

The Suffragette

EDITED BY CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

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

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FORCIBLE FEEDING



"If you take a woman and torture her you torture me. These denials of fundamental rights are really a violation of the soul. They are an attack on that sacred part of life that is common to all of us, that part which has no individuality, that part which is real, the thing of which you speak when you talk of 'the life everlasting.' I say—with an absolute sense not of saying anything hysterical to you, but of saying to you something that is most ordinary common-sense—I say that the denial of these fundamental rights to ourselves in the persons of women is practically a denial of the life everlasting." *G. Bernard Shaw at the Kingsway Hall, Tuesday, March 18, 1913.*

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The Suffragette

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A Review of the Week.

The Cat-and-Mouse Bill.

The Government's Cat-and-Mouse Bill was introduced last Tuesday. If it ever becomes law it will, of course, be a dead letter. That the Government know as well as anybody...

Under Torture.

After a veritable martyrdom which had lasted about a month, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst was, on Friday last, released from prison. The agonising story that she tells will help people to realise what the others, who are still under torture, are suffering at this moment.

By Permission of Mr. Hobhouse.

Again Mr. Hobhouse has received an answer to his challenge. A house valued at £4,000 has been burnt to the ground by militant Suffragists, who were successful in making their escape and have not, in spite of desperate efforts by the police, been found.

franchisement, she ought to remember that millions of other women are not in her fortunate case. Yet against Lady White the Suffragists have no special grudge.

Beware of the Labour Party.

That eighteen Labour Members voted for the Government on the issue of their dealing with the militant movement and forcible feeding is a fact which all Suffragists who have hitherto trusted the Labour Party should notice.

The Broken Arm of the Law.

A debate of transcendent constitutional and historic interest was in progress in the House of Commons when our last issue went to press. The subject of debate was the forcible feeding of Suffragist prisoners, and the impotence of the law in face of the militant women's attacks upon property.

The Home Secretary Attacked.

Mr. Harold Smith is who raised this question of forcible feeding, and the Government's method of dealing with the militant agitation. He pointed to the Suffragettes' "orgy of crime," and to their "open boasts that they are criminally conspiring and inciting others to break the law."

What Liberal Members Said.

A Liberal Member, Mr. A. F. Whyte, who followed Mr. Smith, accused him of making "an appeal to panic legislation," and of having disregarded what history has to teach of the dangers of a repressive policy where such agitations are concerned.

the form of torture, a punishment which, by the Home Secretary's own showing, is absolutely ineffective to bring about respect for law or carry out sentences." Sir Arthur Markham put in a plea for the prison officials who are called upon to practise forcible feeding—"this most horrible and disgusting proceeding," as he termed it.

Methods Worthy of the Inquisition.

"The public regard forcible feeding as torture," said Mr. Clyde, Unionist M.P. for Edinburgh (W.). The Home Secretary's policy of forcibly feeding the hunger strikers to deter their comrades from hunger striking is, he said, "a means which would be quite worthy of the Inquisition."

Lord Robert Cecil's View.

"An attack upon property, and upon the liberties and civilisation of the country." That is Lord Robert Cecil's opinion of the present militant agitation. He reminded the House that attempts to prevent the acts in question have "wholly failed."

The Government Admit Defeat.

Mr. McKenna argued to conceal the gravity of the situation by arguing that of the Suffragists imprisoned since the beginning of the year, only a minority have been released before the expiration of their sentence.

The Press on the Situation.

Commenting upon Mr. McKenna's cat-and-mouse proposal, The Manchester Guardian expresses a doubt as to whether it will be "quite so efficacious as is believed." The Daily News says of Lord Robert's deportation scheme: "It reminds one of his father's memorable cure for Ireland—that it should be submerged in the Atlantic."

Where, we wonder, would Lord Robert send the women to? Would he pack them off to St. Kilda or St. Helena or some other remote island of the sea? We could not ask foreign countries to relieve us of our troubles by receiving them, although our intimacy with Russia ought to secure them a welcome in Siberia.

The Daily Chronicle makes the truly idiotic assertion that the proposal to stop militancy by giving votes to women is "neither here nor there."

No greater triumph has been won by the militant Suffragettes than Mr. McKenna's pitiable confession of impotence in the House of Commons last night. The Home Secretary endeavours to cover up his culpable weakness by sentimental twaddle and the preposterous claim that "slowly but surely he is breaking down the movement."

The Mire of Official Lying.

Forgetting that honesty is in the long run the best policy, even for politicians, Mr. McKenna has with respect to the Lenton case plunged deeper and deeper into the mire of official lying. First of all he wrote to the Richmond magistrates to say that Miss Lenton, being in imminent danger of death owing to her refusal to take food, he had released her as the only alternative to letting her die on the one hand, and to feeding her by force, which the doctor said would probably kill her, on the other.

TREASURER'S NOTE.

Perhaps the most important event in the near future will be the Albert Hall meeting on April 10. These great gatherings stand out as landmarks in the history of the militant movement and demonstrate its growing power.

The treasurer of the Union regards the Albert Hall meetings as of vital importance, because they are the occasions on which our members and friends contribute funds with which to carry on the work of the organisation. The amount of the collection is a test of our strength.

Having failed to crush the movement and dishearten our members by methods of repression and torture, the opponents of Women Suffrage now hope to weaken us financially. It was stated by a Liberal M.P. during the debate on forcible feeding that our funds were daily diminishing. The falsity of this statement is proved by our annual report and balance sheet, about to be issued, which shows a very considerable increase in income over the preceding year.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £250,000 FUND.

MARCH 8 to MARCH 11.

Table listing contributions to the £250,000 fund from March 8 to March 11, 1913. Columns include names, amounts in £ s. d., and sub-totals for various groups.

Advertisement for Derry & Toms millinery. Features a large illustration of a woman wearing a hat and a decorative headpiece. Text includes: 'DERRY & TOMS', 'KENSINGTON, LONDON, W.', 'Derry & Toms' 12/9 Creations are triumphs in the art of Millinery...', and 'Close fitting Straw Hat with smart feather mount and ruche encircling crown. Very pretty and becoming. Price 25/9'.

"WE ARE MEMBERS ONE OF ANOTHER."

BY GEORGE BERNARD SHAW.

Verbatim Report of a Speech delivered at Kingsway Hall, Tuesday, March 18, 1913.

I the resolution that we are moving to-night we protest against forcible feeding; that is to say, not alone the forcible feeding of women, because men are being forcibly fed in this way. And it is for that reason that I have come here to-night to protest against this present practice. I have not come to speak on behalf of the women. My reason for never having done this since, in order that I might clear my own conscience, I first declared myself on Woman Suffrage, is that after a very careful study of public meetings held on the subject, I came to the conclusion that the women were exceedingly well able to take care of themselves.

Now, I say this because I want you to understand that if this was merely a Suffragist meeting I should not be here. I did speak at a meeting on this subject some time ago, and I remember that I addressed some reproach to the Suffragists on that occasion. I said they had not appreciated some previous efforts of mine sufficiently. The consequence was that the next morning the first letter that I opened on my breakfast-table began, "Poor injured darling!" I don't resent that sort of treatment, because I really do think that we men in our relations with women mostly are poor injured darlings. I do not come forward to-night in the sense of the chivalrous man coming to the rescue of a weaker sex.

The Stronger Sex.

Quite seriously, I think the only consolatory thing about this forcible feeding is that those who are suffering from it at present are for the most part the stronger sex. I most seriously believe that women are harder than men. There are physiological reasons why. Woman has to go through experiences in the quite ordinary course of her life—her motherhood—that I would like to see any man go through. Please, ladies and gentlemen, don't think that I am in any way to-night appealing to the Government for any special consideration for women. I don't believe that women want to have that shown; in fact, I believe that the women who are most enthusiastic in this cause are infuriated more by any affectation of protection or magnanimity from men towards them than by anything else in the world.

I have the rather original view about a woman that she is very much the same sort of person as I am myself, but unfortunately that view is one which does not seem to be very general in official circles. For instance, most men recognise that their own insides are rather complicated machines, but when they have to deal with a woman, they apparently believe that what they have to deal with is a sort of sack; that the mouth of this sack is a narrow orifice which they call the throat, and that they can poke something into that orifice and squirt food through it. Having done that, they seem to think they have done all that possibly could be expected from them in the way of feeding that person properly. If you want to keep a human being alive by introducing food, the first thing to do is to induce that person to open her mouth. That is not such an easy thing as you would imagine. If a person has got a perfect set of teeth, it is an extremely difficult thing to open those teeth against the will of the person if he or she wants to keep them shut, and taking the case of somebody determinedly keeping her teeth shut, what uneducated and rough people will do is simply to take an instrument like a chisel and to attempt to prise the teeth open, and that is an impossible thing to do because you cannot get a chisel through unless you break the teeth, or unless there is a breach made in the teeth already. Now, I want to impress upon you that for anybody to prise the mouth open in that way is to perform an act of extreme violence; in fact, it may be impossible unless you actually break the teeth, and that apparently is the way the thing is done.

Mediaeval Torture.

Then, when you have got the mouth open in that way, comes the idea that you have only got to deal with an empty sack. Now, ladies and gentlemen, I can assure you, although I am not a professional medical man, that it is not so simple as that. There are two ways of getting into the inside of human beings. One of them is by the larynx, by the trachea, by the tube which leads to the lungs, and has at the top of it a very remarkable musical-box, by the aid of which I am addressing you this evening. And beside this tube there is another tube which goes down to your stomach. Now, if you want thoroughly to appreciate how very important it is that you should take the right tube when you are getting the food in, I have only to remind you that a very short time ago all Europe was greatly shocked by the death of a very eminent German politician who while in a restaurant very unfortunately dropped a false tooth into the lung tube. The consequence was that that gentleman died. Now, there you have got before the eyes of Europe a striking

illustration of the fact that a slight mistake in the way the food goes down may result in the death of a person in regard to whom the mistake is made. More, those mistakes have been made in connection with forcible feeding. Perhaps it is not to be complained of that our wardresses are not educated in anatomy: I have only to say that if they are not educated in anatomy they ought not to be set to perform an anatomical operation. But pray, what are we to say of the medical gentlemen who superintend the operation? It seems to me that either they have not been properly educated, or else they are in such a temper that they really forget their scientific education. At any rate, there appears to be no doubt whatever about the fact that attempts have been made, with considerable injury to the person upon whom they have been made, to feed a person through the wrong tube.

Mr. Forbes Robertson said that we could not conceive the condition of mind in the Middle Ages with regard to torture. I agree with him there. Yet I do not believe that we are superior to the Middle Ages in this matter; on the contrary, I believe that we have almost entirely lost the repugnance which leads men to turn away from the idea of torture. The people of the Middle Ages had many defects, but there was one very remarkable thing about them—they had a religion, and they believed in it. And accordingly, though there were certain things that they did which shock us, they did not in the Middle Ages refer any question to their own dark and savage passions and irritations. They did not write letters to *The Daily Telegraph* half full of lies and half full of suggestions that women should be deliberately tortured in prison, and with a signature at the end that was not the signature of the man who wrote the letter. The people of the Middle Ages really always did things, particularly if they were public and legal things, with some conviction that it was the sort of thing that God would have done, so that even when they did things which shock us, it was because they conceived that God, in His hatred of sin, might have done the same thing. I entirely absolve Mr. McKenna and the present Government from having any such idea.

The horror of the present situation is that our statesmen have never at any moment dreamed of considering this question in the serious way that it deserves. You hear of nothing in the papers but of their irritation, of their little vanity. They are face to face with the heroic temper which produces martyrs, and yet they act from a fear of having their windows broken, or something of that kind. They take no large view of the matter at all.

Forcible Feeding Illegal.

There is, however, a point which I think they might understand, and I mean to put it. I contend that this forcible feeding is illegal. I contend that when you are tried in a public court and sentenced to imprisonment, you are sentenced to imprisonment, and if you are sentenced to torture—except in so far as imprisonment itself may be torture. Now, supposing I am sent to gaol for a month, and supposing I refuse to eat, what is the proper thing to do with me? I presume that what the governor of the gaol has got to say is: "We have got a prisoner here who refuses to eat. I place his food before him. The prisoner still refuses his food, and it seems to me that he may possibly die of starvation." He would then, I presume, charge me with attempted suicide, and for that I should be sentenced to a further term of imprisonment. The governor of the gaol, having got me back on those terms, might then find that I still refused to eat, and then I presume he would have again to report to the Home Secretary and say: "The prisoner still refuses to eat, and the prisoner is dying. I have carried out my duty in imprisoning him. I provided him with food, and my duty is so far done." People would say, "Well, let him die if he prefers it. There is no obligation whatever upon any individual to keep the prisoner alive under these circumstances." But supposing the Home Secretary decided to try and make the man eat, and supposing the governor of the gaol suggested: "Well, we might for instance keep touching him up with a red-hot poker." The Home Secretary would reply: "Yes, but unfortunately we have not any law empowering us to burn people with red-hot pokers. Therefore I must first induce the Government to bring in a Bill legalising the use of red-hot pokers."

I contend that it is the business of Mr. McKenna, if he wants to break people's teeth, and force their mouths open, if he wants to wound their lungs, if he wants to run the risk of killing them, if he wants to inflict what is unquestionably torture upon them, it is his business first to bring in a Bill legalising those operations. There is no reason why he should hesitate. If he is not ashamed to do these things without the law, why should he be ashamed to do them with it? If the Government are not prepared to legalise the torture that they are inflicting, it proves that not only does their own conscience revolt from this torture, but they do not believe that public opinion would be on their side. They are not prepared to face the electorate with such a measure as that on their consciences.

It seems to me that the Government really have discovered—that the women have beaten them. It is not merely a question of the women inflicting humiliation on them and getting the better of them. What the women have also proved is that the conscience of the community is on their side. What they have proved is something more than that—that the conscience of the very men who are doing this is on their side. See the continual suppression that is going on; see the uneasiness, and the shame. See the miserable excuses that are made about this matter—excuses which would not impose upon an intelligent frog.

When I last spoke on this platform Mrs. Leigh was in Mountjoy Prison under a sentence of several years' imprisonment for a very serious offence. Well, on that occasion I challenged the Government to let Mrs. Leigh starve. I said that they had no right whatever to forcibly feed her, that the practice was illegal, and I said: "Let Mrs. Leigh leave her food; let her starve; let her die. It is not your business to compel her to eat; it is your business to imprison her. When you have done that you have settled your score." I am glad to say that on that occasion the entire Press of the country—the Anti-Suffragists in particular—jumped at my speech. What was the result? Did the Government accept the challenge? No; they let Mrs. Leigh out straight away. What is the use of going on with this miserable, wanton savagery, when you dare not go through with it to the end?

Well, ladies and gentlemen, that is the case that I want to put before you to-night. When a Government has come to a pass that it cannot any longer carry out its own laws, it is time to take the course that it would take with any person who had the conscience of the community against them. If you take, for instance, the case of Dr. Crippen. Supposing Dr. Crippen had been sentenced to penal servitude for life, and if he had refused his food, do you suppose that anybody in the community would not have said, "Very well; let him starve." The conscience of the community was against Dr. Crippen; the conscience of the community would have been with the Government if they had let him starve. The whole thing has now become a propaganda of spite, of rancour, and of brutality that is degrading our national character. I endorse everything that has been said about the damage to the character of the doctors and to the wardresses, but I don't believe that those people's characters are as much degraded as the characters of the people who write certain articles in the papers. It is degrading the whole tone of our life to read the miserable speeches in which Ministers endeavour to defend the sort of thing that is going on.

A Challenge to Mr. McKenna.

Let me offer a simple challenge to Mr. McKenna. Mr. McKenna still occasionally tries to make out that forcible feeding is rather pleasant than not. If it is, then I ask him, Will he allow us to forcibly feed him? We will do it with his favourite food. He need not resist. We will get the most skillful surgeon to administer the nourishment; we will make it as nice for him as possible. We will do everything that is not done for these women in prison.

I want to find out whether, under those favourable conditions, Mr. McKenna will face it. I do not believe it. It is within his power to give us this little proof as to whether forcible feeding is such a nice thing as he says it is. I venture to say that he will not accept this challenge. I hope he will get rid of this horrible question, and get rid of it in the logical way, because remember, if forcible feeding is done away with, still the difficulty remains, and when people ask themselves what the meaning of the whole thing is, when they ask themselves why it is that human beings should be treated as they are in prison, they can only come to one conclusion on the general Suffrage question.

I am not altogether what is called an orthodox man, but I have always in a sort of way believed in the old and simple statement that we are "members one of another." Probably the gentlemen at Westminster believe that "we are members one with another" refers to Members of Parliament only. I don't think they can see the full sense of it. There is an old sentence which runs, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of My brethren, ye have done it unto Me." I do not think they can understand that "brethren" includes sisters as well.

We are all of us very fond of talking about what we call altruism, and about our duty to others. I have always understood that altruism is the final identification of the least of these with me. If you take a woman and torture her, you torture me. If you take Mrs. Pankhurst's daughter and torture her, you are torturing my daughter. If you take Miss Pankhurst's mother and torture her, you will be torturing my mother. I go further than that. If you torture my mother, you are torturing me.

These denials of fundamental rights are really a violation of the soul. They are an attack on that sacred part of life that is common to all of us, that part which has no individuality, that part which is real, the thing of which you speak when you talk of the life everlasting. I say with an absolute sense not of saying anything hysterical to you, but of saying to you something that is most ordinary common sense—I say that the denial of these fundamental rights to ourselves in the persons of women is practically a denial of the life everlasting.

GREAT ALBERT HALL MEETING.

RECORD COLLECTION ANTICIPATED.

PLANS FOR RAISING FUNDS.

The great Albert Hall meeting, to be held on April 10, is drawing near. This must be the greatest W.S.P.U. meeting on record, and the collection must surpass that of any previous occasion. There is reason to believe that both of these ambitions will be realised. Women, and men also, revolted by the Government's cruelty and treachery, and raised to enthusiasm by the women in prison, are giving more generously than they have ever given before to the Albert Hall collection.

Mrs. Pankhurst has already received promises of large contributions, and on all sides it is evident that special efforts are being made to ensure a record sum.

Readers cannot do better than imitate the example set by Dr. Ethel Smyth, who announces her intention of multiplying the largest sum she has ever given on a similar occasion by ten.

Dr. Smyth writes:—"For the Albert Hall collection I mean to multiply by the largest sum I have ever given on similar occasions, and send in my cheque, trusting to luck, should I subsequently find the hole in my banking account too big, to fill it up somehow. I look on this collection as a protest against the record of man in this matter, whether as represented by the Government or as put into power by the newspapers, subsidised under the political system for which he is responsible, or in his individual capacity as selfish, shortsighted elector."

"If we all look on it thus, we should beat our own record of the 10th."

MORE SELF-DENIAL.

One member encloses £40, an amount four times larger than her last contribution; another sends £500, explaining that she is straining her resources to do so, but that she considers it of urgent importance to show that women are not to be deterred by any Government repression from fighting for their enfranchisement.

Yet another member has decided to give up her holiday in Paris and to contribute the money thus saved to the collection, a friend promising at the same time to make up the amount to £100.

The total sum collected during Self-Denial Week will be announced at the meeting, and in this particular also there is every reason to believe that all previous records will be beaten.

One member, whilst enclosing a sum to the Self-Denial Fund more than double that of the previous year, writes: "If my contribution could equal my indignation at the treatment the women are receiving at the hands of the Government and the Press, it would be a very large one; unfortunately my purse will not expand with my indignation." Another contribution received from five ladies is described by them as "money collected on Monday, March 17, after reading in the papers the way English women were treated in London parks and streets on Sunday, March 16."

Many members who cannot contribute money to the collection are sending articles of plate and jewellery, while others are selling their evening dresses and sending the money thus raised to swell the fund, and in a hundred and one ways efforts are being made to increase the already enormous sum which is to beat the record of Albert Hall collections.

A good suggestion has been received from Miss A. E. Wilson, who writes: "I am hoping that 'Promise Cards' forms for the Albert Hall meeting will be printed in THE SUFFRAGETTE for the next few weeks. There must be many, like myself, who through ill-health, or some other reason, will not be able to go to the meeting, but wish to make a promise to increase the sum then subscribed."

This idea has been adopted, and all readers who cannot themselves be present at the Albert Hall are invited to send their contributions to the collection on the special forms provided for the purpose in THE SUFFRAGETTE. Finally, members are urged to bring their friends to the great meeting, and to do all in their power to make it widely known. Tickets, which should be secured at once, may be obtained from Miss Cooke, Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

Prices: Grand tier boxes (to hold ten), 30s.; loggia (to hold eight), 21s.; second tier (to hold five), 12s. 6d.; amphitheatre stalls, 2s. 6d.; arena, 2s. and 1s. (2s. seats sold out); balcony, first six rows, 1s.; two back rows, 6d.; all numbered and reserved; upper orchestra (unnumbered), 6d.

STEWARDS.—A large number of stewards are wanted for the Albert Hall meeting. Members of the W.S.P.U. only are eligible. These are asked to dress in white, if possible, and to be at the hall not later than 6 p.m. Names should be sent to Miss Bowker, W.S.P.U., Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

HOLLOWAY CAMPAIGN.

SPLENDID MEETINGS.

MORE HELP NEEDED.

The special Holloway campaign has been going on vigorously throughout the

ALBERT HALL MEETING.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Name

(Please state whether Mrs., or Miss or Esq., &c.)

Full Address

I promise to give the sum of £ s. d. to the Campaign Fund of The Women's Social and Political Union within the next three months.

This form, when filled in, should be posted to the Treasurer, W.S.P.U., Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

holidays. Splendid meetings have been held every night outside the prison, and members and friends are heartily thanked for the generous response they have made to the organiser's appeal for help in this direction. Large numbers have turned up each night to cheer their brave comrades, and it is earnestly hoped that this will be continued in even larger numbers. On Good Friday a band played outside the prison, and a record number of friends gathered to show their appreciation of those who were spending this holiday season within prison walls. After the band had finished, friends marched round the prison singing and cheering, and then proceeded to Pentonville, headed by members of the Men's Federation, as a mark of esteem to Mr. William Lamb, who is fighting his lonely battle in that prison.

It is hoped to start a paper pitch in Blackstock-road, and also to have dinner-hour meetings near the factories in Caledonian-road. But to carry out this programme much more help is needed.

Funds and articles for a jumble sale are also urgently needed. Gratefully acknowledged: Misses Annenberg, 10s.; Mrs. Long, 5s.; Miss Young, 2s. 6d.; Miss Roberts, 1s.; Anon., 1s.; Mrs. Figgis, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Walker, 2s.; Anon., 2s. 6d.; Mrs. A. J. Webbe, 2s.; Miss Edith Beck, 21; Mrs. L. Levy, 3s. 3d.

AUSTRALIAN PREMIER INTERVIEWED.

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE A GREAT SUCCESS.

EFFECT ON MALE VOTERS.

THE SUFFRAGETTE took advantage of the opportunity offered by the visit of Mr. Scadden, Premier of West Australia, to this country, to obtain from him his opinion of the effect of the women's vote in Australia. The following is a report of the conversation which took place between Mr. Scadden and our representative:—

"What effect do you think the vote has had in Australia? Do you think it has been satisfactory as far as you can judge?"

"Yes, it has been satisfactory. There is not the slightest doubt about that. Nobody in Australia—I don't think there is a single person in Australia—anyhow, no one who has the courage to enter public life would say otherwise."

"Do you feel, for instance, that it has broadened out political life—perhaps brought other aspects into view?"

"Certainly, women in Australia take a keener interest in politics than hitherto. Certain questions of social reform which previously had not been much considered, have received much closer and better attention. For instance, the drink question and the care of children. Legislation on this latter question is with us, I suppose, much ahead of anywhere else in the world, and it is largely due to the action of women in politics."

"Has the vote had any special effect on the conduct of elections?"

"We have never had any trouble or

rowdiness in Australian elections, but the fact of women having the vote has caused the men to take a much keener interest in politics, the percentage of voters has increased."

We then went on to speak of some of the so-called dangers which are often cited by Antis as likely to ensue.

"Is the percentage of women voting pretty high, considering?"

"I think it is slightly higher than that of men."

"Have you found any of the dangers coming to pass which are sometimes suggestive as necessarily following the granting of the franchise?"

"Oh, no."

"No homes neglected through women voting?"

"Oh, no; that is an absurd statement. The only question is, whether you could get the women to take sufficient interest to warrant their being permitted to vote. But that is the same with regard to the men."

"There is no objection to women voting—no suggestion of taking the vote away from them?"

"Not a single person has ever appeared on a public platform who has ever suggested such a thing as taking away the vote from women."

Finally, Mr. Scadden assured our representative of his goodwill towards the woman's movement, and of his willingness to do what he could to further it generally.

THE TEACHERS' CONFERENCE

DEFENCE OF MILITANCY.

LORD HALDANE'S STORMY MEETING.

This year's Conference has afforded a capital opportunity for W.S.P.U. propaganda. A large and pleasant first-floor committee-room has been taken just opposite the Pavilion (where the Conference sessions are held), and it is thronged, especially at tea-time, by teachers, men as well as women.

The Press, as usual, much exaggerated the disturbance at the W.S.P.U. open-air meeting, which was held on Good Friday on the sands by the pier-head. Beyond the rowdy noise of groups of holiday-making shop-boys, etc., there was but one little bit of horse-play, and that occurred when the meeting was practically over, and everyone but Miss Hazel (who had done splendidly) had left the lorry. Some boys wheeled the latter down the slope, but, before it reached the mud, Miss Hazel had jumped off on to the sands, and was none the worse for her short ride.

A STORM OF ANGRY CRIES.

On Saturday, at an Anti-Suffrage meeting, a circular which had been issued by the Anti-Suffragists, and which, as members of the National Federation of Women Teachers pointed out, was full of misleading statements, was the subject of much indignant criticism by both men and women at the meeting. Shouts of "Lies! Lies!" filled the building, and a reference to breaches of rule on the part of officials of the Lewisham and various other local branches of the N.U.T. met with a storm of angry cries. The withdrawal of the greater part of the audience, who were anxious to attend the Women Teachers' Franchise Union meeting, held the same evening at the Albert Hall, Oxford-road, enabled a much reduced gathering to pass a resolution.

The W.T.F.U. meeting was a magnificent success. Miss Agnes Dawson, the President, was in the chair. None who were present will soon forget Miss Margaret McMillan's stirring defence of militancy, her exposure of the hypocrisy which allowed tens of thousands of lives to be wasted unheeded every year and made such an uproar about the destruction of a little property, and her impassioned appeal to the men teachers to be true to their best selves and to stand side by side with the women in their fight for freedom. Mr. Harbin followed with a splendid and convincing speech on the importance of Woman Suffrage to the whole race, and Mrs. Dice delighted a deeply interested and attentive audience with a closely-reasoned and witty exposure of Referendum and Plebiscite trickery.

"GIVING A SHOVE!"

Miss A. K. Williams, who has done such yeoman service for the cause, showed the folly of trying to exclude political matters from a conference, the members of which were subject to Government interference at every stage of their careers, and ended with a delightful little story of the man who criticised but did not help a poor carrier whose wagon had stuck in the roadway. "A little less of your bloom!' advice, and give us a shove," said the exasperated carrier, and Miss Williams neatly pointed the moral. "I may not approve of everything that is done, but I am going to give a shove," she declared, and amidst applause the meeting ended.

On Sunday evening the W.S.P.U. held a very successful "At Home" in the Woodley Café. Miss Gladys Hazel was in the chair, and, after Miss Macaulay had explained the rise and necessity of militant tactics, Miss Nancy Lightman protested, as a member of the N.U.T., against the insult offered to Suffragist teachers by Lord Haldane's having been asked to address their Conference.

Lord Haldane's meeting on Tuesday at Weston-super-Mare in connection with the N.U.T. Conference was a very stormy one.

Barricades were raised outside the hall, and a special force of police was on duty. In spite of these precautions Lord Haldane's was a most successful and continuous interruptions, and about thirty delegates and members were thrown out of the meeting.

A SPIRITUAL JOURNEY.

A Review of Miss Elizabeth Robins' New Book.

By CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

Since the New Year came in Miss Elizabeth Robins has given us two books relating to the Woman question. First there appeared the wonderfully conceived "Where are you going to?" and now appears Way Stations. This consists of speeches and articles by Miss Robins linked together by a narrative, the whole forming a history of the Militant movement from October, 1905, when it began, until the summer of 1912.

Way Stations is the record of a spiritual journey. As Miss Robins herself says, it shows "how from point to point I and others like myself travelled the road of enlightenment." With an admirable courage, as though to help and lighten other women still stumbling and groping in darkness, Miss Robins makes her confession:—

I am one of those who until comparatively recently was an ignorant opponent of Woman Suffrage, and felt that what we women needed was more education, more discipline, rather than more liberty, not realising that the bigger discipline can come only through liberty.

That was the point of departure. What prompted the journey? Militancy it would seem; for in the narrative portion of the book we read:—

In the year 1905 the English public was reminded of the fact that there were little groups of people here and there about the world who believed in the principle of Women's Suffrage. Up to October of that year this belief had not seriously inconvenienced anybody. . . . Prior to 1905 all but a negligible fraction of women (and practically the whole masculine population) shared the belief that the half of the world which had control of public affairs had in addition not only the ability, but the will to safeguard the interests of women and children equally with the interests of men.

The protest made on behalf of the W.S.P.U. at the Free Trade Hall, Manchester—a protest for which prison walls acted as a sounding-board, so she contends—seems to have set Miss Robins marching. "Many of us," she says, "who did not yet understand the message could not escape from puzzling at its meaning. . . . What, we asked, was involved in this old demand that young and able women should press it, in spite of blows in public and the vague horrors of prison?" The truth of Miss Robins' account of how matters stood before Militancy is undeniable, and it should serve to silence the unjust and grotesquely false assertions that Militancy has "injured the cause."

Miss Robins did not, as all the world knows, wait long before making acquaintance with the peaceful and educational side of the W.S.P.U. work. She has since become one of the most powerful and convincing of the advocates of Votes for Women. There are speeches and articles embodied in Way Stations which give proof of that.

One may apply another measure to the distance that Miss Robins has travelled by comparing the first pages of the book and the last. In the interval of time which is thus represented Miss Robins' attitude towards men—men in their present unregenerate state—has changed. The average man would do well to consider that fact; what it means is that women—not Miss Robins only but other women—are seeing the average man as he is, and seeing him they believe that he does not reach the standard of true manliness. In short, men in general must develop must raise and improve themselves before they can win the esteem of the modern woman.

In the chapter, "Woman's Secret," written some years ago, Miss Robins deprecates any bitterness of feeling on the part of women towards men and speaks of men as being, in their oppression of women, themselves the victims of circumstance and no more blameable than the women whom they oppress. Turn to the final chapter and what do we read:—

A great deal of water will flow under Westminster-bridge before women forget what men were willing to see them suffer rather than see them voters; before they forget the forbearance shown to malcontents in Ulster and Tonygandy, as contrasted with the brutality shown to malcontents at Wrexham and Llanystrudwy. Much as we desire to see understanding and good will between the sexes—do we want women to forget these lessons?

There we would say again is a warning that men cannot wisely disregard.

"Way Stations." By Elizabeth Robins. (Hodder and Stoughton, &c.) On sale at the Woman's Press, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

Why is Miss Robins a Suffragist and Mrs. Humphry Ward an Anti-Suffragist? Both are famous women writers. Why this strange discord of views on a question as to which they might be expected to think alike? The answer is simple. Mrs. Humphry Ward belongs to the past and Miss Robins to the present. The old-fashioned woman, if she happened to possess special ability or to have enjoyed special opportunities, "went over to the men" as it were, and regarded the rest of her sex as naturally and incurably inferior to herself. The new-fashioned woman of ability puts all that she has and is to the credit of womanhood. She scorns the man-conferred title of "exceptional woman" in which her old-fashioned forerunner delighted. Therein lies the answer to our question.

In one of the chapters in Way Stations Miss Robins deals with the disappearing race of exceptional women. She says:—

Because these brilliant women insisted on freedom only for themselves, they lost it even for themselves. It really is as though you could not keep freedom alive unless it is free to everybody. . . . It is one of the by-products of the new processes of thought that women are less disposed in these days to over-estimate their individual value.

In an address to the Women Writers' Suffrage League, Miss Robins reminds her fellow-prisoners that the force of Suggestion has been and is being used to cripple women spiritually and intellectually. She asks:—

How much of woman's past and even her present futurity is due to writers constantly dining it into her ears that for the purpose of all activity save one sort she is a poor creature, and in comparison with her brother is as moonlight unto sunlight and as water unto wine.

We hope that Miss Robins' words not on record in permanent form will be disregarded by certain of her literary sisters whose habit it is to depict women not, surely, as they see them, but as a certain type of man sees or would like to see them.

"Shall Women Work?" is one of the finest chapters in the book, and very welcome as an answer to those male busybodies who, instead of occupying themselves with the very urgent question of educating men for fatherhood, seem to think that but for them and their theories concerning women's sphere and duty, women and nature conspiring together will bring the race to an end.

Those who want to understand why women have not in the past achieved as much as men in art, science, literature, have only to read "Woman's Secret," the opening chapter of the book. It contains the passage about men's irresponsibility for the subjection of women, and it contains also the rather ambiguous statement that "there is no woman, however old and isolated, who does not value the good opinion of men," which might be falsely interpreted to mean that women place a value upon men's good opinion higher than the value placed by men upon women's good opinion. Yet nothing more wise and full of insight than this chapter as a whole could be imagined. It reveals the causes of women's apparent inferiority, including the customs that have prevented her from specialising and the fact that a new idea, if she had the courage to express it, was in the past either trampled on or appropriated by the "stronger sex."

Forcible feeding, the events of Black Friday and the mob violence, unrestrained by the authorities, which long preceded women's attacks on private property, are all discussed in Way Stations.

The book ends before the latest form of Militancy begins, but what book can possibly keep pace with the W.S.P.U.? Some day we may perhaps see another edition with many new chapters, but the book as it stands is invaluable to all Suffragists, and especially to those less keen of spiritual ear than its author, who did not hear the protests of the early days, and have only just come into contact with Militancy in its modern form. To understand the present they must know the past. Miss Robins' book will help them.

Nothing in Way Stations excels its magnificent final chapter, in which is counted over the riches, the spiritual riches, that Militancy has won. Through Militancy, says Miss Robins, there are to-day in our country "more free women than anywhere in the world—free with a freedom of which the ballot will be a symbol."



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TORTURE OF PRISONERS. PROTESTS BY EMINENT MEN.

GREAT MEETING AT KINGSWAY HALL.

A large and influential audience assembled on Tuesday, March 18, at the Kingsway Hall, to protest against the forcible feeding of prisoned Suffragists. The meeting, organised by the Political Reform League, was presided over by the Bishop of Lincoln, and the speakers included Mr. Bernard Shaw (whose speech is fully reported on page 380), Mr. Forbes Robertson, Mr. Mansell Moulin (whose authoritative medical pronouncement will be given in full in our next issue) and Miss M. A. Broadhurst, of the N.P.L.

The following letters were read by the Chairman:—

From Sir Victor Horsley:— "Though I disapprove of militant methods, I greatly regret that another public duty prevents my being present at the League meeting to-night to protest against the forcible feeding of political prisoners.

"As executed in his Majesty's prisons, forcible feeding is a shameful travesty of medical treatment, and is a deliberate employed as a form of torture. As administered by the Home Office, it has led to the greatest perversions of justice.

"Many prisoners have been released at once or after a few days, while many others sentenced for the same offence and same periods have been kept in duration for months and subjected to this intolerable ill-usage.

TO AROUSE THE PUBLIC CONSCIENCE.

"I trust the meeting will arouse the public conscience to recognise that the employment of the degraded methods of medieval torture to crush a just demand for political freedom only brings disgrace upon our nation.

"The plain solution of the whole question is the enfranchisement of women."

From Professor Schäfer:— "Although unable to come to your meeting on Tuesday evening, I desire to join in your protest against the forcible feeding of sane persons. For I know that, when violently resisted, the operation involves exquisite torture, and is liable to be a danger to life."

From Mr. William de Morgan:— "I am sorry that I am not able to come to the meeting on Tuesday. Its object has my entire sympathy.

"Nothing can justify the system which confers on the gaoler powers over the person of his prisoner over and above what is necessary for the execution of his sentence. The cruelties inflicted on 'hunger-strikers' were in no sense indispensable to their detention in prison, which was the only penalty inflicted on them.

"Whether such arbitrary exercise of power is the result of political vindictiveness, or of the pious benevolence towards the prisoners their gaolers lay claim to, it is an abomination, and ought to be promptly brought to an end."

From Professor Halliburton:— "I wish your meeting every success, and am sorry I cannot come. My opinions on forcible feeding are well known, and were publicly expressed by me at a meeting in Dundee in the autumn."

"POLITICAL AND MORAL AIMS."

From the Rev. Dr. Bethune-Baker:— "I regret that I cannot be present at the meeting to protest against forcible feeding of Suffragists. If Parliament is not even yet ready to grant some measure of enfranchisement of women it ought at once to provide—

for offences which are prompted by purely political and moral aims—some form of punishment which does not involve the physical torture and maiming of the offenders, and I earnestly hope that your meeting to-morrow will demand an immediate amendment of the laws, or of their administration in this respect.

It is, indeed, amazing that the public conscience of England can tolerate torture in prisons to-day."

From Alexander Haig, M.D.:— "Since I signed the memorial on the above subject I have seen much to strengthen the opinion expressed in it, that forcible feeding of prisoners who resist is dangerous.

"Quite apart from the danger of the operation itself, if a prisoner is left in a

condition of collapse from struggling, any food that is introduced is more likely to putrify and poison than to be digested. Starvation is not relieved, and poisoning is superadded."

From Lady Betty Balfour:— "I will gladly give my name for the protest meeting against the practice of forcible feeding.

"I think it unjustifiable because of the immediate torture it inflicts and the subsequent danger to health. I think it is also inexpedient, as it has never, as far as I know, succeeded in keeping a Suffragette in prison to the end of her sentence."

Letters were also read from the Countess Brassey, Mrs. Fawcett, and Mr. Laurence Housman, while a host of other letters had also been received.

The resolution put to the meeting and carried unanimously was as follows:— "That this meeting desires to express its strong disapproval of the cruel and degrading method of forcible feeding as at present practised in His Majesty's English prisons, and demands that the Government and the House of Commons shall put an immediate end to this barbarous custom. Further, it calls upon the Government to prevent the existing disorder in the only possible way, by enfranchising the women of the country, and so removing the grievance which is a cause of the present discontent."

BISHOP WILL NOT CONDEMN MILITANCY.

In the course of his chairman's address, the Bishop of Lincoln said:— "I am here to-night to protest against forcible feeding of prisoners, because I am, in the midst of a busy life, towards furthering the great cause which you and I have at heart."

We are not in any way to justify militancy on the part of those who are working for Women Suffrage. We are not met to condemn militancy. (Loud and continued applause.) We have not met to approve or disapprove of militancy. For my own part I regard the movement for Women Suffrage as one of the grandest demonstrations of moral force as against brute force. Woman can hardly boast that she is stronger than man in her own country, and for my part, I am sorry that women should have gone down to the arena of brute force and challenged I men at that ground. (Cries of "Oh.")

Neither, again, have we met to suggest to the Government what is the best form and method of punishment or of the treatment of prisoners of this kind when they refuse to take their food. That is a puzzling question. The real fact is that the punishment has broken down; the policy of the Government has broken down, and all we want is for them to confess it and find a way out. If they have discharged so many prisoners because this method of forcible feeding has proved itself cruel, disgusting, and dangerous to health and life, then in the name of common sense, go a little further and don't incur these perils, but drop the method altogether. Of course, there are some persons who are more trouble when they are in gaol than when they are out. It is true not only of Suffragettes.

I live at Lincoln, and round the walls of my dining-room are the portraits of a number of distinguished Bishops belonging to my See, and every day I look at one of the noblest of English churchmen, I mean Bishop Saunderson. In days gone by he had the distinction of being the bishop who shut up John Bunyan in gaol. Well, perhaps if that had not been done we should not have had a masterpiece of English literature for devotional uses, but it was a very worldly-minded bishop, or named Farquar, who let him out, and I never discovered why he let him out, but he let him out, because I suppose he found that he was less trouble outside gaol than he was inside, and so to-day, I remember how John Bright laid down that great principle which Englishmen have been so slow to learn, that "force is no remedy." It never is, and at least of all it is a remedy for social the moral agitation. (Hear, hear.)

I remember the old Crokevill outbreak, and how men said that if Ireland could do that, they must never be

allowed any liberty, and the only thing for them was stronger and stronger coercion. Acts of violence, however, how dynamite outrages went on in Ireland, and I recollect how the present Prime Minister, when he was a member of a Liberal Government, was put up in the House of Commons to make a most brilliant defence of the Government in keeping dynamiters in prison; and after he had done that and had surrendered to his Government to other and very different hands, one of the first things which the Conservative Government did was to unlock the prison and let all the dynamiters go free. Force is never a remedy.

There is one thing which is the right remedy for the existing disorder, which I may, without revealing my politics, declare to be entirely in consonance and harmony with the policy of the present Cabinet—for the Liberal remedy is more freedom.

The Liberal remedy is to remove disorder by remedying the grievance, and not resorting to the existing disorder to prevent the existing disorder in the only possible way, that is, by enfranchising the women of the country, and so removing the grievance which is the cause of the present discontent.

GREAT ACTOR CONDEMNNS FORCIBLE FEEDING.

Mr. Forbes Robertson, who was received with great enthusiasm, said:— "I feel so strongly about this question, about the whole principle of it, that I hardly dare trust myself to address you on this subject."

We read of the tortures of the Middle Ages, and when the ordinary intelligent person reads these shocking facts of the past, and indeed, carried on as late as the eighteenth century, our minds are not able to conceive the state of the mind of the man who condemns a lunatic to torture. Now, if you and behold! suddenly in this enlightened century we find that actually torture is in our midst, and is going on at this very moment of time. (Cries of "Ah.")

We all know what many of our great doctors have told you about the danger of forcible feeding. We know perfectly well, all of us, that even if we take a meal under distress or fatigue or anger, passion, that that meal is actually harmful to us at the time. If that is so, as we know it is, so how much more must it be when it is administered under torture, and torture of the extreme nature that we know is going on now?

I was in America last year, and I heard a humiliating thing from the lips of a prominent American citizen. I was telling him of what was going on in my own country, and he had the humiliation of hearing the American say, "Mr. Robertson, the American people would not suffer any Government to treat their women in that way." (Great applause.) And, ladies and gentlemen, it is true. I believe it. I know that the civility of those people would not touch a hair of the head of a woman.

We are demoralising the morals of the doctor, and of every wardress who applies this torture. We are also eventually setting out of that prison a human being who naturally is shaken to the very soul with bitterness and resentment. I heard of further punishments being proposed. I hope that it is not true. And so we go on, all through this persecution.

Lord Gladstone, two or three years ago, was challenged about this forcible feeding, and what did he say? He said that the women received no more punishment in this way than they had to receive when they were in gaol than when they are out. No man got up in the House of Commons at the time, and I was surprised that no man did, to say this: "Will you kindly give us the number of male prisoners who within the last twelve years have refused to eat?" I should like very much to hear that number.

This system of torture must end. It is a disgrace to our country and a disgrace to our boasted civilisation. We are becoming the laughing-stock of the world, but it would seem to me that these long-sufferers have got the Government in a cleft stick. (Great applause.)

A GREAT IMMORALITY.

Miss Broadhurst said: A prominent member of the House of Commons, to whom I was saying that unless something was done, there would be very grave consequences to the country, amongst militant women, but through the whole country, and amongst the so-called non-militant women, answered me: "Do you know that it is in the very blood of Englishmen not to yield to coercion?" I said: "Do you not think that in those women who have the same blood as you have is something that will not yield to coercion?" I

received a letter to-day written by a daughter to her mother, and in that letter—they are the words—she says: "I am fighting, fighting, fighting." When I read those words, I thought of the words, "We men will not yield to the coercion of the women," and I thought of what the women were enduring as a result of men's coercion. And she goes on to say: "I have four, five and six wardresses every day, as well as two doctors. I am fed by a stomach tube. I resist all the time. I used to feel I should go mad at first, but I have got over that." Where you have a fighting spirit such as that, you will never get the yielding to a coercive spirit.

A SPIRITUAL BATTLE.

Coercion has never yet succeeded, but when you think that these women who are being coerced are English women, are British women, then you will realise that coercion in this cannot be possibly succeed, for the women who are in this movement are fighting a spiritual battle. I am not one of those who have committed any of the heinous acts of the so-called militant women, but I feel this: that the responsibility of all the suffering that is now being undergone by those who resist, and I feel this: that on those of the responsible Government of to-day.

One sees women, and some men too, who are willing to suffer; they face even death, and that is a cause which we ourselves feel to be the deepest that we have at heart. And it is this cause, and this cause, which we are suffering, those women who are now in prison, are facing not only death, but death by torture. There is not one who can contain them. What the result of all this is, is to make us feel, as I said, our own grave responsibility. From beginning to end, the Government's statement of this cause of ours, has been not only a great blunder, but it has been a great imbecility. We are determined to put an end to this horrible practice of forcible feeding which we are protesting against to-night.

PRISON NEWS.

The fight going on in Holloway is very grim just now. One prisoner has been on hunger-strike for six weeks, and has been forcibly fed for the last four. Miss Zelia Emerson has endured it for five weeks—a fortnight of secret hunger-strike and three weeks of forcible feeding. She is described as being so changed as to be almost unrecognisable. Miss Pleasance Pendred has also been on strike for a month, and Miss Ella Stevenson since the beginning of her sentence (March 5).

Rumours have reached us concerning Miss Marjory Masters, Miss Olivia Wharry, and Miss I (the unknown Suffragette), which would lead us to suppose that they, too, have adopted the hunger-strike; while Mr. Hugh Frandlin is suffering from a most lonely fight he is waging in Wormwood Scrubs.

The news of the other prisoners in Holloway is good. The authorities are meeting them half-way as regards food, exercise, &c. Miss Grace Stuart had been taken to hospital owing to worry and loss of appetite.

SUFFRAGIST RELEASES.

Mrs. Purser was released from Tullamore Prison on St. Patrick's Day, the extra sentence of a month, in default of bail, having been reduced by half. Miss Eileen Casey's fine was paid on March 18. It will be remembered that she was convicted on a charge of pillar-box outrage, and was sentenced to a fine of £10 or two months.

Miss Nicholson will be released on Saturday, March 29; Miss Dorothy Smith, Miss Gertrude Vaughan, and Miss Kathleen Paget, on Monday, March 31, at the expiration of their sentences.

SUFFRAGIST TRIALS.

Members of the W.S.P.U. who have been the laughing-stock of the world, at the trial of the police-court and sessions courts whenever Suffragists are in the dock. It is very strongly felt that these brave women and men should have all the support and sympathy their comrades can give them; the Press is only too eager to twist the fact of an empty court, or a court half-filled with the idly curious, into an admission of public disapproval of the militants.

Miss Isabel Irving comes up for trial at the Old Bailey at the same sessions as Mrs. Pankhurst.

It is up to the members to rally round the rank and file, and to support them in the same way that they will support their leader.

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The Martyr Spirit.

After many years the martyr-spirit that seemed dead in our country shines out again in a blaze of glory. Their very enemies are paying tribute to our present-day martyrs, the Suffragists in prison. The men who have tried—and vainly tried—to break their spirit by torture are at last driven to bear witness that it is a spirit unbreakable.

"It has been said that there are not many who would die," says Mr. McKenna, "but I think that you would find that thirty or forty or fifty would come up one after the other to die. They are hysterical, fanatical women who have no fear of death in what they believe to be the cause of women."

Hysterical! Fanatical! So were called the saints and martyrs of the past. It would greatly have astonished us if Mr. McKenna had not thus expressed himself. Disinterestedness, devotion to an ideal, a passion for liberty, pity for others, selflessness, heroism—these always appear to men of the McKenna type as hysteria and fanaticism. They are things so utterly foreign to the nature of the McKennas of the world that they seem to them products of mental and physical disease. Yet the so-called fanatics and hysterics are the glory of the human race. It is through them that all good things come into being. It is they who have led and are leading humanity out of mere animalism.

Let us quote again from Mr. McKenna's evidence. "These women," says he, "are determined to make martyrs of themselves in order that their cause may receive a further stimulus from their heroic example." Make martyrs of themselves! Yes, all martyrs are self-made, for no one need be a martyr who will recant, who will submit, who will break the law of God in order to keep on the right side of the law of man.

Mr. McKenna has certainly established his contention that the forcibly-fed women are martyrs, and those are indeed martyrs who are hailed as such by enemies as well as friends.

Nor is the splendour of their martyrdom in the least dimmed because of the militant acts that have brought them into prison. "Who takes the sword shall perish by the sword," said the Bishop of Lincoln in admonitory tones; but surely he spoke without reflection. For it was not women who first took the sword, but the Government. They and their servants it was who met with blows and imprisonment the women's demand for the vote. The Government have unfortunately the choice of weapons in this conflict between themselves and women. They chose the sword, and by their choice women have had to abide. Therefore it is plainly the Government who will perish; they having been first to take the sword. If the Bishop of Lincoln still holds to his view, then it is for him to understand that

the women militant are ready to perish so that their cause may live.

"He that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one." Why should not that command be accepted and obeyed by the militants? Will the Bishop answer us that! "If my kingdom were of this world, then would I send soldiers forth."

The cup which my father hath given me shall I not drink it? Christ believed that His hour was come. He accepted His fate. He checked a physical resistance that would not even have saved Him from capture by the larger and stronger attacking party. He certainly had no thought of condemning wars of liberation in which, as in the war of militant women, the sword is taken for the cutting of bonds and the overthrowing of tyranny.

But if the Bishop of Lincoln is convinced that violence is under all circumstances forbidden by the law of Christ, why does he not first address his rebuke to such people as Lord Roberts and the Minister for War, and, indeed, to the nation as a whole. Strange, indeed, does it seem to single out the Suffragettes for condemnation. Their violence is comparatively mild, and they respect human life, but the policy of male warmakers is first and foremost to destroy human life. Moreover, their aims are not always so pure as those of the Suffragettes, and they have been known to wage war for sheer envy and greed. Yes, there is much for bishops to do in extracting the beam from the eye of their own sex before they criticise, in however mild a way, the methods of voteless women.

Everybody understands now that forcible feeding is torture, and the Government themselves admit that those who suffer it are martyrs. From this it follows that the Government who inflict this agony are torturers. That is an appalling fact, yet not perhaps altogether unaccountable when one remembers that ours is the land in which the scold's bridle, the ducking-stool, the flogging of women at the cart-tail, and witch-burning flourished not so long ago. The Englishman of the baser sort has always disliked the independent, free-spirited, dignified woman. Consider the letters now appearing in the Press calling for the shaving, starving and flogging of Suffragettes. The men who write those letters are itching to lay violent hands upon the Suffragettes. Some of these men have done it already at Llanystumdwy and elsewhere. Others who happen to be Cabinet Ministers find themselves in the powerful and privileged position of being able, by permission of the law and by its aid, to try battering and torturing the spirit out of women in prison.

But the women militant are triumphing over their torturers, and they can cry exultantly, O my soul, thou hast trodden down strength.

How does the matter stand? The Government cannot any longer withhold the vote except on the terms of letting the law be defied and property destroyed. The attempt to enforce law and protect property without women's consent freely expressed through the vote will not only fail, but it will surely involve the death of a prisoner. The wonder is that a prisoner has not died already.

Now, although the women are not afraid of it, the Government, as Mr. McKenna confesses, are afraid of death for women. That is not because they are compassionate towards women—if they were they would not torture them—but because they are afraid of being responsible for a prisoner's death.

Forcible feeding, if continued, means death for every prisoner upon whom it is inflicted. In some cases it cannot even be attempted. In others a single attempt causes imminent danger of death. Sometimes this torture can be carried on for four weeks or more, but the ultimate result is always the same. The body and nerves are wrecked, and to avert death there has to be a hasty release of the prisoner.

This rending of prison walls is the miracle of the twentieth century—a miracle effected by faith and spiritual power.

The attainment of votes for women by such means as these will teach the world a lesson that was much needed. It will teach that spirit is stronger than matter, the soul greater than the body. It will prove that, in fighting against evil, the few are stronger than the many, women stronger than men, and one stronger than all. It will establish for ever the truth that it is not brute force that rules the world.

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

THEY TORTURED ME.

BY SYLVIA PANKHURST.

I was sentenced on February 18 to two months' imprisonment for breaking a window valued at £3. On entering prison I at once refused to eat. On the third day the two doctors came into my cell and told me that they had no alternative but to feed me by force. They sounded my heart and felt my pulse, and went away.

I was in a state of great agitation—feverish with fear and horror, and determined to fight with all my strength, and to prevent by some means this outrage of forcible feeding. I did not know what to do. Ideas flashed quickly through my mind, but none seemed any use. I gathered together my walking shoes, the prison brush and comb, and other things in a little clothes basket and put them beside me where I stood at the back of the cell under my window. I thought that I would throw these things at the doctors if they dared to enter my cell to torture me. But when the door opened six women officers appeared, and I had not the heart to throw things at them, though I struck one of them slightly as they all seized me. I struggled as hard as I could, but they were six, and each one bigger and stronger than I. They soon had me on my back on the bed, firmly held down by the shoulders, the arms, the knees, and the ankles.

Jaws Forced Apart.

Then the doctors came stealing in behind. Someone seized me by the head and thrust a sheet under my chin. I felt a man's hand trying to press open my mouth. I set my teeth and tightened my lips over them with all my strength. My breath was coming so quick that I felt as though I should suffocate. I felt his fingers trying to press my lips apart—getting inside—and I felt them and a steel gag running round my gums and feeling for gaps in my teeth. I was tugging at my head trying to get it free. There were two of them holding it. I think there were two of them wrenching at my mouth. My breath was coming so quick and with a sort of low scream that was getting louder. I heard one say, "Here is a gag," and the other reply, "No, here is a better one; this long gag here."

Then I felt a steel instrument pressing against my gums, cutting into the flesh, forcing its way in. Then it gradually forced my jaws apart as they turned a screw. It felt like having my teeth drawn. Soon they were trying to get the india-rubber tube down my throat. I was struggling, noddly and trying to tighten the muscles and keep my mouth closed up. They got it down, I suppose, though I was unconscious of anything but a mad revolt of struggling, for at last I heard them say, "That's all," and I vomited as the tube came up. They left me on the bed exhausted, gasping for breath, and sobbing convulsively.

The same thing happened in the evening, but I was too tired to struggle for so long. Day after day came the same struggle. My mouth got more and more hurt. Sometimes they gagged it open on both sides with a steel gag, sometimes with one, and the gums where they prised my mouth open were always bleeding, and other parts of my mouth sometimes got bruised or pinched in the struggle. Often I had a wild longing to scream, and after it was over I used to cry terribly with uncontrollably noisy sobs, and hear myself, as though it were someone else, saying things in a strange high voice. Sometimes these things were not true. For instance, I heard myself saying, "Now they are coming again; it is all beginning again," over and over.

I Fainted Twice.

Often I vomited during the struggle, and while the tube was being withdrawn, and always I brought up huge quantities of phlegm. Once when I had been sick all over my face and I couldn't get rid of the phlegm, I was in a paroxysm of rage and after I had been lying with my head hanging over the edge of the bed, gasping and trying to spit the stuff out, I suddenly felt a tingling as though pulses were beating all over my face, even in my nose and in my hands. I could scarcely breathe. I felt as though I were dying. Even with my hands I felt as though I were struggling for air. I lay as still as I could, and after a time it passed.

Sometimes, but not often, I was generally too agitated by then—I felt the tube go right down into the stomach. It was a sickening sensation, especially when it passed midway between the throat and the stomach. My shoulders and back ached very much during the night after the first day's feeding, and often after. One evening I fainted twice. Most nights I scarcely slept.

This went on for a month. By this time my digestion was thoroughly out of order. During the

previous week I had had much flatulence, and the taste of the food that had been poured into me was constantly coming up into my mouth. I had not got rid of the taste of one meal before they came to pour in the next. On Monday, March 17, this was specially acute. On Tuesday I woke with a bad headache. I felt very sick all day, and vomited shortly after the evening feeding. I had a great deal of pain, and felt very sick in the night. My head still ached. On Wednesday I vomited soon after the morning feeding, and again in the evening. On Thursday I vomited in the evening. On Friday I vomited both morning and evening.

Paced the Cell for Two Hours.

At exercise that day Miss Emerson told me that my eyes were bloodshot, and I noticed that all the officials that opened my door stared at me. My eyes had given me trouble for some time. When I was struggling and being sick, I felt as though the cords that held them would snap, and the flesh at the side and under the eyes was sore. The eyeballs hurt if touched, and the eyes shrank from the gaslight.

On Friday evening the forcible feeding seemed more revolting than ever. I was sick after it, and then sat leaning on the table and burst into tears of misery and despair. A passion of revolt seemed to swell within me, and I began to sob and soon I heard myself saying things which grew louder and louder until they filled the air with sound. I heard myself saying over and over again that it was a scandal that four of us should be together serving five months in all for the breaking of one little three pound window; that the Government had had their pound of flesh, and far, far more. I heard myself crying out that this torture had been going on year after year, and that woman after woman had been broken and destroyed, and all because a handful of men stood against us like a solid wall and would not give way—some for the sake of their jobs, some for the sake of their pride. I heard myself crying, "No, no, no, no. I won't have any more of it. I won't have any more of it."

I don't know how long it went on. It seemed a long time, but at last it stopped. Then I got up and began to pace up and down my cell for a long time, perhaps two hours. I began to feel very faint, but I did not stop. Then everything went black. I felt deathly sick, and there was a terrible pain in my chest. I sank down, and I must have cried out, for the principal woman officer in the hospital came to me and took my hands and helped me to get to bed. She was very kind. Soon a doctor came. The officer on night duty watched me all night through a panel in the door of my cell. I slept a little at times.

Eyes Like Cups of Blood.

In the morning I got up about seven and determined I would never cease from walking till I was released. I walked up and down till they came to feed me, and told the doctor what I intended. There was the old struggle, and then I sprang up and began again dashing across and across my cell with outstretched hands from wall to wall. After the morning and evening feedings I felt terribly sick and faint, but I would not faint, I plunged my hands in cold water and dashed it over my face and moistened my parched tongue. Hitherto I had suffered, as everyone who is forcibly fed does, with extreme constipation, but the violent exertion caused the food to pass from me within an hour after the meal, and so I got some relief.

Everyone who came seemed shocked at the sight of me and mentioned my eyes. I had no glass in the cell, but by a little contrivance I was able to see myself quite well in the reflector behind the gas. I was startled to see my face quite white and my eyes horrible, like cups of blood. My lips were cracked and dark.

I walked on all through the night, and as the hours passed I tottered across the cell. At times I felt as though I should die, but when the morning came I got more strength. But my legs were growing very sore and swollen, and my joints very stiff. I was only hobbling now, and I knew that soon I shouldn't be able to walk at all. My legs felt as though something would burst. I felt my pulse—it was fluttering.

Suddenly an idea came into my mind. I thought if some independent doctor could be sent from the Home Office to see me he would say it was dangerous to force food down me any more—I felt sure it was dangerous. My nerves were shattered, my eyes made me afraid.

Home Secretary Petitioned.

I asked if I might see the Governor and the doctor together, and lay down to calm myself that I might speak to them. I had walked for twenty-eight hours.

The doctors and Governor came; they said that though it was Sunday they would stretch a point to help me, and would allow me to send a petition to the Home Secretary for an independent medical examination, and they would send also a medical report on their own account. But they said I must have a truce. I agreed therefore to take a cup of liquid food, soup or milk, twice that day, and also on Monday morning.

On Monday evening two doctors came. I had had two comparatively peaceful days then, and seeing them with the two prison doctors—four together in my cell—seemed to excite me, and I was strangely cheerful. I could not remember half the things I ought to have told them, and when they asked me questions I found it difficult to remember how I had felt. However, I gathered from them, as I thought, that I should be released, but they said the papers could not get through till Wednesday, and asked me to keep the truce up till then. I agreed to go on taking two cups of liquid food each day till then. On Wednesday there was no news. I asked the Governor to let me communicate with my Uncle Worcester, that he might go to the Home Office and try to expedite the answer, but he refused.

On Thursday morning I started the hunger strike again. The doctor argued with me, but I told him that I would not change my mind. All day I feared they would come to feed me, but they did not, though the wardresses, who were very kind, tried to coax me to take food.

I Was to be Released.

On Friday I continued the hunger strike. My head ached, and I felt weak, so I stayed in bed. Neither the doctor nor the Governor came to me, but at about five o'clock in the evening a wardress came and asked me to dress as quickly as I could. I did so, and then walked through the prison with her. I met the doctor, who took me into a cell and told me I was to be released, I fainted.

The doctor gave me some brandy and afterwards some Bovril, and perhaps an hour and a-half afterwards I was sent home in a cab with one of the women officers. I asked to be allowed to send a telegram on the way, in order that there might be friends to meet me, for I live alone. The officers said, "You cannot do it unless the Governor gives permission." They went to ask him. I suppose he said "No," for they called out "Drive on." I got home about eight. It was Good Friday, but after I got home I managed to get another cab and find my friends.

I am very anxious about those who are left behind. I know Miss Emerson is very desperate, and Mrs. Branson has a defect in her heart. Of Miss Olive Wharry and the other hunger strikers I heard nothing.

DOCTOR'S REPORT.

The doctor who examined Miss Sylvia Pankhurst shortly after her release sends the following report of her health:—

"I saw Miss Sylvia Pankhurst within a few hours of her release from Holloway Gaol on the evening of Good Friday.

"Her appearance was startling in the extreme. She was worn and haggard, with deeply bloodshot eyes, owing to the rupture of small vessels under the conjunctiva caused by the excessive strain of vomiting.

"She showed marked signs of nervous exhaustion; a sub-normal temperature and weak pulse, and had the sickly sweet smell in her breath which testifies to serious digestive disturbance.

"Her tissues were soft and flabby, and her weight, which is normally somewhat over 8 stone, was 6 stone 13 lb. only.

"As the authorities had considered her health to be so bad that it was necessary to terminate her imprisonment three weeks before the appointed time, and as Miss Pankhurst had fainted within two hours of her release from prison, it is incomprehensible to me that she should not have been allowed to telegraph to her friends to be in readiness to receive her.

"Several weeks of rest and care will be necessary before she can in any way resume her ordinary life."

WOMAN'S POSITION IN CANADA.

By BARBARA WYLIE.

Miss Wylie, whose Suffrage Tour in Canada has elicited widespread interest, sends the following account of her experiences:—

Your demand for a "general account" of my experiences in Canada is at once sweeping and puzzling! However, I take it to mean that you would like a little flesh put on the skeleton bones I sent you when on my travels.

To begin at the beginning, it must always be borne in mind when thinking of Votes for Women in Canada, that it is a new country. Life does not run on rubber tyres as regards the domestic arrangements. Women who in Europe would be described as belonging to the "leisure class" are, owing to the scarcity of female labour, forced to do all their own housework, and are, as far as that goes, just as house-bound as the wife of the ordinary British working man.

doubt because of this that she has been forced to forsake the clamour round the parish pump and lift up her voice to demand her fair and square share in the framing of the laws which govern the larger life of men and women alike, and many of which it is the urgent duty of women to alter or amend.

Worthy of Enfranchisement.

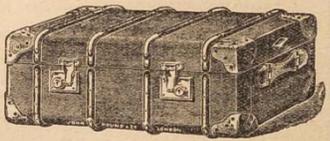
The women who to-day are agitating for equal rights for all are surely proving by this very agitation that they are worthy of enfranchisement. For would the men who are enfranchised and are so absorbed in Municipal franchises (not Municipal well-being), would all those men of every nationality under the sun who are pouring into the country daily and hourly, and are being shoved and hauled and pulled on to the voters' lists by the various party agents, would they, forsaking all else, go straight to the heart of things, and say before all, Give us the right to be self-respecting and self-governing human beings? I doubt it. I doubt it—yet these men, on a sex qualification only, are freely given that for which women are called upon to sacrifice so much.

Mr. Harold Smith: A very grave situation indeed has arisen through the inaction of the Home Office and the apparent, but, as I shall attempt to show, not the real impotence of the law. On almost every platform on which the Militant Suffragists appear, they are openly boasting that they are continually conspiring and inciting others to break the law; they publicly announce that there is no means of depriving them of their liberty or of interfering with this orgy of crime with which we have been faced during the past few months; and they snap their fingers in the face of the right hon. gentleman, relying upon the fact that either he wants to gain some imaginary popularity or that he is afraid.

Mr. McKenna: No, that is not true. At the time to which this letter relates only the third course was adopted, and if the hon. gentleman will read the letter he will see that it relates to the time when it was communicated to the Home Office that she was in immediate danger of death.

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FORCIBLE FEEDING DENOUNCED.

DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT.

The Government's mode of dealing with the militant Suffrage movement—and more particularly the forcible feeding of prisoners—occupied the attention of the House of Commons during almost the whole of the sitting of Tuesday, March 18. For the express purpose of calling attention to the whole matter, Mr. Harold Smith moved that Item Class 2, Vote 4 (Home Office) be reduced by £100.

The ensuing debate is fully reported below:—

MR. HAROLD SMITH.

Why Don't You Stamp Out Militancy? Mr. Harold Smith: A very grave situation indeed has arisen through the inaction of the Home Office and the apparent, but, as I shall attempt to show, not the real impotence of the law. On almost every platform on which the Militant Suffragists appear, they are openly boasting that they are continually conspiring and inciting others to break the law; they publicly announce that there is no means of depriving them of their liberty or of interfering with this orgy of crime with which we have been faced during the past few months; and they snap their fingers in the face of the right hon. gentleman, relying upon the fact that either he wants to gain some imaginary popularity or that he is afraid.

Mr. McKenna: No, that is not true. At the time to which this letter relates only the third course was adopted, and if the hon. gentleman will read the letter he will see that it relates to the time when it was communicated to the Home Office that she was in immediate danger of death.

Mr. H. Smith: The House will be in a better position to appreciate the answer of the Home Secretary if I read the letter to the magistrate:—"Three courses were open—"

Mr. McKenna: Read the whole letter. Mr. H. Smith: I have not the whole letter with me, but I shall be very glad if the right hon. gentleman reads it.

Mr. McKenna: The quotation is only relevant to a particular point, but if the hon. and learned gentleman reads the whole letter he will see what I stated was correct. The whole letter relates to the time when the doctor communicated with the Home Office that the woman was in danger of death.

Circumstances Too Horrible. Mr. H. Smith: Let me read what Sir Victor Horsley says, and the right hon. gentleman can read the whole letter to the House himself, and the House can decide. Sir Victor Horsley says:—

"Barbaric and Cruel." Mr. H. Smith: Then, if the Government fails to give it that protection that it has a right to, I am convinced you will find society will retaliate by taking the law into its own hands. The Home Secretary, in view of the appalling outrages that have taken place, and in view of the fact that there are no signs that these outrages are ceasing, rather than there are signs that they are growing, to consider a remedy. Has he no remedy to tell the House? Does he come here after this long and unfortunate history of these Suffragist outrages, and say, in effect, he has no remedy whatever to offer to the House? If the right hon. gentleman—I say this with all respect and conviction—is going to retain the emoluments of his office, he must, too, retain the responsibilities of his office.

An Anti-Suffragist, and, in my sincerity in opposing votes for women, I would not give place to anyone, but as an Anti-Suffragist I say that forcible feeding is one of the most barbaric and cruel things that could possibly be devised. I cannot believe, as one reads the authentic accounts of the operations that take place upon these women, that the House of Commons is going to remain satisfied with the administration of the Home Office in respect to that. I cannot believe that even party ties, which are so very strong, will induce hon. members opposite who know anything at all about this outrage to practise it.

The Case of Miss Lenton.

We had a very striking case only a few days ago. That was the case of Miss Lenton, who was released by the Home Secretary on the ground of ill-health.

The right hon. gentleman has been asked over and over again by the Mayor of Richmond, who committed her, for her part in this matter, to apologise, the excuse he gave to the mayor? He said there were only three courses open to the prison authorities. One was to let her die, the second course was forcible feeding, and the third course was to release her, and he said the prison authorities adopted the third course. With great respect to the right hon. gentleman I say that is not true, or at best it is only half the truth. The right hon. gentleman said in as many words that the third course was adopted, and that is not true, because both the second and third courses were adopted, for this woman was forcibly fed. Two courses out of the three were adopted.

Mr. McKenna: No, that is not true. At the time to which this letter relates only the third course was adopted, and if the hon. gentleman will read the letter he will see that it relates to the time when it was communicated to the Home Office that she was in immediate danger of death.

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very short time after being forcibly fed, under circumstances which are related by Sir Victor Horsley, and are all too horrible, we find immediately afterwards she was taken ill, and was in a state of collapse, and then after a few hours she was taken from the hospital and placed in a taxi-cab, but was not allowed to leave the prison premises until the local doctor came to take her away; she was certainly accompanied by a doctor and two warders. In face of these facts, how can it possibly be said that the danger to her life was due to her refusal to take food? It was due entirely to the fact that she was forcibly fed, and how can it be said that the Home Secretary is giving a truthful answer when he says that the third course only was taken of releasing her, when as a matter of fact, she was forcibly fed, and when that and that alone was responsible for the grave condition of health in which she found herself?

It was owing entirely to the fact that the prison authorities had resorted to this barbaric and cruel operation that they found her in such a grave state of health that the right hon. Gentleman had no time in which to go through the usual formalities and take the leave of the magistrate. I ask the right hon. Gentleman if he is satisfied to continue this sole remedy of forcible feeding. I believe the House cannot but censure the right hon. Gentleman for what he has done in his treatment of those women.

MR. A. F. WHYTE.

Coercion is Futile and Dangerous.

Mr. A. F. Whyte: This is essentially an appeal to panic legislation or panic action. What earthly good would a proclamation of the meetings in Hyde Park be? What has the proclamation of public meetings always done in the past? It has increased tenfold the vigour of the agitation which supported those meetings.

The hon. and learned Gentleman should have paused before he brought forward such suggestions. He should have considered the history of such suggestions as we are now considering, and should have been a little more cautious before he lent his support to such a policy.

LORD ROBERT CECIL.

All Else Has Failed. Try Deportation.

Lord Robert Cecil: The outrages which have taken place are exceedingly serious. I do not agree that this is a matter of no importance. The actual things which have been done, the blowing up of a house, burning down a railway station, the burning down of the Kew tea-house, the breaking of numberless windows, causing a vast amount of expense—all these are very serious matters. They are an attack upon the property and upon the liberties and civilisation of the country, and so far the attempts made to put them down have wholly failed. We must recognise the facts.

The outrages are not less common nor serious than they were. Undoubtedly very serious things were done to the women at Llanystumdwy. The police court proceedings proved beyond doubt that, whether the man accused was guilty or not, unquestionably the women were injured very seriously, and that is a very serious matter. I am bound to say that I think the Government are very largely to blame. I do not think you ought to take this question of what has happened solely by itself.

We must go back to the history of how it was brought about, how they grew up, how they were treated successively by the Government in a series of mistakes, if not blunders. We must ask ourselves that the beginning of what was called the militant movement consisted of a certain number of women coming to the premises of the House of Parliament and asserting, or pretending to assert, a right to present a petition to this House, and then declining to give way when the police prevented them, and they were afterwards summarily ordered for obstructing the police. For many months these women were not punished for any crime, but for the most part they were bound over to keep the peace, and in cases where they refused to be bound over they were sent to prison. Personally, I think the Government treated those offences too seriously. They were very technical offences at the outset, and much too much was made of them, and they ought to have been treated much more lightly. The women ought to have been arrested for the night and let go in the morning. That occurred under Lord Gladstone. Then came the present First Lord of the Admiralty, and it was during his administration of the Home Office that very serious events took place. There was a very peaceful deputation to the House of these women, and I remember it very well, because I looked into the facts. The women came in small detachments of ten or twelve; they were wholly unarmed, and they came pretending, rightly or wrongly, that they wished to present a petition. In my judgment they were received by the police, or by some section of the police, with great violence. They were knocked down and injured in other ways. They alleged that that was in October. What they had been told by some of the police, to some kind of hint or suggestion made by the authorities to the police. The women asked for an inquiry, and it was refused. I think that was the creation of the whole agitation. I think that was a great injustice committed upon the women, and I believe that was the first thing which drove them into the more violent courses they afterwards adopted. That was the second great mistake that was made.

There was a lull for a time, and then came the much more serious outbreaks, the breaking of windows. Now it seems to me that was the great mistake that the Government made. It was at that time they had treated what was really a technical offence very seriously. Now, the offence became real and serious, because I think the breaking of windows was very serious indeed, and the Government treated that as no more serious than the previous technical affair. I believe the Government ought then to have exercised what the hon. gentleman very rightly demanded, a little imagination. They ought to have realised the kind of people with whom they had to deal; they ought to have satisfied themselves that their existing armory was sufficient to deal with the offences, and, if they were not satisfied that their existing armory was sufficient, they ought to have come to this House and asked to have it strengthened. I regard that as the great error that was committed. The danger was perfectly obvious to anyone who chose to inquire into the matter. Some of these women are undoubtedly of the stuff of which fanatics are made. They are not amenable to the ordinary kind of considerations that affect ordinary people. They believe, rightly or wrongly, that they are doing what they ought to do. They believe that they are taking the only method.

I believe myself that they are profoundly mistaken—for achieving their object, and you must treat them from that point of view. It is mere pedantry to treat them as burglars and thieves and criminals of that kind. These women were imprisoned, and they were sent to the second division. Personally, I think that was a mistake. They adopted what they call the "hunger strike" as a device which I think they took from the Russian Nihilists, the object being to compel the Government to let them out, or to take the responsibility of allowing them to starve. They were determined, if they could, and they said so quite frankly, and they say so now, to bring the administration of the law into contempt and into failure in order to put pressure upon this House to grant them the demands which they were making. That was their plan, and they went on hunger-strike. We all know what happened. In certain cases, not in all, a difference was unquestionably made in the treatment of the women. I venture to think that that was another great blunder. In the result this

TECHNICAL OFFENCES.

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system of forcible feeding was very largely adopted. I believe that forcible feeding is not only a disgusting but an utterly futile and an utterly indefensible proceeding from the point of view of administration. I believe it to be all wrong and the worst possible way of dealing with the matter. Just consider what it means. You sentence a woman to two months' imprisonment. She refuses to eat. You then, in effect, in order to get over that difficulty, add to her punishment. You propose a process, or an operation, which must cause, even in the most favourable view, very acute discomfort, which commonly causes a great deal of pain, and which, in a very large proportion of cases, is dangerous to health. That is the literal truth.

The right hon. gentleman was very indignant with my hon. friend over the case of Miss Lenton, but I cannot bring myself to have the slightest doubt that in point of fact Miss Lenton had to be let out because of the great injury to her lungs, caused by forcible feeding. The right hon. gentleman, I know, takes a different view, but he must know quite well that such things often happen. I saw the report of a man, not in any way connected with the Suffrage movement, who, one or two years ago, was forcibly fed, and, by accident, some of the liquid food got into the lung and set up pleurisy. That is consistent with what has happened in this case. There are sixty-six women who have been let out, and it is absurd to tell me that this is a safe process.

Nothing Worse Than Forcible Feeding.

I do not think anything could be worse than forcible feeding as a penal device. Another suggestion has been made that the women should be let out on some kind of licence, and that when they have recovered their health and from the effects of starvation they should be rearrested and made to serve the rest of their term. I cannot think that would be acceptable to the public, and there would be great difficulty in carrying it into effect.

You would probably demand some kind of undertaking from the women, before you let them out. They certainly would not give it, and you would not be any further advanced than at present. I believe these women are honest and sincere. I believe, although they act foolishly and absurdly, that they think they have a right to do what they are doing, and I believe they think, although in my judgment quite mistakenly, that what they are doing will bring about the political change that they desire. And, therefore, I think that to treat them as ordinary criminals is perfectly absurd and shows a complete lack of imagination and a complete failure to understand the very elements of the problem. Personally, I should recommend that we should deport them from this country for a considerable period.

You ought to say, "These women are dangers to the State; they are misguided; they are of the nature of insane people; really they are not normal," and you must treat them from that point of view, and not as ordinary criminals. I believe it can be successfully done by deportation; by a complete change of scene; by getting right away from the excitement of the present surroundings and circumstances. I believe that is the kind of way in which foreign countries have been compelled to deal with a similar kind of outbreak of criminality. What is the record of the Liberal party? I do not go back to old times in Ireland. It is enough for me to remind the House of passive resistance in Wales and a number of other movements of that kind that have been sympathized with and supported by the Liberal party.

Mr. King: What about the Ulster threats?

Lord Robert Cecil: The hon. Member is quite certain always to make a characteristic observation. I have already alluded to that, and if he seriously thinks that there is any similarity between the two cases I am sorry for his mental processes. Seriously, I do say, apart from that, that it is right to say that the Liberal party, under a much greater difficulty in dealing with this kind of matter than the Unionists, and that makes it all the more necessary for them really and seriously to make up their minds that the matter must be dealt with.

MR. McKENNA.

They Are Ready to Die for Their Cause.

Mr. McKenna: I admit that it is serious, but we have got to consider whether these serious facts are facts

for which the Government are or could be responsible, or facts like Mrs. Pankhurst's speech for which the hon. Member for Warrington thinks the Government are responsible. The allegation is that the attempt to enforce the law has been a failure in the case of these Suffragist offenders.

Since the beginning of this year, in two and a-half months, there have been sixty-six Suffragist prisoners received into prison; that is, since January 1 this year. I do not go back upon 1912, not because I am not perfectly willing to go into the figures, but the House will remember that in 1912 there was one great outbreak, when I think something like 200 persons were arrested, and many of these prisoners were undoubtedly let out. There have been these sixty-six prisoners up to the present in this year—sixty-two women and four men. Thirty-three women and two men have been released on the expiration of their sentences, or on payment of fine or bail at the expiration of remand. There remain in prison, still serving their sentences, thirty women and two men, so that in all, out of sixty-six, thirty-five have completed their sentences and twenty-three are still serving their sentences. The total of fifty-eight out of the sixty-six prisoners. Of the eight prisoners who have not been released in the ordinary course, all were women, and all were released because they refused to take food.

The Character of the Women.

In the case of these eight women, in ordinary circumstances, if their health were normal, it would have been the duty of the medical officer, when they starved, to keep them alive by forcible feeding, but in every one of these cases, long before they came into prison, and not as the result of any forcible feeding or any attempt at forcible feeding, these women were all incapable of being forcibly fed. These, and these only, have so far been released from prison before their time has expired.

Mr. McKenna: Now as to the character of the people with whom we have to deal. Let the Committee clearly understand that I am not minimising the gravity of the state of things from the point of view of the social condition in which we find a large number of women who join this movement and act in the most fanatical manner. What do we find among these women? Every precaution is taken. It is often said, "Leave them to starve; give them milk and they will take it." Some of them have refused to drink water, and voluntarily submit to self-torture, not merely of hunger, but of thirst. Those to whom milk has been offered instead of water have refused it.

Mr. Harold Smith: Has the water been taken away when milk has been put there as a precaution?

Mr. McKenna: The hon. gentleman may rest quite satisfied that there is no suggestion he can make which has not been considered. It would hardly be of advantage to take away water from prisoners who voluntarily abstain from drinking, as well as from eating, and thus inflict the torture upon themselves. This means we have got to face the fact that, so far as we can judge from outward acts, many of them are actuated by a determination not merely to bring the administration of the law into contempt, but actually to make martyrs of themselves in order that their cause may receive a further stimulus by their heroic example. That is the state of things we have to face, a state of things I have to deal with day by day, and while suggestions are being made as to this or that trifling palliative, we know by their heroic example. That is the state with them except by taking each individual case as it arises, and exercising patience, forbearance, and humanity, and endeavouring slowly but surely to break down the movement.

Release or Death.

Two years before I was at the Home Office forcible feeding had been in continuous practice. There is undoubtedly the difficulty of dealing with those cases in which it is undesirable on medical grounds that any attempt should be made to feed a prisoner. Quite apart from considering the case whether any prisoner should ever be forcibly fed, there are undoubtedly cases of prisoners who ought not to be so fed. In this case, as the law now stands, we are face to face with this alternative, that when such a prisoner starves we must either let the prisoner out or let the prisoner die. There is no other alternative.

All hon. Members who think that food placed in a cell, or deprivation of water or any other artifice, is going to induce some of these women to give up starving themselves are under a complete error. The real alternative which we have to consider is the existing law, is letting them die, or letting them out. Let me deal with two alternatives. There are some people who say, "Let them die." (An Hon. Member: "Hear, hear.") and because I absolutely decline to let them die, I am subjected to attacks on the ground of want of courage. The usual statement is, "If he had courage he would let them die." I wonder if it requires more courage to let some helpless woman die because she has mistaken political opinions and has broken a window, or to refuse to do that and face the obloquy showered upon my head by the hon. Member for Warrington (Mr. Harold Smith). I confess, it requires no little courage to face his obloquy, but inasmuch as he has resisted it, and in spite of all his attacks, mean to continue on the same course and not let these women die, I hope the hon. Member will believe that I am not wanting in courage.

Mr. H. Smith: The lesser of two evils.

Mr. McKenna: Why should we let these women die? What is their offence? Are you going to leave them to the mercy of the law, or are you going to have an offence of window-breaking, and secondly for obstinacy? These obstinate women—

Mr. Rawlinson: There was arson.

Wanted to Let Them Die.

Mr. McKenna: I have not got to arson yet. I am only dealing now with such offences as window-breaking. There was an attempt to commit arson, but it was not dealt with very seriously by the Court. What were we to do in the majority of these cases. I think most, if not all, of the eight cases where the women have been let out were window-breaking cases. The remaining seven were all window-breaking cases. Am I to let these seven women die because they have broken windows, or because they are so obstinate in their political opinions that they would rather starve themselves than give way?

Some hon. gentlemen are quite satisfied to say, "Let them die." I think that would be a wrong thing to do.

Mr. P. Banbury: Nothing would happen.

Mr. McKenna: That is how the hon. baronet gets away from that. He does not say that he would face this alternative. The women, he says, would know what I meant, and nothing would happen. Let me tell hon. Members that these women had been so reduced by starvation that they were dying or dying no longer lay with them. The medical officers, who had to deal with the women by the score, reported to me that, with the exception of those who would die, how many are to be allowed to die? The hon. baronet opposite says "Let them die; only one or two would die." I think you would find thirty or forty would die.

SIR ARTHUR MARKHAM.

These Women Are Fanatics.

Sir Arthur Markham: If these women enter into a conspiracy after having committed offences for which they were sent to prison, and if they go to prison with the determination not to take food, I submit that no responsibility ought to attach to any Government. I consider forcible feeding to be the most horrible and disgusting proceeding, and I think the House ought to have some regard for the feelings of warders and wardenesses who are called upon to every prisoner—because I would not have any forcible feeding. I would put the food in the cell, and if the prisoners did not choose to take it they must take the consequence of their own action. I do not think anyone will hold but that the law had been vindicated if it could be proved that every opportunity had been given to the prisoner to take proper nourishment, and that the prisoner, whether male or female, had refused food.

MR. KEIR HARDIE.

Give Them the Vote.

Mr. Keir Hardie: The Home Secretary comes forward with this proposal, that when the prisoners hunger-strike they are to be released conditionally, the condition being that as soon as they recover their health sufficiently they are to be rearrested. Does he think that women of the type he has described are going to submit to conditions of that kind? They certainly will give no undertaking. As the Dublin case now is, they will treat the whole law with contempt, the whole administration of the law with contempt, and what then?

in substance, to give me the same powers in dealing with persons committed to prison, as I have in regard to prisoners committed to penal servitude. I wish to have power to licence the exercise of that power, and I believe that power would be effective. It would enable me, in many cases, not to employ forcible feeding where I think it is my duty to employ it now. It would enable me to let the prisoner out on licence, and not to exercise the power of bringing the prisoner back to prison so long as she remained of good behaviour. I believe it would be extremely effective in certain cases of licence out. I would leave her out of prison so long as she refrained from taking any action in inciting to acts of public disorder. I believe I would be able to deal effectively even with those eight prisoners, with respect to whom I had to advise the Sovereign to exercise the prerogative of mercy. I believe we would be able to make the law operate successfully. In conclusion, I ask hon. gentlemen on both sides to realise the gravity of the case and the difficulty of the circumstances, and I would beg of them to have patience. I believe they will find, if they will exercise patience, that the power of the law are sufficiently strong to maintain order and to deal with Suffragist offences.

MR. CLYDE.

Means Worthy of the Inquisition.

Mr. Clyde: Public opinion in this country regards forcible feeding as torture. It is all very well for the right hon. gentleman to hug himself complacently with the reflection that if he released these 12 per cent. because they were suffering from a variety of human infirmities—pleurisy, heart disease, or something else. What does that mean? It means that if a person in delicate health commits an offence against the law and chooses to refuse to take food, that person, whether male or female, defies the law, and is let out of prison. That state of things cannot go on. It is absolutely impossible that the law can be made a mockery of as it is at the present moment. The Home Secretary and that it requires very much more courage to allow these people to be released than to say, "If you do not choose to take the food which is put before you, you will be allowed to commit suicide." I differ from the Home Secretary. I say it requires much more courage to get up and say that, in my opinion, the law is being made a mockery of, and let them out. If, by a great misfortune, one woman was to die, there would be no more. After all, one has to remember this, horrible as it is, that it is worse to allow the law, on which the safety of the whole country depends, to be made a mockery of than to allow one foolish woman to suffer the consequences of her own folly.

On the question of the legal position, I understood the Home Secretary to say that a decision had been given by a judge that in the event of a prisoner refusing to take food, it was the duty of the Home Secretary and of the prison authorities to see that that person did, as far as possible, take food. That, of course, is the decision of a High Court. It is not a statutory one. That decision of the High Court might be overruled by a higher Court. What does that decision amount to? Am I not right in assuming that it only necessitates the prison authorities to take every precaution to put food before every prisoner—because I would not have any forcible feeding. I would put the food in the cell, and if the prisoners did not choose to take it they must take the consequence of their own action. I do not think anyone will hold but that the law had been vindicated if it could be proved that every opportunity had been given to the prisoner to take proper nourishment, and that the prisoner, whether male or female, had refused food.

The right hon. gentleman said that he expected, by diligent persistence in well-doing of the kind which we have experienced, to break down this movement. What is the foundation of the right hon. gentleman's faith? How does he suppose that by living 15 per cent. of these women he is going to break down this movement? He described their characteristics; without description that they would die, people who are likely to be damned by treatment of that kind.

MR. LOCKER-LAMPSON.

Woman of the Highest Moral Character.

Mr. Oliver Locker-Lampson: The suggestion forwarded by the Home Secretary was one really of very little value. We are faced at the present time with a wave of militant Suffragism all over the country. One distinctive feature about it is worthy of remark. We find that people of the highest moral character say not a word in its defence, and that they are going to do things which they would not do for any other reason or with any other object. We find women, who have hitherto been creatures of charm and domesticity,

ready to allow themselves to be classed as criminals in order to further the cause they have at heart; in order even possibly to advertise themselves! What is to be done? The acts are no longer a question which is amusing to the newspapers. They are an absolute menace to a perfectly innocent public. We cannot even send letters through the post. What has the Home Secretary done in the past? He has displayed a spirit of apathy and infirmity of purpose, with truculence, that it would be very difficult to find equalled in any barbaric country of the Middle Ages.

SIR ALFRED CRIPPS.

Forcible Feeding not Required by Law. Sir A. Cripps: I think the Home Secretary is quite wrong in what he laid down as regards the law. This hunger-strike is simply attempted suicide. There is no obligation upon the Home Secretary in a case of that kind to resort to forcible feeding. He has to do is to take every possible care that a result such as all of us should dislike and deplore should not take place. I wholly deny that there is any obligation upon him to resort to forcible feeding. It is a matter of law, and I believe my statement is absolutely true, and that his notion that he is bound to have recourse to forcible feeding in these cases is absolutely without foundation.

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY.

The Law is Being Made a Mockery.

Sir Frederick Banbury: If, at the inception of this movement, the Home Secretary had shown a little courage and backbone, we should not have had the horrible description of forcible feeding to which we have just listened. Such a description, if it were made everywhere, no one likes the process; everyone would like to see it abolished. The Home Secretary showed that he released these 12 per cent. because they were suffering from a variety of human infirmities—pleurisy, heart disease, or something else. What does that mean? It means that if a person in delicate health commits an offence against the law and chooses to refuse to take food, that person, whether male or female, defies the law, and is let out of prison. That state of things cannot go on. It is absolutely impossible that the law can be made a mockery of as it is at the present moment. The Home Secretary and that it requires very much more courage to allow these people to be released than to say, "If you do not choose to take the food which is put before you, you will be allowed to commit suicide." I differ from the Home Secretary. I say it requires much more courage to get up and say that, in my opinion, the law is being made a mockery of, and let them out. If, by a great misfortune, one woman was to die, there would be no more. After all, one has to remember this, horrible as it is, that it is worse to allow the law, on which the safety of the whole country depends, to be made a mockery of than to allow one foolish woman to suffer the consequences of her own folly.

MR. WALTER ROCH.

Barbaric Punishment Which is Torture.

Mr. Walter Roch: The only point on which I quarrel with the Home Secretary is upon the question of forcible feeding. I believe he is not justified in that. It is a barbaric punishment taking the form of torture. I go further and say that, by the Home Secretary's own allowing forcible feeding is absolutely ineffective to bring about respect for the law or to carry out sentences.

MR. D. M. MASON.

Let Them Die.

Mr. D. M. Mason: There is no legal necessity for the Home Secretary to engage in forcible feeding. I submit his step is to provide proper food for them, and if he does so and lets it be known publicly that he has provided them with proper food, then there is no body of men, either here or anywhere else, who would condemn him or say his responsibility extended further. People commit suicide to-day if they wish. We are perfectly at liberty to starve ourselves to death.

MR. J. H. THOMAS.

A Barbaric and Futile Method.

Mr. J. H. Thomas: The Government should realise that there is this general refusal of feeding on the question of forcible feeding, because everyone is satisfied not only that it is a barbarous method, but one that would never adequately deal with the situation.

MR. HOHLER.

If Some Prisoner was Killed!

Mr. Hoehler: I should have read the Home Secretary's letter to me clearly that this woman had never been forcibly fed, and that he had adopted the third alternative, that was to release her. My point is that the Government knew there was forcible feeding in the Lenton case. The Home Secretary does not for a moment satisfy me about it. It is curious that it was so long as you left alone the lady herself. I suggest in this case that it was quite improper, when this woman was forcibly fed, to say that she was released on the other alternative. I believe there would be a great outcry if some unfortunate prisoner was killed by forcible feeding within the prison walls.

Breaking Law to Save Life.

Mr. Rawlinson: Will the right hon. gentleman say under what power he

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was acting when he released a prisoner who was simply committed to trial? Mr. McKenna: I am much obliged to the hon. and learned gentleman for reminding me of the point, and, if I may, I will put a question. If he saw a house on fire, and he knew somebody was in danger of being burned to death, if the front door was locked and the windows were closed, would he have any authority to break into the house and commit a trespass? Would he not be committing an illegal act? Nevertheless would it not be his duty in the nature of the case to break into the house to commit a trespass, and to rescue the person who was in danger of death?

COERCIVE MEASURES.

Proposed New Legislation.

RE-ARREST FOR HUNGER STRIKERS.

On Tuesday, March 25, Mr. McKenna introduced a Bill, which was read a first time, "to provide for the temporary discharge of prisoners whose further detention in prison is undesirable on account of the condition of their health."

Text of the Bill.

The text of the Bill is as follows:— Be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

1.—(1) If the Secretary of State is satisfied that by reason of the condition of a prisoner's health it is undesirable to detain him in prison, but that, such condition of health being due in whole or in part to the prisoner's own conduct in prison, it is desirable that his release should be temporary and conditional only, the Secretary of State may, if he thinks fit, having regard to all the circumstances of the case, by order authorise the temporary discharge of the prisoner for such period and subject to such conditions as may be stated in the order.

(2) Any prisoner so discharged shall comply with any conditions stated in the order of temporary discharge, and shall return to prison at the expiration of the period stated in the order, or of such extended period as may be fixed by any subsequent order of the Secretary of State, and if the prisoner fails so to comply or return he may be arrested without warrant and taken back to prison.

(3) Where a prisoner under sentence is discharged in pursuance of an order of temporary discharge, the currency of the sentence shall be suspended from the day on which he is discharged from prison under the order to the day on which he is received back into prison, so that the former day shall be reckoned and the latter shall not be reckoned as part of the sentence.

(4) Where an order of temporary discharge is made in the case of a prisoner not under sentence, the order shall contain conditions requiring the attendance of the prisoner at any further proceedings on his case at which his presence may be required.

(5) Where the prisoner is undergoing a sentence of penal servitude, the powers under this Act shall affect the duties of the medical officer of a prison in respect of a prisoner whom the Secretary of State does not think fit to discharge under this Act.

We learn as we go to press on Wednesday that the second reading of the Bill is provisionally fixed for this evening.

LEGAL DEFENCE FUND.

(Hon. Treasurer, Miss Goodlife, 62, High-road, Hampstead, N.W.)

Recent events show that women are becoming more and more incensed by the trickery and injustice practised upon them, and are taking active measures to register their displeasure.

The Government, being able to command the services of the Law Officers of the Crown, and all the machinery of the law, it is more than ever necessary that women should have the benefit of legal advice in this fight against such fearful odds.

This Fund must be built up to meet the growing need, and all those who cannot themselves take an active part in militant work must do all in their power to lighten the burden of those who are sacrificing so much for the freedom of women.

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A working man 0 2 6
£233 5 8

ready to allow themselves to be classed as criminals in order to further the cause they have at heart; in order even possibly to advertise themselves! What is to be done? The acts are no longer a question which is amusing to the newspapers. They are an absolute menace to a perfectly innocent public. We cannot even send letters through the post. What has the Home Secretary done in the past? He has displayed a spirit of apathy and infirmity of purpose, with truculence, that it would be very difficult to find equalled in any barbaric country of the Middle Ages.

ARTIFICIAL V. FORCIBLE FEEDING.

A COMPARISON.

The following appears in an editorial in The British Journal of Nursing, March 8:—

To the trained nurse the fact which differentiates the feeding by tube of patients in hospital and the forcible feeding of prisoners lies in the word forcible. No nurse will deny the value of feeding by tube, whether through the mouth or nose, in certain cases. She has too often seen the life of the child with diphtheria saved, the life of the patient with stricture of the œsophagus prolonged by it to do other than believe in its efficacy. But the moment that the factor of force is introduced, every fibre in her will protest, backed by all the strength not only of her humanity, but of her professional conscience—against the application of force in treatment which, if it is not to be dangerous, must be characterised with the greatest gentleness.

But compare the ordinary dextrous routine practice connected with a nasal feed, as administered in a hospital ward, with the horrible procedures daily enacted in prison cells, where a resisting person in good health is pinioned, gagged, held down by a number of wardenesses—not trained nurses—and fed forcibly. Does such food, often rejected shortly after it has been forced down, nourish the person to whom it is administered? We doubt it. In any case, the process of digestion, and consequently the power of assimilation, must be seriously impaired by all mental disturbance undergone. The effects of a disturbed mental condition on the digestive system is very marked, a well-known instance being the frequent repulsion to food of a person who has received bad news or sustained sudden bereavement.

The following is a list of the voting:

Table with 2 columns: Party and Votes. Liberals ... 3, Conservatives ... 94, Nationalists ... 2.

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A COMPARISON.

The following appears in an editorial in The British Journal of Nursing, March 8:—

To the trained nurse the fact which differentiates the feeding by tube of patients in hospital and the forcible feeding of prisoners lies in the word forcible. No nurse will deny the value of feeding by tube, whether through the mouth or nose, in certain cases. She has too often seen the life of the child with diphtheria saved, the life of the patient with stricture of the œsophagus prolonged by it to do other than believe in its efficacy. But the moment that the factor of force is introduced, every fibre in her will protest, backed by all the strength not only of her humanity, but of her professional conscience—against the application of force in treatment which, if it is not to be dangerous, must be characterised with the greatest gentleness.

But compare the ordinary dextrous routine practice connected with a nasal feed, as administered in a hospital ward, with the horrible procedures daily enacted in prison cells, where a resisting person in good health is pinioned, gagged, held down by a number of wardenesses—not trained nurses—and fed forcibly. Does such food, often rejected shortly after it has been forced down, nourish the person to whom it is administered? We doubt it. In any case, the process of digestion, and consequently the power of assimilation, must be seriously impaired by all mental disturbance undergone. The effects of a disturbed mental condition on the digestive system is very marked, a well-known instance being the frequent repulsion to food of a person who has received bad news or sustained sudden bereavement.

PARLIAMENT AND THE MILITANTS.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

In the House of Commons, on Wednesday, March 19, Mr. Toulch asked the Home Secretary (1) the number of police employed during the last six years in protecting members of His Majesty's Government from the attentions of militant Suffragists, male and female; the number of detectives who have been engaged for the same purpose, their salaries, and the total amount of public money expended in this manner; and (2) the number of police employed during the last six years in protecting public buildings from the attentions of militant Suffragists, male and female; the number of detectives who have been engaged for the same purpose, and their salaries; and the total amount of public money expended in this manner.

Mr. McKenna: The information asked for could only be collected by long and laborious research, and even so, the results would be only approximate. In the circumstances, I fear that I cannot undertake to procure it. Mr. Remnant: How many constables are there at this moment guarding Ministers?

Mr. McKenna: It varies very much from moment to moment.

REMAND PRISONERS AND FORCIBLE FEEDING.

On Monday, March 24, Mr. Toulch asked the Home Secretary by what authority prison officials direct forcible feeding in the case of a prisoner under remand.

Mr. McKenna: The duty which is imposed by law on prison officials to use all reasonable means of keeping a prisoner alive applies to prisoners on remand as well as to others.

On Tuesday Mr. Frederick Whyte asked whether any woman imprisoned for offences committed in the course of the Woman Suffrage agitation have been artificially fed in any Scottish prison?

Mr. McKinnon Wood: The answer is in the negative.

THE REV. R. J. CAMPBELL AND THE MILITANTS.

THE SPIRIT OF SACRIFICE.

The Rev. R. J. Campbell, preaching on Good Friday at the City Temple, said: "The blood of Christ is still being shed in the sufferings of those who give themselves in the service of the ideal good. . . . I know of no clearer instance of this at the present day than the movement of which the demand for Women's Suffrage is one aspect out of many. To-day a new spirit is rising in the ranks of womanhood, a new ideal has dawned, a new hope, a new enthusiasm is taking possession of the souls of millions. Where the spirit of sacrifice is in the service of a highly impersonal end you behold something of the redeeming work of Christ. And when the Home Secretary testified the other day in the House of Commons that nothing could exceed the heroism and self-devotion of the Suffragists whom the law obliged him to keep in prison, he but paid unconscious tribute to the principle which is the very core of the Christian Gospel. These women are in deadly earnest; so much so that, as this responsible Minister of the Crown declared, they would welcome death itself if that would secure the triumph of their cause. It is a just and righteous cause, which, like all other spiritual movements, will enter its kingdom by the Cross."

HOW TO CONVERT THE PUBLIC.

A MAN'S PRESCRIPTION.

In a humorous article in *The Clarion*, entitled "Advice to Bakers," Mr. R. B. South refers to a typical newspaper article reciting the grievances of bakers and describing the insanitary and cockroach-infested condition of many bakeries. Mr. South continues: "What caused the tears of sorrow to flow down my infernal cheek as I read this bald and unconvincing narrative which the intrepid journalist's assumption that his lubrications would rouse the *vox populi* to fury and induce them to tear up the tube railways until the baker's wages were raised above the Plimsoll line. The *vox populi* doesn't care a kiss about beetles in a bakehouse, or the presence of abracadabra in the raw materials kneaded therein, and until the bakers realise this, their chances of annexing enough wages to pay for a clean shave are as remote as the tail of Halley's comet."

"If they want the great heart of the public to rise in its splendour and throw the Mint and the National Debt into their laps every Saturday, they will only to use the cockroaches with a proper regard for the law of *habes corpus*, and the Armageddon would be won in one bite at the cherry."

"The British public will be on the side of the bakers so soon as the bakers make the British public sit up and shed tears of wo over the holocaust of cockroaches which would be necessary if every loaf in the land were, on a certain day, invested, occupied, or encumbered by one dead cockroach, with power to add to its numbers. The only way to make the public understand a case is to hit them in the holy of holies with the facts until they feel fit to cough up their own *quo non*. A dead cockroach in the loaf would act like the touch of a varnished hand on the white spats of a blameless nut. After such a breakfast you would see the people rising in their own estimation and marching to the Mother of Parliaments with the bit in their teeth. There would be no need for bakers to strike. Magna Charta would be suspended, and the roaches' remains would be buried in the cracks in St. Paul's with military honours. By royal letters patent the bakers would be raised to the peerage, with a royalty on every loaf they issued without a cockroach. Thus would the black peril which has overshadowed the breakfasts of Demos for a century be for ever dispelled, and the British Lion would once more sleep soundly in his cot."

MISS VIDA GOLDSTEIN'S CANDIDATURE.

Members of the W.S.P.U. will be interested to know that Miss Vida Goldstein is standing as a candidate for Koozing in the Australian House of Representatives. In the course of an appeal issued in support of Miss Goldstein's candidature appears the following statement: "It is essential that women should be returned to the Commonwealth Parliament, for which their eligibility is beyond question. The interests of women are affected by every measure brought before Parliament, but only the men's point of view finds expression therein." Members of the W.S.P.U. will unite in wishing Miss Goldstein all success.

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SUFFRAGISTS IN PRISON.

Table with 4 columns: Name, Date when sentenced, Length of sentence, Place of Imprisonment. Includes names like Miss Louisa Gay, Mrs. Ethel Beckett, Miss Mabel Muriel Scholefield, etc.

† Sentence to serve over again from March 1, owing to unsuccessful appeal.

SOME INTERESTING LETTERS.

A WORD OF SYMPATHY.

DEAR MRS. PANKHURST.—I have been wanting to write a long time, but hesitated, knowing your immense correspondence. This, however, requires no answer. I think you will like to know of the incalculable indirect effect your militant movement has had on the minds of such working women as I come into contact with. Ten years ago they accepted hunger, ill-treatment, and social neglect, as a matter of course. Now, on all hands, one hears the note of rebellion. They no longer seem to themselves as "made for men," but are beginning to make personal claims on life. Like most English people, they have very little power of introspection, or of psychological analysis, and could not themselves trace the origin of their own change of mental state; still, when any woman now tells a tale of standing up for herself against odds she is likely as not to say, "I was a perfect Suffragette!" To an onlooker the alteration is as marked as it is hopeful.

May I add a word of deep sympathy and profound admiration for you personally.—Yours very sincerely,

ANNA MARTIN.

26, Lower-road, Rotherhithe, March 2, 1913.

DEAR EDITOR.—The Press here gives conspicuous headlines on the front page to your recent difficulties and activities, and it appears that your Government is losing public sympathy here.

Our State legislature has just passed our Bill, which must go through another Legislature before coming before the voters of the State at the polls in November, 1915. We have to work on public opinion to get a favourable vote at that time, and our own Progressive party, headed by Theodore Roosevelt, is an enormous help politically. Your determination is an inspiration to women and a warning to our men, and while we have to thank you for holding high the question so valiantly against difficulties that we, fortunately, do not have to meet here.—With best wishes, yours,

ELEANOR C. ERVING.

17, West Fifty-street, New York City, U.S.A.

"LEAVE IT IN THE 'BUS'."

A very valuable suggestion is made in the following letter from Miss O. Isabel Green: "I have received the following suggestion from a member of the M.P.U. who, in his letter, has to say, 'It would be rather a good plan if all male supporters would purchase from street paper-sellers and read THE SUFFRAGETTE on their commutes. This is better than a badge, because everyone recognises it, and it can be left behind for other passengers to read and profit thereby.' Perhaps if you could find a corner for this paragraph in the paper, others, both men and women, would act upon it. I know from experience what an excellent advertisement it is, and it is something that everyone can do."

W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

LONDON MEETINGS.

The meetings at the London Pavilion, Piccadilly-circus, will be resumed after the Easter holidays on Monday, March 31, at 3.15 p.m., when Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Barbara Wylie will be the speakers. This will be Miss Wylie's first return to public appearances since her return from Canada, when she will give an account of her experiences. It will also give members an opportunity of welcoming her.

MEETINGS WILL BE RESUMED AT THE ESSEX HALL, ESSEX-STREET, STRAND, ON THURSDAY, APRIL 3, AT 8 P.M., WHEN MISS ANNIE KENNEY AND MISS MACAULEY WILL SPEAK.

VOLUNTEERS FOR PAPER-SELLING.

Thanks to the splendid work of paper-sellers the circulation of THE SUFFRAGETTE is steadily going up. This can be quite easily increased, and more volunteers are come forward to help those who have already done so well. Names of volunteers should be sent in to Miss Rogers, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

HYDE PARK MEETINGS.

Members of the W.S.P.U. are reminded that all changes of address should at once be notified to Miss Kerr, W.S.P.U., Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, otherwise much expense and extra work are entailed.

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POSTER PARADES.

Poster Parades to advertise THE SUFFRAGETTE now take place twice weekly, leaving Lincoln's Inn House every Thursday at 2.30 p.m., and on Saturday mornings at 10.30 a.m. Will all helpers kindly be at the Central Hall at the hour named?

WELCOME TO BOW PRISONERS.

A welcome meeting in honour of the released prisoners, Miss Annie Lansbury and Mrs. Moore, will be held in Bow Baths on Thursday, March 27, at 8 p.m. Speakers: Miss G. Brackenbury, Mr. George Lansbury, chair, Mr. Brown. Short speeches by prisoners.

THE SPEAKERS' CLASSES.

Members are reminded that the Speakers' Class will be resumed at Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, to-night (Friday) at 7.45 p.m., and at the Out-and-Out Mission Hall, Tredegar-road, Bow, on Monday, March 31, at 7.45 p.m., when Miss Leo will be in charge.

MRS. TUKE'S RETURN.

Mrs. Tuke, the hon. secretary of the W.S.P.U., writes that she has booked her return passage from South Africa on the *Briton*, which sails on April 3, and is due home on April 26. Mrs. Tuke's health has benefited greatly by rest, change and sunshine. The news that in a month's time she will be with them again rejoices her fellow members of the W.S.P.U.

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PRICE 1d.

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Owing to the Holidays, a Number of Reports have been Unavoidably Held Over.

LONDON.

W.S.P.U. GENERAL OFFICES.

Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

Balham and Tooting.

Thanks to Mrs. Barfield, very kindly lent her who helped with sale of work; proceeds amounted to £2 3s. 6d. It is hoped to hold another soon; particulars will be announced later. Will members kindly return Self-Denial cards to Miss Heavers, 7, Sainford-road, not later than March 27, so that total sums may be sent up to Mrs. Pankhurst? (Hon. Sec., Mrs. Cocksedge, 12, Foxbourne-road, Balham, S.W.)

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Westminster and St. George's, Hanover-square.

Hearty thanks to Mrs. Drummond for addressing working women's meeting on March 15. Mrs. Drummond has promised to come again on Wednesday, April 16. Will members volunteer to speak at this meeting? Miss Margaret Wright and Miss Haarbleicher thanked for speaking at Tachbrook-street, Self-Denial Fund, last week. £12 14s. 6d. provision sale having realised £2 14s. Any member who has not yet sent in Self-Denial cards should do so by April 10. Will members please order their cigarettes from shop, as Mrs. Smith has kindly paid licence? Members will be glad to know that large bunches of flowers, price 3d. each, straight from the Massey Beck's garden, can be had at shop. Gratefully acknowledged: Miss White (Indig-nation Fund), 3s. 6d.; Miss Griffiths, 10s.; Mrs. Smith, 6s.; membership fees, 1s. 6d.; Miss Heavers, 10s.; Mrs. Moore, 10s.; Mrs. Edith Quinlan, 10s.; "Woman Lecturer, extra work," 10s.; Mrs. Graham, 10s.; Mrs. E. M. Macpherson, 10s.; Mrs. English, 5s. (Hon. Sec., Miss Gladys Shelden and Miss Gordon Liddle, Shop, 17, Tophill-street.)

West Ham.

All members are asked to attend a meeting at 6, Hampton-road, Forest Gate, on Tuesday, April 1, at 7.30 p.m., when the splendid result of Self-Denial Week efforts will be announced, and summer campaign, &c., arranged. Please keep Saturday, April 19, free.

North Islington.

Thanks to those friends who have rallied to the prison meetings and helped to cheer those inside. It is urgent to keep the paper pitches going and to sell out each week. As has been the case for the last few weeks, Gratefully acknowledged: Indig-nation Fund; Miss Isabel Adams, 5s.; Mrs. Hersey, 10s. All are thanked for their contributions to collecting box for King's marmalade and sweets. Many cards have been sent in to office, but not all; will those who have not yet done so please remember that all must go in to headquarters very soon. An "At Home" is being held at 56, Brownwood-road, Finchbury-park, on Thursday, March 20. Members please bring friends to hear Mrs. Hearty. Tea, sweets, and marmalade are on sale at office. Will those who have not yet done so please remember that all must go in to headquarters very soon. An "At Home" is being held at 56, Brownwood-road, Finchbury-park, on Thursday, March 20. Members please bring friends to hear Mrs. Hearty. 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English gymnastics. The proceeds for Self-Denial Fund amounted to £4 10s. Office will be open all to-day (Friday). Will members please call for papers to sell in streets to-day and to-morrow? Office will reopen on Monday next, March 31. Next weekly meeting, April 2. (Org., Miss D. Evans. Office, 39, John Bright-street.)

Leicester. A successful social was held at 278, East Park-road, last Thursday, by the kindness of Mrs. Inder, the proceeds of which will go towards the Self-Denial Fund. Will members please note that the next fortnightly meeting will be held on Tuesday, April 2? Handbills can be obtained at office. Open-air meetings will commence in the Market-place on May 1 at 8 p.m. (Org., Miss G. Hazel. Office, 14, Bowling Green-street.)

WEST OF ENGLAND.

Bath. There was an excellent attendance at Miss Atkinson's meeting, thanks to help from many quarters in working it up. Jumble more than £13 being taken. Special thanks to Mrs. Hart for a collection of beautiful things, which will be exhibited at the Easter, and to Mrs. Cave for old lace veil, sold for £4 10s., Miss Szczepanska for necklaces, kc., Miss Taylor for jam, Mrs. Dux for marmalade, Miss Bruce, towards expenses of barrow, 5s. 9d.; Miss Neal, 5s. (Hon. Secs., the Messrs. Tollemache. Shop, 12, Walscot-street.)

Exeter. A meeting has been arranged for Mrs. Kington Parkes, in the small Barnfield Hall, on May 8. Bills will shortly be ready, and may be had from the Hon. Sec. Members are asked to do their best to make meeting a success. Miss Tukes, of Ash House, near Axminster, who has refused to pay her taxes, and whose goods will probably be seized very soon, has kindly promised to preside. (Org., Miss Mary Phillips. Hon. Sec., Mrs. Montague, Fenton, Crediton.)

Newport. Members will be glad to hear that street flower-selling during Self-Denial Week realised £1 3s. 6d. On March 12 a delightful Cafe Chantant was held at Temperance Hall, when a very enjoyable entertainment took place, including vocal and instrumental music, recitations, and some sketches and dances by the Misses Halsey, aged 11 and 13 years. All who gave their services are most heartily thanked. The home produce stall was a great success, about £5 17s. being taken. A whist drive and dance are being arranged for April 2, arrangements for which will be undertaken by Mrs. Reed. On April 5 the annual meeting will be held at office. All members are asked to do their best to make Miss Annie Kenny's meeting on April 26 a success. (Hon. Sec., Mrs. M. H. Mackworth. Office, Stow-hill.)

Plymouth. Chief events of Self-Denial Week were held at Ford and Self-Denial Sale. The former was entirely organised by Mrs. Orchard, who is to be heartily congratulated on result. Mrs. Lewis made an excellent chairman. Members of the I.L.P. stewarded, and Devonport police sent two constables, free of charge. Sale realised about £3. Special thanks to Mrs. Phillips for taking charge of refreshments, and to Miss Marion Phillips, Mrs. Lewis, Miss Shuter, and Miss Tiger-man for arranging competitions. On Sunday, the Suffragette sold well. Mrs. Darley is subscribing a copy weekly to Plymouth Free Library. More volunteers for street urgently needed, that the pitch may be a weekly feature. Mrs. D'Oyly has generously promised whole cost of a banner to represent Plymouth and Three Towns at Albert Hall on April 10. Last week Organiser addressed Local Trades Council, and found them very sympathetic with the movement. Fortnightly "At Home" have been arranged in Mikado Cafe, 65, Old Town-square. Cards may be obtained from Miss Marion Phillips. Everyone must come, and bring friends. First meeting, Tuesday, April 8. Mrs. Kington Parkes will speak in Plymouth on May 6, and Miss Frances Latimer, now of Torquay, will speak on take chair. (Org., Miss Mary Phillips, Office, 11, Alfred-street, The Hoe.)

North-Western Counties. All Self-Denial cards to be sent in to Mrs. Ratcliffe by April 5. Will members who have not yet contributed send in their jumble parcels to Mrs. Ratcliffe, 70, Healdgrove, Rusholme? Many more parcels are wanted in the sale to be held on April 5. To be sold for Self-Denial: Gold purse and chain, £3; silver card-case, 30s.; dress length navy serge, 12s. Apply treasurer. (Hon. Sec., Miss K. Wallwork. Office, 32, King-street West.)

Liverpool (in 1 Cheshire). Members are asked to concentrate on April 15, the date of Mrs. Drummond's meeting. Help of all kinds is needed. Special open-air

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NORTH-EASTERN COUNTIES.

Bradford. Members in charge of shop are reminded that the next meeting (April 21), when General Drummond and Mr. Lansbury will speak, it is specially important that shop should always be open to time, for sale of tickets. Self-Denial Week resulted in the fine sum of £23 12s. 11d. It is desired that the large sale of THE SUFFRAGETTE should be kept up. Volunteers willing to sell in the streets on Saturdays are needed. At Monday's tea, tickets for meeting on April 21 will be given to members for sale. (Hon. Sec., Miss J. Millar Wilson, Belmont, Otley.)

Doncaster. A well-attended meeting was held in the Albany Hotel on March 12. Mr. Williams presided. The audience, largely composed of men, was much interested in Miss Kathleen Jarvis's address. Several new members were made, and a large stock of literature was sold. Lady Isabel Margson will speak on April 22, and General Drummond on April 30. Will members and friends keep date free? Further details later. Office reopens April 1. (Org., Miss V. Key Jones. Hon. Sec., Miss Brown. Office, 1, Hallgate-chambers.)

Harrrogate. Will members do their utmost to bring friends to the next "At Home" at shop to-morrow (Saturday), 5.30-8 p.m. Those who have not yet given up their Self-Denial cards should leave them at shop this week without fail. (Hon. Sec., Miss M. Hughes. Office, 15a, King-street.)

Scarborough. A most successful meeting was held at Danum House, Prince of Wales-terrace, on Friday, March 14. Miss Jarvis made an eloquent and interesting speech. Miss Key Jones presided, in the unavoidable absence of Mrs. Kirilian. A good collection was taken, and THE SUFFRAGETTE sold well. Gratefully acknowledged for Self-Denial Fund: Mrs. Wigney, 5s., and 2s. 1d. collected among the railway men. All members work hard to make Mrs. Drummond's meeting on May 1 a great success? (Hon. Sec., Miss Nora Vickerman, 35, St. Nicholas-cliff.)

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after Easter. Mrs. Drummond will speak in Norwich on April 23. Details to be announced later. Will members please look this date? Members are thanked for help with jumble sale—names too numerous for mention. Will all who have still to send in Self-Denial cards kindly post them to Organiser at once? (Org., Miss Margaret West. Office, 52, London-street.)

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Clerks' W.S.P.U. The "Clerks' W.S.P.U." is growing steadily, and looks forward to a busy campaign during spring and summer months. W.S.P.U. members engaged in clerical and secretarial professions are asked to put themselves into communication with secretaries as soon as possible, with a view to organising a special series of meetings for women working in the City. Volunteers for paper-selling at Liverpool-street are still wanted. (Hon. Sec., Miss P. A. Ayrton, 62, Edith-road, West Kensington; Miss Cynthia Maguire, 39, Priory-road, West Hampstead.)

Irish League for Women's Suffrage. The usual meeting will take place at the Emerson Club, 19, Buckingham-street, Strand, on Tuesday, April 1, at 8 p.m., when Miss Monica Whately will speak on "Suffrage and the Sheltered Girl."

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Free Church League for Woman Suffrage. At Newcastle a very successful meeting was held on March 11, in connection with the Assembly of the Free Church Council. Speakers, Rev. J. Scott Lidgett, D.D., Miss Margaret Robertson, B.A., Mrs. Hugh Price Hughes, and Rev. Fleming Williams. A drawing-room meeting will be held at 13, Lewisham-park, Lewisham, on April 8, at 8 p.m. Chair, Mr. W. Bevis. Speaker, Miss Eckworth. (Hon. Sec. to Branches and Press Sec., Miss L. E. Tarquand, 75, Tremat-road, Anley, S.E.)

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Women's Tax Resistance League. We have received the following information from Mrs. Kington Parkes: "The Duchess of Bedford has consented to become a member of our Society, and has requested us to conduct her protest when distraint has been levied for the amount of her unpaid taxes." (Office, 19, Talbot House, 98, St. Martin's-lane, W.C.)

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The Suffragette.

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Published every Friday at Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

EDITED BY CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

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meetings will be held. Subscriptions towards office fund now due. Will each member send at least 6d. to help towards increased rent? (Org., Miss H. Voller. Office, Gaining-chambers, 2, South John-street.)

Preston. On Thursday last (March 20) members held a most successful social and dance in the Lyric Rooms, the proceeds to go to Self-Denial Fund. A most enjoyable programme was arranged by Miss Pattie Mayar, including a laughable dramatic sketch, "The Twins," of her own writing. Mr. Tipping's and Miss Darlington's dramatic abilities were generously given in aid. Mrs. Fowler gave an account of the Parliamentary criticism of Mr. McKenna. Mrs. Pass will be glad to see all members at 17, Badderstone-road, Broadgate, on Friday, March 28, at 8 p.m. Refreshments 3d. per head, in aid of Self-Denial Fund. Members are asked to bring money for social tickets sold. Important members' meeting Church Socialist League Room, 1, Liverpool-street, Wednesday, April 2, 8 p.m. (Hon. Sec., Mrs. Rigby, 28, Wincley-square.)

WALES.

Cardiff and District. The organiser greatly regrets the loss of an excellent paper-seller in Miss Whitelock, who left Cardiff. Who will take her place on Saturday mornings, and also the place of Miss Lettice Floyd, who will be absent till after April 10? The organiser will be the office to resume work on April 1, and will be glad to receive all Self-Denial cards and money as soon as possible after that date. Mrs. Gatty's interesting address on "Women and the Criminal Law" was much appreciated. Gratefully acknowledged: Mr. H. S. Jovons, donation and subscription to paper, 21. (Org., Miss Annie Williams. Office, 109, Queen-street, Cardiff.)

SCOTLAND.

Aberdeen. Miss Kathleen Jarvis's visit to Aberdeen has been unavoidably postponed. Members are therefore asked to concentrate on having a very good meeting for Mrs. Gangwill on April 15. Canvassers can have handbills on reopening of shop on April 1. (Sec., Miss I. Leitch, M.A. shop, 7, Bon-Accord-street.)

Dundee. Dundee raised £50 during Self-Denial Week. Gratefully acknowledged for Self-Denial Fund: Mrs. Wigney, 5s., and 2s. 1d. collected among the railway men. All members work hard to make Mrs. Drummond's meeting on May 1 a great success? (Hon. Sec., Miss Nora Vickerman, 35, St. Nicholas-cliff.)

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OUR assortment of Coat Models for the Coming Season offers the newest ideas, the best Styles, and the widest choice of shapes. Many original and entirely new designs are shown—one particularly smart Style being the new 3/4 Coat, an example of which we picture.



The 'Eveline'

as sketch, illustrates one of our new 3/4-coats. It is made in Broché Silk, Satin or Bengaline, and lined throughout with Silk. It is a most effective style and its graceful lines enhance the naturally beautiful curves of the figure.

In Satin, £4 10; In Broché, £5 18 6; In Bengaline, £5 10.

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SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

THE SOCIETY FOR ABOLITION OF FORCIBLE FEEDING.—Money badly needed. Donations and subscriptions gratefully received by the Treasurer, MRS. HEWES, "Caselands," Chestnut Grove, Nottingham.

LOST PROPERTY.—Miss Kerr is in charge of this Department, and all articles found at meetings, &c., should be sent to her without delay.

SELF-DENIAL.

MEMBERS' GIFTS TO BE SOLD FOR THE FUNDS.

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