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THE WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT

GUARANTEED WEEKLY CIRCULATION—20,000 COPIES.

Published by the East London Federation of the Suffragettes.

Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST.

No. 6.

SATURDAY, APRIL 25TH, 1914.

PRICE ONE HALFPENNY.

MAY DAY LABOUR PROCESSION.

Friday, May 1st.

Women come and join the contingent of the East London Federation of the Suffragettes.

Form up with the East London contingent
MILE END WASTE,
at 12.30 p.m.

SELF DENIAL WEEK.

What can I do for the Cause?

Self Denial Week brings to every member of the East London Federation of the Suffragettes an opportunity of helping the Votes for Women Cause. A woman may not be able to go to prison; she may not be a speaker; she may not have much time to give to the work all the year round; but each and everyone can do something, however small, to earn money for the Cause, to get money for the Votes for Women fight. In previous years women have swept crossings, held collecting boxes at stations, and in shopping districts turned barrel organs, sold flowers, made cakes and sweets and jams, and other useful things, and sold them for the Cause, and turned themselves into pavement artists. They have also denied themselves all that they could spare, going without sugar in their tea, butter on their bread, walking to and from their work instead of taking the bus, and so on.

Good ways of raising money for the cause are: selling the WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT in the street, buying copies of the WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT and giving them away, making cakes or stuff goods to be sold in the Bow or Poplar shops, the stall in the Roman Road on Fridays and Saturdays, or in any good shopping centre, selling badges, colours and picture post cards in the streets and to people one knows; selling sixpenny tickets for Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's prison license.

Two working women have promised to give up their evenings to selling the DREADNOUGHT. Two others are selling flowers made up by a professional flower seller who is a friend to the cause. A sympathiser is giving up smoking during self-denial week, and we hope other men will follow this example.

Friends who have shops and market stalls of their own should try to help the cause in Self Denial Week by displaying East London Federation literature and posters and selling some things for the war-chest. Others can come to the Federation stalls and shops and help to sell things there.

Let us all do our best to make as much money as we can, for a great deal is needed to pay for our paper, our shops and meeting halls, our posters, handbills and leaflets. The raising of our campaign funds are a great anxiety and strain upon our honorary Secretary, Treasurer and Financial Secretary. Let us all do our part in helping them, both in giving and earning what we can!

The Woman's Movement in Europe.

In our next number we shall publish an account by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst of her experiences in Buda Pesth, Vienna, and other places; her impressions of the Woman's movement there, also comments on the British Suffragettes by writers in the principle Hungarian and Austrian newspapers.



One of our members, Annie Lake, speaking at Trafalgar Square for Morton's Strike.

THE LITTLE COMMONWEALTH.

The Little Commonwealth at Batcombe in Dorsetshire is a self-governing Colony of boys and girls, who, before being sent there, have come into conflict with the powers of law and order. A George Junior Republic, for the reformation of young law-breakers, was first started at Freeville, U.S.A., by Mr. W. L. George, and proved so successful that ten similar republics have been set up in other parts of the States.

The Little Commonwealth, which was opened last year, is the first English adaptation of the same principle. The following is an extract from the report of its work which has just been published.

"Since real life is co-educational, it was determined to start with boys and girls. Many efforts that have been previously made in co-education have been successful, but hitherto it has been the practice to divide boys from girls in different cottages. The Little Commonwealth has dared to rely on the natural relationship between boys and girls, without restrictions of that kind. It is an open question whether or not the separation of the sexes, through early adolescence, does not create the very evil that it is desirable to avoid. A relationship based upon family, social, and economic qualities, is the surest means of minimising sex-consciousness. The experience of the last six months has definitely proved that the romance and mystery, such as is fostered by separation, can be dispelled by the frequent "rubbing shoulders" in every day affairs, the discovery of defects in one another, and the tone given by social equality. The boys and girls in the Commonwealth live in close family relationship, sharing equally the living rooms, dining rooms, and family problems of management. Absolute privacy in its proper place is ensured by having entirely separate sleeping quarters. Provision is made for perfect observation of the proprietaries in the position of the House Mother's room on the girls' side, and the male helper's room on the boys'; but the suggestive surveillance, which is usually to be found in other institutions, is entirely absent in The Little Commonwealth. There is evidence of a genuine respect in each sex for the other, which, in itself, is

the most powerful protection against immorality; in fact standards of right doing are a good deal higher than in a one sex community.

"One of the most important factors in a community of this kind is that, as far as possible, the real influence of a home should be attained, and that the members should not be confined to a group of similar age savouring too much of an institution. Therefore each cottage contains some three small children, four to five years old, who attend a Montessori class for which funds and a teacher trained by Madame Montessori herself have been provided by the society of that name. This addition of small children is invaluable for the training of character of both boys and girls, as the responsibility and care of the little ones is in itself an education. The children have been taken from undesirable parents and other sources, and it is proposed that some of the children will remain after the age when the system has ceased, until fully admitted to citizenship. In this way the Montessori training which aims at exactly the same principles as The Little Commonwealth will be carried on through the ordinary school age.

"A new departure has been made at The Little Commonwealth, as differing from other communities of a similar nature, in that the superintendent and helpers come under the same rules as the citizens themselves. This is of great importance since the sense of injustice, arising from differentiation of treatment is eliminated. Another great difference between The Little Commonwealth and the George Junior Republics of America is the absence of a prison. It has been found that public sentiment is a far stronger incentive to good behaviour than such punishment as is inflicted with separation—as a prison or cell provides. In the first place punishment of this kind turns the offender into a hero in the eyes of his fellow citizens. Physical punishment, in the same way, has the same effect; and the "hero" is, for a time, removed from the very stimulant that would be best for him, namely, the presence of his fellow citizens. At The Little Commonwealth the cell would be a refuge for the bad citizen.

"Our readers will like to know something of the way in which self-government started. The first residents in the Commonwealth were girls; it

THIS WEEK'S MEETINGS.

- Sunday, April 26th, 3 p.m.—Victoria Park. Mrs. Walker.
- Monday, April 27th, 8.30 p.m.—Swiss Cottage Hackney. Miss Paterson.
8 p.m.—Frischilla Road—Mr. Rettich.
8 p.m.—321 Roman Rd., Speaker's Class.
8 p.m.—319 East India Dock Rd., Speaker's Class.
- Tuesday, April 28th, 8 p.m.—Crowder's Hall, —Mrs. Davies.
8 p.m.—Dock Gates—Miss Fedden.
8 p.m.—Freemason's Road—Mrs. Laski.
8 p.m.—Burdett Road—Miss Rickards.
- Wednesday, April 29th, 8 p.m.—Crowder's Hall.
8 p.m.—319 East India Road—Mrs. Ives.
8 p.m.—Chrip Street—Mrs. Walker.
- Thursday, April 30th, 3 p.m.—Ford Road —Miss Harley.
3 p.m.—Limehouse, Salisbury Street and Wilson Street—Mrs. Laski.
3 p.m.—319 East India Dock Road—Mrs. Gow.
8 p.m.—Knapp Road—Mr. Mewett.
8 p.m.—125 Barking Road—Hon. E. Hav-erfield.
- Friday, May 1st, 8 p.m.—Piggott Street—Mrs. Walker.
8 p.m.—Beckton Road—Mr. A. Mackinley.
8 p.m.—Ford Road.—Miss A. Holmes.
8 p.m.—28 Ford Rd.

was thought that they would take longer to settle down, and that if there was to be any "breaking in" of the new comers, it had better be done by the girls rather than the boys. For the first three weeks before the advent of the boys the community was entirely self governing. No rules were enforced, because none were needed; but so little expression of choice was evidenced that at the first meal three of the four girls, when asked if they would have white or brown bread replied, "It doesn't matter." It would be hard to find an instance now where such an expression would be used.

"When the first boys arrived it was soon evident that the peace and harmony of the household was broken and it then became necessary to develop some form of government. The first legislation came about in a very natural way. It had been noticed that the boys did not appreciate the separate rooms which had been provided for them, but that owing to the contrast between the crowded bedrooms, the noise of traffic of the city life, to which they had been accustomed, and the oppressive silence of the country, which made them feel lonesome, they preferred to crowd together for company. Thus there was plenty of opportunity for legislation on matters relating to hygiene. The first formal meeting of the Commonwealth was called by the superintendent, and it was suggested that since new cottages were being built, and the expense of these cottages was so much greater, owing to their being fitted with separate rooms, much needless expense might be saved by providing them with big dormitories instead. This was greeted by cries of discontent, and disorder and confusion supervened. The power of oratory became almost deafening; but, as order is always preceded by disorder, after some confusion someone suggested a "boss" of the meeting should be appointed—and it was promptly offered to the superintendent. This was refused; and after some difficulty one of the boys was chosen, whose duty it was to keep everyone quiet, while one was allowed to speak at a time. It was rather pathetic that a number of boys and girls should, after being given freedom to organise themselves for discussion, choose not a chairman, to give the privilege of the floor to a speaker, but a policeman, to keep order. This, however, soon adjusted itself. After that the meeting proceeded smoothly, and some excellent rules relating to the hygiene of rest were enacted. But soon a new difficulty arose. Since much of the time of these legislative meetings was spent in discussing violations of rules which

(continued on page 4)

WOMEN! JOIN THE EAST LONDON Federation of the Suffragettes WE NEED YOU!

I wish to become a member of the EAST LONDON FEDERATION OF THE SUFFRAGETTES.

Name Address I enclose 1/4d. to cover membership and postage.

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Z. P. EMERSON, Advertisement Manager.

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Annual Subscription, post free 4s. 4d.

No. 6. Saturday, April 25th, 1914.

Bravely and willingly we bear our share of the World's burdens. Why, then, deny us the right to Vote, which would dignify our labour and increase our Power of Service.

SELF DENIAL WEEK.

DEAR FRIENDS,—I have had splendid meetings, both in Buda Pesth and Vienna, of which I shall write in detail later on. Everyone has been anxious to hear of the militant struggle for the vote in England.

They have shown a very special interest in the East London movement, and have bought copies of the WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT with much eagerness.

Do not forget that on Friday, May 1st, we begin our Self Denial Week. Funds are urgently needed to spread the work of the East London Federation of the Suffragettes.

We want to keep opening up new districts and extending in every direction. We are moving into bigger premises in Bow, and whilst this will greatly increase our sphere of usefulness, it will also add to our financial liabilities.

Besides this we have now the expenses of the WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT to meet. The paper is proving itself a tremendous help to our work in many ways, but we must work very hard to raise money for it until, by advertisements and an increase in the sales, it is able to pay its own way.

I hope to see you all in the 1st of May Procession. Yours in Freedom's Cause, E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE ADMINISTRATION BILL.

The Government's Criminal Justice Administration Bill which has been introduced by Mr. McKenna, and which passed its second reading without division on April 15th, has been heralded by the Daily News as the most Christian Crimes Bill.

Many of the Bill's provisions are very trivial pretending to introduce reform, but in reality making little or no change—for instance, prison sen-

tences of less than five days are to be abolished, but power is to be given to keep people in the Police Court cells for four days! Police Court cells and Police Court conditions are as a rule worse than those in prison, so that the convicted person will suffer by this change.

The power to give sentences of hard labour without the option of a fine is to be extended to every offence however trivial. This we are inclined to think has been specially designed with the vindictive purpose of meting out hard punishment to Suffragettes.

Miss Emerson was arrested in Bow on July 7th, 1913, and was charged with "obstruction"—an offence which no prisoner is ever able to disprove. The magistrate declared her to be guilty and sentenced her to a month's hard labour without the option of a fine, but she was afterwards brought back into the dock and told that the law did not give power to sentence her without the option of a fine for this offence.

As a matter of fact Miss Emerson's fine was paid by an anonymous sympathiser, so the Government were foiled in their determination to injure her.

If passed, this Bill of Mr. McKenna's will give him power, to distract in cases where prisoners, from conscientious motives, refuse to pay their fines. Thus the power of magistrates, and of the Government, (whose pliant tools magistrates are in political cases), to punish prisoners in the way they think likely to be most hurtful to them will be increased.

In the case of Miss Smyth, who was fined £17, as an alternative to a month's imprisonment for an offence, which all the Court knew she had not committed, shows how cruelly this power may be used.

The proposal to allow not less than a week in which prisoners may pay their fines will not alter appreciably the fact that the 80,000 persons, more than half of all who are convicted, who go to prison each year in default of fines, are too poor to pay them.

Mr. McKenna's Bill proposes to give prison visiting justices the power to move prisoners up from the third division to the second, and also down from the second division to the third; from what we have seen of these visiting justices we fear that if this new power be granted to them, they will more frequently use it in the latter direction than the former, for their attitude is usually one of frivolous contempt for anything that prisoners may say.

We would point out that the visiting justices are all men. Much praise is being given to Mr. McKenna's statement that he looks forward to the day when no one under the age of 21 will be found in an ordinary prison.

The Government have the power to secure this at once if they wish, but so gingerly have they gone to work, that the Children's Act of 1908 only provides that children between 14 and 16 may not be sent to prison, unless they are so unruly that nothing else can be done with them.

Everyone knows that the average police magistrate is ever ready to assume that people can only be controlled in prison, but to say that the forces of English civilization and government can find no other way but imprisonment for a sixteen year old child is quite absurd.

Mr. McKenna's Bill proposes that the minimum period of detention in a Borstal Institution is to be increased from one year to two. Young people between 16 and 21 are to be sent to Borstal Institutions if they have twice been convicted, if their character is considered "bad," or if the magistrate believes them to be the associates of criminals.

Mr. McKenna says that a Borstal Institution "is, or ought to be more like a strict school than a prison." Unfortunately by we must for our own part, say that Borstal Institutions ought to be absolutely unlike prisons, but that, alas, they are modelled on much the same lines. This is especially true of the Girls' Borstal Institution which is part of Aylesbury Prison for women convicts, and differs very little from it.

We would ask Mr. McKenna why he is so sure that "a very strict" school always does the institution to emulate. Does it never occur to him that mistaken severity, cruelty, hardship, and barrenness of life, may have led some of these young people who are sent to Borstal prisons into conflict with the law?

We would urge Mr. McKenna to study the report of "The Little Commonwealth," which we print on another page. This institution for young offenders is adapted from the George Junior Republics of America, which have effected a wonderful educational and reformatory work.

The principle upon which these young people's communities are founded is that of self government. The boys and girls who inhabit them together make their own laws, for it is found that those who are law makers choose to be law keepers rather than law breakers, and that the exercise of the rights and duties of citizenship form the best school of character, life and morals.

It is sad to find that whilst intelligent far seeing persons have grasped this principle so well that they have faith enough to apply it even to young children who have been law breakers, our cruel and mediocrity-minded Government refuses to grown women of every kind a share in the making of their country's laws.

Mr. McKenna's Bill proposes that young people who are convicted, but not sent to prison, and also those who have been released on license, shall be placed under the supervision of probation officers, and that those institutions shall also be placed under supervision for one year.

Young persons who have been given time in which to pay their fines shall also be supervised by probation officers with a view to ascertaining whether they are making genuine efforts with which to earn the money to pay.

The probation and supervision officers are to be appointed by existing private philanthropic societies. Private societies are already doing a limited amount of work of this kind, but Mr. McKenna says that the officers of these societies are badly paid, and the supply of efficient officers is small.

He therefore proposes to give grants of money provided by Parliament to these societies. He hopes to set up a philanthropic network all over the country, in which the budding criminal will be enmeshed. But what becomes of representative Government under this system?

The people have no voice in choosing these probation and supervision officers, no power to protest if they are impertinent, inquisitorial, or harsh. Their supervision, if badly exercised, may prevent a boy or girl ever obtaining employment, may make it impossible for the child who has once gone astray, ever to throw off the consequences of the slip. This system may, who can tell, provide a deadly form of intimidation and slavery for those who are supposed to have lost their character.

In handing over this business to private societies—anyone can start a philanthropic association—the Government is shirking its own responsibility. We are rapidly losing all semblance of representative Government in this country. The Cabinet settles things as it pleases, the private Members of Parliament vote for them unquestioningly.

When charity and missionary work is administered by private and non-representative societies these ministrations should be offered as a gift, and either accepted or rejected quite freely. To invest private societies, who represent none but themselves, with compulsory powers is a monstrous interference with human liberty.

In America magistrates, judges, chiefs of police, sheriffs and coroners are all elected by the people. Here, these autocrats are appointed without the people being consulted. Oh, women, let us fight with all our might, to get the power to change these things.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

THE TORTURE OF PRISONERS BY FORCIBLE FEEDING MUST BE STOPPED.

The Cabinet still continues to torture prisoners by forcible feeding. Every member of the Cabinet—every member of Parliament—is responsible for this outrageous barbarity. This Government will be known for all time as the Government that tortured women because they demanded an extension of the franchise—as the Government that preached Liberalism and practised the cruellest form of coercion.

The Home Secretary, with the approval of the Cabinet, tries to conceal the barbarity of which he is guilty, by pretending that forcible feeding in prison is the same thing as the artificial feeding of lunatics in asylums. He knows quite well that there is not the slightest resemblance between the two. They are as far apart as the two poles.

Patients are sent into a lunatic asylum to be cured, and are treated with the greatest gentleness and consideration. Prisoners are sent to prison to be punished, and are treated without consideration of any kind.

The officers in a lunatic asylum are medical men, whose sole object is to relieve suffering and cure their patients. The officers in a prison, whether they are medical men or not, are officials and nothing else. Lunatics who require to be fed artificially, are either raving maniacs, or imbeciles, whose brains are so poorly developed, that they cannot realise the necessity for food.

On the other hand, men and women who are forcibly fed in prison are many of them, of the highest intelligence and culture, with the noblest ideals, and animated by a spirit as pure as that which in days not long gone by, animated the martyrs who were ready to lay down their lives for the cause in which they believed.

Resemblances between these two proceedings there are none. They are absolutely unlike, in spite of all the Home Secretary says, and if proof were needed, a consideration of the results produced would supply it at once. It is quite true, as asylum officials frequently state, that patients in lunatic asylums can be fed by artificial means for months together, without endangering life to a grave extent, though deaths do occur occasionally; but it is no less true that, taking one large batch of 102 prisoners who were all in prison at the same time, more than half had to be discharged long before their sentences had expired, because forcible feeding as carried out in H.M.'s prisons is so dangerous to life, that the victims would have died in prison, if it had been continued.

Forcible feeding is as dangerous to life and health now as it was then. The Home Secretary knows it; the Cabinet knows it; the members of both Houses know it; but they think they can gull the public into believing that two things are absolutely unlike each other are really the same, if only they say so often enough.

It would be difficult to believe that women could be treated with such violence and brutality in prison if they did not, when they came out, bear definite evidence on their bodies of what they have suffered. It has, of course, been said in Parliament that the injuries they sustained were due to their resistance. So far as resistance is voluntary, this is not true. One frail girl cannot offer any effectual resistance against the trained efforts of six picked wardresses. The victim is seized by the arms and legs, held down upon a bed or chair, or even upon the floor, by four of them, while a fifth sits or kneels upon her body, and the sixth lends a hand to hold the head, often by the ears. Struggling against such odds is impossible.

Moreover, in many of the instances in which the prisoners have sustained grave injuries, no resistance of any kind has been offered or intended. In the case of one prisoner, for example, whose nose had been broken before, and in whom the nasal passages were obstructed by the displacement, a tube was violently forced up time after time by the medical officer, in spite of the prisoner, who did not resist, telling him what had happened, and that no such tube could possibly pass. But there is an involuntary resistance as well, a resistance the prisoner cannot help: the resistance that every victim, who is being tortured, cannot help

offering, so long as life is left. For this resistance, not the victim but the torturers are to blame. Those who have once experienced the effect of a particle of food or drink, deviating ever so little from its natural course, who can remember the violent coughing and retching this causes, can, perhaps, form a faint idea of the sensations caused by a more or less rigid tube being driven down through the nose or mouth, haphazard, in the hope that it will hit off the right route, while the prisoner is being held down by force. In such circumstances it is absolutely impossible to guide the tube. Every time the tube touches the sensitive lining of the throat it induces uncontrollable coughing and retching. The prisoner feels as if her head were bursting, and the drums of the ears being forced out. The face grows purple from the interruption in the breathing. Tears stream down involuntarily; and at last, either the tube is coughed out, or, if by some lucky chance it follows the right road, vomiting instantly ensues. Add to this the exquisite torture caused by forcing the tube down the nose, which, with every attempt, becomes more and more inflamed, and more and more sensitive, or the suffering, scarcely less severe, due to the jaws being screwed apart, as far as they can go, by means of a gag; and it will scarcely seem a source of wonder that prisoners struggle and resist.

The pleasing fiction was kept up for a long time, that the object of this form of torture was to prolong the prisoner's life, and prevent her determining her sentence. How such torture could do that, and whether such torture was justifiable no one attempted to explain. But this idea has long since been abandoned. In no less than three proved cases it is certain that the prisoner's life was placed in imminent danger by food being accidentally sent down the wind-pipe into the lungs. In almost every one it has been proved that under forcible feeding there is a steady and often rapid loss of weight and strength. The advantage gained by the introduction of food (of so much, that is to say, as is not returned at once by vomiting) is far more than compensated for by the loss caused by the physical and mental torture inflicted. And now forcible feeding is practised as a means of punishment. The Home Secretary, when the Cat and Mouse Act, which has failed so miserably that other measures are now being devised, was rushed through both Houses, deliberately reserved to himself the right to inflict forcible feeding on certain prisoners. The Members of Parliament thought, or pretended they thought, that the Act was to do away with forcible feeding. Nothing was farther from the Home Secretary's mind. That forcible feeding was a failure did not matter. In the extraordinary confession that Sir E. Troup printed in The Times, through the agency of the President of the Royal College of Physicians, the failure was proved as clearly as it could be. That does not matter. Torture by forcible feeding must still be kept up, though it ruins the prisoners' health, and endangers their lives, in the hope that at last their sufferings will become so great, and their strength so feeble, that they may be induced to give in. The prisoners must be carefully selected for this. Some there are who would prefer death to giving up their faith. They might die in prison, which would never do. The selection must be judicious, and then forcible feeding can be practised, becoming more and more painful every day, and the prisoner becoming weaker and weaker until the desired object is attained, and either the prisoner's health is ruined, perhaps for ever, or she gives in, as prisoners on the rack, in the time of the Inquisition, had to give in.

The life of the present Government is fast drawing to a close. In the name of humanity and civilisation it is to be hoped that no constituency will ever re-elect one of those members of the Cabinet who have defended or approved of this barbarous practice, or one of those members of the House of Commons, and they are many, who received the account of the sufferings inflicted upon these men and women for conscience's sake, with ribald jeers and shrieks of laughter.

C. MANSFIELD MOULLEN, F.R.C.S.

ANOTHER DOCTOR'S VIEWS.

In the course of a letter to the "Christian Commonwealth," April 22nd, Dr. Frank Moxon, writes:

In the debate on forcible feeding in the House of Commons on March 18th, 1913, Mr. McKenna used the following words:—"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. We are to understand that Miss Mary Richardson has been released in order that she may undergo an operation for appendicitis. It would seem, therefore, that here is one of those 'undoubted cases that ought not to be so (forcibly) fed.' Miss Richardson was released previously at the end of October, 1913, suffering from appendicitis, as certified by the prison medical officers; moreover, her own medical advisers warned Mr. McKenna that she was still suffering from appendicitis when last arrested on March 9th, and that to forcibly feed her would greatly endanger her life. Despite this medical warning, Miss Richardson has again been forcibly fed for nearly four weeks, until the prison doctors had again to advise that appendicitis advised after and not before forcible feeding? It was known that she had appendicitis trouble. Would Miss Richardson be in a better condition for a serious abdominal operation before or after forcible feeding? Forcible feeding alone is a torture, but when, in addition, it is callously inflicted on one suffering from a serious abdominal disease it is then a torture surpassing even those of mediæval times.

Miss Richardson has been released because to forcibly feed her any longer would have killed her. If this was not so, why, then, was she operated for appendicitis advised after and not before forcible feeding? It was known that she had appendicitis trouble. Would Miss Richardson be in a better condition for a serious abdominal operation before or after forcible feeding? Forcible feeding alone is a torture, but when, in addition, it is callously inflicted on one suffering from a serious abdominal disease it is then a torture surpassing even those of mediæval times.

Miss Richardson has not given an undertaking to return to Holloway after six weeks, as has been stated. Her position is as uncompromising as ever. She is still too ill to be operated upon.

ROLL OF HONOUR.

Miss Kitty Marion, who was re-arrested early in January under the "Cat and Mouse" Act, was released from Holloway on April 16th on a six-day's license.

Miss Muir, who was taken to the court on a stretcher, was committed to Belfast to the July Assizes, bail being refused. Miss Evans was remanded till Thursday morning. Both prisoners protested loudly during their trial, and the court was cleared of the public and the press.

Miss Mary Richardson has not given an undertaking to return to Holloway after six weeks, as has been stated. Her position is as uncompromising as ever. She is still too ill to be operated upon.

LETTERS OF FIRE.

Mary Richardson replying to H. G. Wells in the Daily Herald, says:

Hieroglyphics express a great deal in old Egypt. My hieroglyphic on the Velasquez "Venus" will express much to the generations of the future, because men have become content, through long freedom of self-expression, to write their feelings in volumes of portfolio matter, they must not think women have done so. They must realise and recognise that women are possessed with the new gift of Prometheus's fire, and that they will write in fire or any other elements as long as conditions deny them an entrance into the eternal city of their own evolution and progress.

SUFFRAGETTE FIRES.

A large number of fires occurred in various parts of the country during the past week. Many of these were attributed to Suffragettes. Among the largest were:—The Britannia Pier at Yarmouth was wrecked by a bomb; damage estimated at £10,000. The Suffragette literature was found on the beach. Graham's Timber Yard, Wednesday, was consumed by fire; damage to machinery as well as stock estimated at £6,000. The Belfast Recreation Ground Tea Rooms erected by the Corporation at a cost of several thousands, completely destroyed by fire. The Armadale Hall, Belfast, was the scene of a serious outbreak of fire, and a newly-erected house in Meadow Bank Avenue, Derry, was completely gutted.

The Home Secretary in the Commons this afternoon said there was reason to believe that some of the fires which had recently occurred at places of public resort were the work of militant Suffragettes, but not so many as were attributed to them.

He had seen a certain paper on sale in the streets, and was considering whether steps ought to be taken with regard to certain articles in it touching on these fires.

ANYTHING RATHER THAN JUSTICE.

The Chairman of the State Assurance Company, Liverpool, estimated that the total insurance loss attributable to Suffragettes during 1913 was a quarter of a million. The actual loss when non-insured property is taken into consideration is probably well over this figure. All this destruction and loss men will put up with rather than force the Government to do simple justice to women!

SEND IN YOUR NAMES TO JOIN THE NO RENT STRIKE.

THE WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT.

A MINISTRY OF PUBLIC HEALTH.

Sir Victor Horsley, Dr. Addison and others are advocating the establishment of a Ministry of Public Health, to deal with the health of expectant mothers, the health of infants from birth to fifth year, the health in school life from fifth to 14th year; the health of workers; and of the aged.

It is proposed to put under a Member of the Cabinet the work of health visitors and of midwives, schools for mothers, baby clinics, and the care and medical inspection of school children.

All these are pre-eminently women's concerns, and until women have obtained a voice in the election of the central Government it would be highly dangerous to their interests to take any further steps in this direction. Women do not want any interference with these sacred and intimate matters from such people as Asquith and McKenna.

NEW LAWS WANTED.

The death of Mrs. Ethel Horrocks, who starved herself to death because she was about to lose her child, raises the question of our unequal marriage laws.

This poor woman had left her husband and gone to live with her sister, it having been agreed that she should keep her child. Later, the husband, who owed his wife money, served her with a divorce petition. Whether he could legally have divorced her he do not know, as the case was never tried. But we cannot recall the fact that, whilst a man may be unfaithful to his wife every day of his married life, she cannot claim a divorce unless she can prove against him, in addition to adultery, either cruelty or desertion, some judges having actually refused to recognise as cruelty the bringing of a mistress into the home. A woman, on the other hand, can be divorced for a single act of unfaithfulness; also that in English law the father is the legal parent of a child born in lawful wedlock.

Ellen Sherwood was married to Ernest Ottway, but after six weeks he deserted her, and she found that the marriage was hyponotic, and that her child, which was born in the workhouse, was illegitimate. A year passed before Ottway was found, and then when the woman applied for an order, compelling him to contribute towards the maintenance of the child, the magistrate said she was too late.

It is terrible that when a woman has been so unrightly wronged she should be left without redress. The Daily Citizen says that it is "not at present practicable to get the House of Commons to face the question of child labour as a whole." An unpleasant admission this from the Labour Party organ! What is the Labour Party doing?

It is high time that women voters had a chance to do some "speeding up!"

THE CASE OF MISS E. SHEPHERD.

A postal clerk in Gloucestershire, Miss E. Shepherd, was suspended not long ago on a charge of tampering with letters in the Post Office. She had been a Post Office employee for twenty-two years, and a petition, signed by all the leading men of the district, including three justices of the peace, five clergymen, six solicitors, the bank manager, and all the leading tradesmen, many of whom had known Miss Shepherd for many years, was presented asking for an open enquiry. The open enquiry was refused, but Miss Shepherd was released "as an act of grace." Mr. Hobhouse says: "He is now refusing to pay her the arrears of her salary for the period of her suspension. This is typical of the dealings of the Government with women. If Miss Shepherd is innocent (and it is said that cases of tampering with letters took place during her suspension), on what grounds is she refused her salary? If she is guilty what right has the Postmaster General to entrust the letters of the public once more to her care? And in any case why refuse to hold a public enquiry? As it is, Miss Shepherd not only loses part of her salary, but the annual increment due after her long period of service is endangered. Would the Government dare to treat a male elector in this way?"

FEMINISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

Professor Munsterberg, of America, says that "women have definitely affected legislation dealing with the conditions of female labour, the protection of women and girls, temperance, education, divorce, the milk supply and pensions for widows; but that the movement has still many obstacles ahead of it. The professional politicians and their allies in the business and financial worlds do not relish the prospect of having their plans upset by the intrusion of this incalculable element. The liquor interests in particular are concerned in keeping women away from the polls, and their antagonism is seconded by the many influences that make the passing of Factory Acts and the regulation of child labour peculiarly difficult in the United States. In the Southern States there are approximately 2,000,000 negro women, and Southern sentiment would be passionately hostile to raising in any shape the issue of their enfranchisement."

These remarks make us see that the American women voters are doing good service to their country. But Professor Munsterberg is an anti-Suffragist. He also thinks it wrong that women should go to universities.

WOMEN AND PROFIT SHARING.

In the scheme of profit-sharing inaugurated by the Ford Motor Co. in America, and extended to the works in Manchester, women are expressly excluded. In the words of Mr. Edward Ford "women are not considered in this scheme because they are not the economic factors that men workers are. The profit-sharing is for the men, and I expect we shall have contented and prosperous shops."

The "Christian Commonwealth," April 22nd, commenting on this fresh proof of the inferior status of women in the labour market, says: "Though the women employees of the firm have been granted increases in pay, they will not, therefore, receive any share of the profit which they have helped to make. Anything more unjust and illogical than this exclusion of women from the scheme it would be difficult to conceive. Women are already penalised for their sex by low wages; roughly, about half what men earn is paid to women doing the same class of work. The injustice is all the greater because it is quite certain that women are only employed because their labour is cheaper than that of men, and, therefore, the profits of a concern are larger than they would be if only men were employed."

At the special service for M.P.'s held in St. Margaret's, Westminster, on Sunday, Suffragists offered up special prayers for Miss Pankhurst. The usual crowd of roughs were allowed by the police to molest women Suffragists in Hyde Park on Sunday, and as usual when ugly rushes are made on women, there were no arrests.

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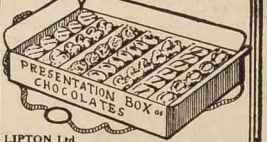
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DISTRICT REPORTS.

BOW AND BROMLEY.

Organiser.—Mrs. Ives,
321 Roman Road, Bow, E.
Dreadnoughts sold for week ending April 17th.—314.

Members' Distribution Districts:
Mrs. W. Lansbury, St. Stephen's Road District—500 copies.
Mrs. Burton, Ford Road District—500.
Mrs. O'Connell and Mrs. Moore, Turner's Road District—500.
Miss Boyce, Kenilworth Rd. District—500.
Mrs. Kelly, Usher Rd. District—400.
Mrs. McCheyne and Mrs. Knudson, Fairfield Rd. District—350.
Mrs. Weaver, Smead Rd. District—200.
Mrs. Watkins, Malmesbury Rd. District—150.
Mrs. Clarke, Parnell Rd. District—200.
Mrs. Carlisle, Tredegar Rd. District—200.
Mrs. Mantle, Wellington Rd. District—200.
Miss Dobson and Miss Vernham, Cardigan Rd. District—200.
Mrs. Hope, Medway Rd. District—150.
Mrs. Wilson, Lichfield Rd. District—150.
Mrs. Pascoe, High St. District—100.
Mrs. Bailey—100.
Mrs. Husted, White Post Lane District—200.

Owing to the holidays few meetings held. Members are earnestly requested not to forget the Self Denial Week commencing May 1st. Helpers wanted for flower-selling, collecting cards, etc. Members are reminded of the Great Worker's Demonstration, Friday, May 1st., when it is hoped members will turn up in large numbers. Women's day of the E. L. F. S. is on May 31st., let that be a record turn-out to Victoria Park. All those members who remember Mrs. Lewis one of our oldest and most valued members, will be grieved to hear of her death on Saturday, April 18th, in the London Hospital after weeks of terrible agony.

POPLAR.

Office... 319 EAST INDIA DOCK ROAD.
Organiser... Miss M. PATERSON.

Report unavoidably held over this week.

SOUTH WEST HAM.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. DAISY PARSONS,
94 Ravenscroft Road.

Thanks to members who are turning up so splendidly for their "Dreadnoughts." Hope more of the others will do the same. Miss Leggett is willing to sell papers on Sunday mornings at Bechtou Road, and she and Miss Pitt are taking Plaistow for distribution. A seller wanted for Canning Town Station for Saturday afternoons and evenings. Suggestions wanted for Self Denial Week. 81 Dreadnoughts were sold week ending April 17th.

Canning Town. District leaders.—Mrs. Millo, 1 Ravenscroft Road; Miss Tate, 37 Tyas Road. Distributors.—Mrs. Roper, Mrs. Sands, Mrs. Pountney, Mrs. Hornblower, Mrs. Hockham, Mrs. Little and Mrs. Parker.

Plaistow. District leaders.—Mrs. Hawkins, 15 Beaufoy Road; Miss Pitt, 67 Wigston Road. Distributors.—Mrs. Ward, Mrs. and Miss Lawrence.

Custom House. District leader.—Miss Daisy Leggett, 74 Chautler Road. Distributor.—Miss A. Dunbar.

Tidal Basin. District leader.—Miss Penn, 10 Brent-road. Distributors.—Miss Greenleaf, Misses A. and L. Kelsey.

Silvertown. District leader.—Miss Grace Grimes, 27 Newland Street. Distributor.—Miss F. Nicholas.

HACKNEY.

Secretary.—Miss YOUNG.

Good meeting at Swiss Cottage, large and sympathetic audience. Dreadnoughts sold week ending 17th April—14.

LIMEHOUSE.

Organiser.—Miss BUCHAN, 321 Roman Road

OTHER EAST LONDON SOCIETIES.

Hackney, Kingsland & Stoke Newington M.P.U.

Hon. Secretary: Mr. Eric W. Roberts.

Acting Hon. Sec.: Mr. M. Myers,
6 Streety Buildings, Mount Street,
Bethnal Green.

Excellent meetings throughout the past week. Sale of Woman's Dreadnought considerably less owing to the absence of the literature secretary.

Will all those desirous of becoming members send their names to the acting secretary.

FORTHCOMING MEETINGS.

Sunday, April 26th—Ridley Road, (Kingsland), 12 noon. Speakers: Mrs. Duval, Mr. Eric Roberts, Mr. A. Mackinlay, Chair—Mr. E. Standish-Smetherton.

Sunday, April 26th—Boleyn Road (Dalston), 12 noon. Debate between Mr. Allan Clark (Member M.P.U.) and a well-known Conservative opponent of Women's Enfranchisement.

The Hackney and District M.P.U. are prepared to supply competent and well-known speakers to sympathetic organisations, for expenses only. Applications should be sent to Mr. Eric Roberts at the office, and timed to reach there not later than forty-eight hours previous to the time when required.

It has been suggested that some attempt should be made to revive the old Bethnal Green branch, and recommence the meetings at Club Row. All those prepared to render any assistance in this respect are requested to communicate with Mr. Roberts.

(Continued from page 1.)

had been made, this resulted, very naturally, in the organising of a judicial department of government. Up to the time that this judicial body became separated from the legislative body, infractions of law were discussed openly and helpfully, but as soon as it became called a "Court," the attitude changed immediately. The first culprit who was called before the formal court flushed with indignation and lied all through the proceedings. When the judge called for witnesses they also lied: in fact their sense of injustice at the hands of the police and the courts in their former lives, asserted itself, through association with that form of administration. This attitude resulted in the resignation of the girl who had been elected as judge, and, for the time being anarchy reigned; it was not until one particular boy, who was the leader of all the mischief in the community was elected judge that ultimate triumph of law and order came about. As the ringleader of the mischief, it suggested itself to the citizens that he could not possibly be suspected of any inclination to be harsh to a wrong doer; but it is interesting to note that as soon as the standards of citizenship reached a sufficiently high pitch for them to appreciate the fact that it was not seemly that their judge should continually be tried for offences and have to vacate the chair, he was impeached from his high office, and ultimately the same girl who had originally resigned, because she felt that she was too lenient in dealing with the boy culprits, was again elected to the position. Under her wise direction the Commonwealth court became a place for commendation, as well as criticism; and compliments for good work carried out are continually to be heard there.

Once a week the citizens meet at the legislative meeting. When complaints in court of the same kind become sufficiently frequent to suggest a ruling being made, the matter is then discussed. If the law is passed unanimously it becomes custom-law and is not written down. A law is statute-made or written only when it has been opposed, and a vote has had to be taken. The legislative meeting is a great force educationally; recently an enquiry was held by the citizens into the question of helping the committee in their attempt to reduce expenditure, and very valuable were the contributions to the discussion, many points in domestic economy being reviewed. The upshot was that it was decided to dispense with one of the citizens for the housework, so that that amount of labour would be released for more profitable employment.

One of the most interesting laws that have been passed relates to smoking. Although most of the boys that have been admitted to The Little Commonwealth had indulged more or less in the habit, and more than one had been confirmed smokers, a rule was introduced by the citizens themselves raising the legal age to eighteen years. An attempt to repeal this was made, but it was re-enacted a second time. In the first four or five months this rule was disobeyed occasionally. Latterly, however, it has been well kept.

In developing the judicial side of government at The Little Commonwealth, it is interesting to note that early Anglo-Saxon traditions have been followed. Instead of the community delegating its powers to a jury of citizens, which has been the result of the growth of communities, the responsibility is direct, and the whole community, in reality, tries the offender. It is true that the judge fixes the penalty, but this is often modified by the decision of the majority on a show of hands. In this way the possibilities of a jury being biased are done away with.

In the same way in the executive department there is no appointed policeman, but it is a sign of good citizenship to bring any complaint against a citizen that is considered to be derogatory to the community. In this way a far finer ethical sense is developed than can be done by means of a cut and dried system of law. It is a significant fact that as the standards of citizenship get higher, more complaints are brought into court;

and as in the outside world, an increase of crime is not necessarily a criterion that the public is less moral than it has been in the past or vice versa: it may mean that more are found out owing to the better police supervision.

The punishments inflicted by the court consists of placing citizens on close bounds in the courtyard and certain parts of the house, fines, extra hours of labour and early hours; and as a last resource for serious offences, such as running away, or continual disregard of the rules, ducking in a cold bath has been once or twice imposed; this has been of considerable efficacy. It is interesting that, whereas in the outside world the law is that "If a man does not work neither shall he eat," the citizens of The Little Commonwealth, on the other hand, have never reduced a boy's food, if he had insufficient means to keep himself.

The citizens are paid in aluminium money, for the work they do, at the rate of 3d. an hour. They pay for their board and lodging to their "House Mother," and have the remainder (which, if a citizen works well, may possibly amount to 4s. or 5s. a week), to spend at the shop or to bank. They buy their own clothes and luxuries. If a citizen refuses to work, or works badly, he renders himself liable to be dismissed by his employer, one of the adult helpers; and it may be noticed that the punishment which he feels the most is to be deprived of his work. For the purpose of supporting those who in the early days of The Little Commonwealth did not earn sufficient to pay for their board and lodging, taxes were instituted. Just as the community is responsible for the good behaviour of each of its members, so it is responsible for providing means of living for the shirkers. In this way it will be noticed that public sentiment touches the economic as well as the moral problems of The Little Commonwealth. One complete reformation, indeed, came about through this system. A boy, who was continually losing his job, and was perhaps the principal leader of mischief in the community, had fallen so low in the social scale that he was attacked one night in court by one of the citizens for having become so disreputable in his appearance and clothing, that he had better be provided with a new suit of clothes out of the taxes. The boy's reply was that he would ask for credit for his suit of clothes, but on the judge appealing to his employer, the answer was given that, as he had not had for some time sufficient money to pay for his board and lodging, no credit could be given him. It was again proposed that the state should provide clothing for him, upon which he rose to his feet, with flaming cheeks, and avowed that he would never wear "charity" clothes; and on the judge claiming that they were exactly the same suit of clothes that he would have had if he had been able to buy them for himself, the vote was taken, and it was decided that he should be clothed at the public expense, and a committee was appointed to see that the clothes were worn. From that moment our friend, who was, in spite of his pranks, a youngster of winning personality, went about with downcast eyes avoiding contact with one and all; but it was noticed that his work, from that moment improved. So much indeed did it improve that at the end of about six weeks, on a revision of taxes, his name was erased from the list. He then rose to his feet in court, and with real humility asked to be allowed to be given credit for his suit of clothes. This was granted and some weeks later, he, having been taunted on one occasion, in court, for having easier work than some of the others, inasmuch as he had charge of the horses for some time, he rose and said he was quite willing to do heavier work, if the Superintendent wished it; but immediately Mr. Lane rose to his feet and declared that nothing would induce him to give the control of the horses to anyone else, since he regarded him as the most responsible boy in the community!

With regard to the kind of work that has been carried out by the boys and girls, while The Little Commonwealth is in the making there is

plenty of opportunity for roadmaking, building, concrete laying, which form an excellent basis for training. As time goes on and the community becomes more established, various trades will be started, and it is hoped that every citizen, in time to come, will be trained in a definite trade. In addition there is farm-work, gardening, and there will be dairy and laundry-work for the girls, besides the cooking and household work, which they carry out. Every opportunity is given to the citizens to do the work which they like the best; and it is interesting to note that after one or two attempts had been made by some of the girls with spade and shovel they have naturally gravitated towards domestic work. They are paid on the same basis as the boys, and in fact there is nothing in the community to which they are not admitted on equal terms.

In religious matters church instruction is given every week by a clergyman of the parish, and church-going is purely voluntary, and, for that reason, is seldom neglected. There are four citizens in the Commonwealth who are Roman Catholics, and these attend Mass at Sherborne as often as can be managed.

Those that have been sent to The Little Commonwealth have, with one exception, been through the children's courts, some of them direct and some from probation officers, who were not satisfied with their progress. Some of them have come from London, and others from different cities and towns.

It may fairly be claimed that The Little Commonwealth gets exactly the same type as those that are seen every day in the ordinary reformatory. The commitment is in the nature of a voluntary arrangement with the parent, made by the magistrate, who places the offender under the probation of the superintendent at The Little Commonwealth. He is mostly sent for two or three years, and it lies in the discretion of the superintendent, in consultation with the magistrate, for that term to be reduced, if thought fit.

Sufficient help has been forthcoming to start an experiment which, to say the least, is worthy of attention, and has at any rate, in a few months, proved that self-government and a healthy self-expression is possible in young people whose lives have suffered under the cruder conditions of so-called civilisation.

When the children trained in The Little Commonwealth eventually set out to make their way in the world, it seems possible that they will have a better equipment, both in health and education, than the majority of their fellows. But they will find the cruel competitive scramble of ordinary life terribly unlike the conditions of justice and fairness which they have been creating for themselves at Batcombe. They will certainly have to bear a great measure of disillusionment, but doubtless many of them will be fired with a burning zeal to reform the new world in which they will find themselves, and to make it more worthy to compare with The Little Commonwealth they have left behind.

In this way The Little Commonwealth will have an immeasurable influence for good. The Government gives no monetary grant to these institutions, financial help is asked from all who are interested in its work. Subscriptions should be sent to Mr. George Montague, 8, Portman Square, London, W.

E. S. P.

HELPING ON HOLIDAY.

Dear Madam.—For information for our nice little paper, the WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT, we desire to report that we wrote to the Rev. Walter Casey, of the Primitive Methodist Church, Queen Street, Ramsgate, asking him if he would publicly pray for our women now in H.M.'s Prisons, suffering for conscience sake, owing to their efforts to secure economical and political freedom as citizens, etc., etc.

The appeal met with a ready response, and a most beautiful prayer was offered on Sunday evening last. We were present at that service, as we were staying at Ramsgate for a few days holiday.

A letter of thanks was sent to the Rev. Casey yesterday.

Wishing every success to the H.L.F.S., of which we are proud to be two members.

Yours faithfully,
MRS. A. BUTLER,
MRS. M. SMITH.