, see programme. Canvassers now urgently needed for women's meeting, Feb. 5 (see Programme). A few 1913 subscriptions have still not come in, and Miss Hooper will be glad to have them without delay. (Hon. Sec., Miss W. Indge, 1, Wilmingdon Gardens, New Barking; shop, 328, Romford Road, Stratford, E.)

Westminster and St. George's. Will members and friends please note that a jumble sale will be held next Wednesday, Feb. 11, at 50, see Programme. SUFFRAGETTE sellers are still wanted to take the place of those who are unavoidably absent. Grateful thanks to those who have responded to appeal for helpers in shop during lunch hours. More help wanted Tuesdays and Fridays. Thanks to Mrs. Casey for second supply of home-made sweets for sale in the shop; they are much appreciated and having a very ready sale. (Org., Miss Cumberland, Hon. Sec., Miss Shedden, 17, Tottill Street; telephone, 7139 Victoria.)

Wimbledon. Will each member try to bring at least one friend to meetings at Queen's Hall on Friday evenings? Such excellent speakers should attract large audience. Programme cards can be obtained at shop and tickets for men on application to Hon. Organiser (see meetings list, tonight's speakers). General members' meeting will be held during February, date announced later. Only those who have paid their renewal fee for this year before then will be entitled to be present or to vote. Members please make point of attending tea rally on Saturday afternoons. (Hon. Org., pro tem., Mrs. Bogle; shop and office, 9, Victoria Crescent; telephone, 1922 Wimbledon.)

Woolwich. The Treasurer thanks all those who have promised monthly subscriptions, and will be glad to hear of others who will follow this good example. Thanks to Mrs. Gago for obtaining new subscriber to the SUFFRAGETTE. (Hon. Secs., Miss A. M. Clifford and Miss D. Gregory, 4, Heathwood Gardens, Charlton, S.E.)

HOME COUNTIES.

Brighton. Members and friends cordially invited to "at home" at Bon Bon Cafe, Preston Street, Thursday, Feb. 5, 4.6 p.m.; Mrs. Pankhurst's book on sale at Beal's, in Brighton, and Cambridge, Hove. More members wanted to undertake canvassing for same. Many thanks to Miss Elmes, Miss Turner, Miss Macpherson, Mrs. Norfolk, and Miss Goddard for undertaking to send the SUFFRAGETTE to supplied addresses and to Mrs. Cobb for presenting copy of "The Great Scourge" to Free Library. Mrs. Drummond will speak in The Dome on March 30. Funds towards Brighton Campaign urgently required. (Org., Miss Catherine Reid; office, 8, North Street Quadrant.)

