

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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ALWAYS SURE OF A WELCOME



IS THIS WHAT HAPPENED?

The Central News states that when Mr. Asquith and Mr. Winston Churchill arrived at Corinth they were "received with enthusiasm by the people." The "Morning Post" states that owing to the threats of Militant Suffragists the police guard on Cabinet Ministers during the holidays "has been doubled."

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DEDICATION

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

THE OUTLOOK

Parliament will reassemble on Tuesday next after the Whitsuntide recess. Though it has already decided to deny to women the right of representation, it has before it a programme of legislation in every

item of which women are vitally concerned, and on which they ought, therefore, on every principle of self-government to be consulted. Let us consider a few of the principal measures of the session.

The Home Rule Bill

Foremost among the contentious measures to be introduced by the Government is the Irish Home Rule Bill, whose avowed object is to give self-government to the Irish people. The terms of this Bill are known in advance in every detail because it will of necessity be identical with the Bill thrown out by the House of Lords last year; and we therefore know that instead of giving self-government to the Irish people this Bill merely proposes to give self-government to Irishmen while leaving Irishwomen entirely out of account. Further, the Bill specifically forbids the proposed Irish legislature from altering the franchise for at least three years. To women this Bill is therefore of profound interest not merely on the same general grounds that it is of interest to men, but also because it deliberately excludes women from representation in a newly created subordinate legislature, and stereotypes their exclusion for at least three years. In these circumstances the duty of all genuine Woman Suffragists in the House of Commons is plain: they ought to vote for an amendment to include women in the

Irish electorate, and failing that, they ought to vote against the third reading of the Bill.

The Welsh Disestablishment Bill

Another Bill which is to be introduced in identical form with that of last year is the Bill to disestablish the Church in Wales. By universal admission women are at least as profoundly concerned in religion and in the forms of religion as men, and it is therefore wholly improper that so momentous a step as the disestablishment of a Church should be effected without due consultation with the women of the country. We say this without expressing any opinion whatever upon the Bill itself, for we are aware that women will be as sharply divided as men as to its merits.

The Finance Bill

Among the other measures which the House will be called upon to discuss is the Finance Bill, which imposes the taxes for the ensuing year. On this will arise the question of the assessment of the incomes of married women as part of the incomes of their husbands. We have often had occasion to refer to the absurdity and injustice of the present position of the law and of the hardship which falls generally on wives, but occasionally on husbands, in consequence. This week we will quote the words of no less a person than the present Lord Chancellor,

who, speaking in the House of Lords on October 14, 1912, on the case of Mr. Wilks, said:—

The income tax and death duty laws were full of anomalies. In the case of income tax the law descended from a period when the position of married women was very different from what it is now. The case of Mr. Wilks was one where there was an anomalous state of the law which could not be defended, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had undertaken to consider it. Apparently the result of the "consideration" of the Chancellor of the Exchequer has been (as is the case with nearly everything else in which women are concerned) to decide to leave the "anomalous state of the law" unaltered. It will accordingly rest with the House of Commons to remedy it. One attempt to do so has already been made (May 7) and ruled out of order by the Speaker; but we understand that a carefully worded amendment can be made in order at a later stage. If this fails it will be one more proof of the necessity of giving the vote to women.

The Education Bill

Another measure which is promised is a Bill dealing with Education. This is a matter on which, even by the admission of anti-Suffragists, women are not merely equally qualified, but more qualified to express an opinion than men. Have we not been told over and over again that the true sphere of woman is home and children? How can woman exert her proper influence upon the upbringing of the child if she is denied any voice in the making of the laws upon which the education of children depends? There are such important matters as the age at which a child should go to school, the character of the instruction to be given to the girls as well as to the boys, the age at which the child should be allowed to leave school. These and other questions will never be wisely settled until the mothers as well as the fathers are consulted upon them.

Insurance Amendment Bill

Last but by no means least from the point of view of women is an item in the Government programme relating to amendment of the Insurance Act. If the Act stands in need of radical amendment in many particulars, and this we have stated over and over again ever since its introduction, it needs it in none more urgently than its whole treatment of women. For many women, such as typists and other business women, the Act is simply a poll tax and nothing else, for they never will get any return whatever from it. For the sweated woman it is a fearful incubus, for in many cases she is forced to pay the employer's share as well as her own, and she sees only very small benefits in return. For the domestic servant it is both a nuisance and a drain upon her slender resources, for nearly every benefit obtained under it she secured previously free of all cost to herself. Finally, for the working-man's wife it constitutes a tax upon the family income, most of the benefits of which goes to the husband, providing him with a pension in old age while leaving her in the event of widowhood absolutely unprovided for. We look to Suffragist M.P.'s to fight for the removal of these injustices, and if they fail, to point the obvious moral.

Women as Barristers and Solicitors

Apart from the programme of the Government, Lord Wolmer has introduced a Bill to open the legal professions to women, but unless the Government give facilities it has no chance of passing into law. In the meantime, our readers will remember that an interesting case is to be fought out in the Courts as the right of women to become solicitors under the existing law. We understand that this case is likely to be heard next week; and we accordingly have pleasure in presenting to our readers a summary of the situation as it prevails in this and other countries, specially written for us by a woman who has studied the law on the subject.

The Conspiracy Trial of the W.S.P.U.

The final hearing of the conspiracy charges against Mr. Clayton and Miss Kenney and other members of the W.S.P.U. at Bow Street took place on Thursday in last week, and in the result all the defendants were committed for trial, bail being allowed in all cases. Mr. Clark, who appeared for Miss Kerr, Mrs. Sanders, Miss Lake and Miss Lennox, claimed that so far as these defendants were concerned no prima facie case had been made out which justified committal, and a similar line was taken by Mr. McCurdy on behalf of Miss Barrett; but Sir Curtis-Bennet declined to take this view. The cases are to be tried at the Old Bailey at the sessions commencing Tuesday next, unless the defendants secure a postponement.

The Case of Mr. Whiteley

Meanwhile in Manchester on Tuesday last the hearing of the case against Mr. Edgar Whiteley, the manager of the National Labour Press, who printed the May 9 issue of *The Suffragette*, was proceeded with. The accusation against him was that he conspired on April 29 and other dates with Mrs. Pankhurst and others to "solicit, instigate and incite" women to commit damage. Mr. Hewart, K.C., outlined the case for the prosecution, and while he claimed that within the four corners of the issue of May 9 were incitements to crime, also called evidence to prove illegal actions of members

of the W.S.P.U., and incitements occurring in previous issues of *The Suffragette*. To this Sir William Cobbett, who appeared for Mr. Whiteley, took exception, but the magistrate ruled that the evidence was admissible. The case was adjourned till next Monday, bail being allowed.

The Freedom of the Press

We announced last week the decision of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and the other members of the National Labour Press to challenge the right of the police to stop the publication of a newspaper in advance, by making themselves responsible for printing *The Suffragette*. On Thursday evening after we had gone to press an official statement was issued on behalf of the Government to the effect that there was no "warrant for the suggestion that there has been any attempt to suppress *The Suffragette* newspaper before it was published or that any proceedings would be instituted against the printers and publishers of it unless after its publication it was found to contain incitements to the commission of crime or to the destruction of property." Those who are accustomed to read between the lines of official statements will not have much difficulty in coming to the conclusion that this is a long way of saying that the Government were not prepared to come into conflict with the Labour Party and preferred to climb down.

Two Interesting Sequels

There have, however, been two interesting sequels. In the first place, the W.S.P.U. decided after all to accept not the offer of the National Labour Press, but that of Mr. Francis, the printer of the *Athenaeum*. This decision appears to have been arrived at before the Government statement was issued. In the second place, Mr. Drew, who printed the issue of May 9, has written to the Home Office asking for a release from his undertaking which he was constrained to give in the police court as a condition of his discharge, "that he would not print any further issue of *The Suffragette*." He has, we believe, had no reply to this request. But if the Home Office means what it says, he certainly ought to be released from it, as it was a wholly improper undertaking to have been got from him. It is much as if a man who has thrown orange peel on the pavement to the common danger were called on not to eat another orange in his life!

The Bankruptcy Proceedings Against Mr. Lawrence
The freedom of the Press is also directly concerned in the protest which Mr. Pethick Lawrence is making against the payment claimed from him on

account of the costs of the prosecution in the trial of May of last year. If the present law passed in 1908 is allowed to stand unamended, a very potent weapon has been placed in the hands of the authorities with which to intimidate newspaper proprietors and printers who are supporting any section of people in revolt against the Government. This is a matter which is of especial importance to Labour newspapers, who may sometimes overstep the line in their championship of an oppressed class, and we therefore look for their support in this matter.

Arrest of Mr. John Scurr

Mr. John Scurr, President of the London Dockers, whose interesting article appears below, was arrested on Monday night on warrant and taken straight off to the police station, where he was compelled to stay the night. The charge against him related to a speech made at Leeds three or four weeks ago. On Tuesday he was conducted to Leeds and brought up in the police court, and remanded on bail till yesterday (Thursday). The main issue of the case is, of course, sub judice, but we are entitled at once to express our condemnation of the wholly uncalled-for method of arrest.

"Ulsterettes"

The inequality of the administration of justice is clearly shown in the license which is accorded to Sir Edward Carson and to a section of the Unionist Press which openly supports him in his defiance of the law in Ulster. The *Manchester Guardian*, though it draws a close parallel between the "Ulsterettes" and Suffragettes, fails to point out that the Government, which is meeting the Suffragettes with the "utmost rigour of the law," has not dared to attempt any action whatever against men who have a powerful political party at their back.

Items of Interest

We call attention to the strong speech in favour of Woman Suffrage delivered recently by ex-President Roosevelt, extracts from which we reproduce on page 487.

A London magistrate told a man the other day that in view of the scenes in Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon and the difficulty of the police to preserve order, it was the obvious duty of a good citizen to stay away. We should have thought it was his duty to help to preserve order.

A special article by Miss Garrett Anderson, M.D., on the disabilities attaching to women in the medical profession will be published in *VOTES FOR WOMEN* next week.

FELLOWSHIP IS LIFE, LACK OF FELLOWSHIP IS DEATH

By John Scurr

The spirit of John Ball is eternal. Unless we drink deep of the wondrous healing waters of comradeship we shall surely die. And comradeship is impossible unless it shelters under its protecting wings both men and women. Therefore, let us welcome with a great joyousness the *VOTES FOR WOMEN* Fellowship, and under its banner let us gather, clasping hands, and vowing fealty and devotion to the cause.

Each one of us has our chosen work to do, each one must fight in our own way. Let us go on doing that which seemeth best to us, preserving our individuality as a sacred gift. Yet let us remember that while we work in our own way others are also working in theirs, and let not our absorption in our own fight lead us to forget that others are fighting, too. Let not the impatient word condemn, or the intolerant criticism wound those who are not fighting our way. Remember that all of us are necessary, all of us are wanted, and under the ægis of the Fellowship we can meet and hearten each other in the struggle.

The cause we are fighting for is the greatest cause the world has ever known. It is the admission of one half of the human race to a share in the responsibilities and privileges of human progress and development. Heretofore, women have only been allowed to stand afar off, and any lustre they achieved was supposed to come to them by reason of the reflected glory of man. There has been little glory, and the reflection has been somewhat pale. For man has been much delayed in his journeying toward the City of Light, inasmuch as women have lagged behind since man would not recognise the fellowship. Yet there are laws above those of man, and the Giver of the Law ordained that men and women were one. Still, man forgot, and he endeavoured to place women in a position but little in advance of that of the beasts of the field. Thus he brought about his own undoing.

Man rejoiced in the work of his hands, he gloried in his strength, he boasted of his civilization. Yet to-day all his triumphs seem but as burnt ashes in his mouth, and he turns uneasily in this or that direction seeking for something to remove the bitter taste.

His machinery, a wonderful servant, has become his tyrannical master, a hideous Frankenstein, driving

him ever onward relentlessly and without pause. His great cities have become the habitation of poor and sickly people ever steeped in misery. His Parliament is gibed and sneered at by all and sundry. His judges receive no applause for their wisdom, but are commended for their jokes. Surely never has Nemesis pursued and overtaken a people as it has now overtaken us. Every woman scorned in the past, every woman wronged, every woman unjustly treated, present their demands for payment. They are impetuous creditors who will not be gainsaid.

Have we as a nation the moral courage to foot the bill? We can try to make payment by lashes, by imprisonment, by gibes and sneers, by hypocritical reverence. But we will find that this is base currency which will be rejected. For fellowship is life, and lack of fellowship is death.

In a hundred and one homes the cool of the evening will find the man smoking and the woman darning stockings. An ideal picture, will say the "subalternist." Yet a true and typical picture. The man's labour over, he rests. The woman still works, her thoughts busy over the myriad details of domestic responsibilities. Thinking of the future, of the children, wondering as to their careers mayhap, of the care of the man who sits smoking, smoking, and pluming himself on his superior intellectual outlook.

How the gods must laugh! The throne of Zeus must be shaken to its foundation, and even the clear eyes of Athene must occasionally be betrayed into a twinkle.

It is time the men woke up and took their share in the fight for the freedom of womanhood, which means in its turn the freedom of manhood. Be assured that so long as some are slaves, so long will masters be enveloped with the slave spirit, and will therefore face the great problems of life with a coward's heart. Free the slave, and cowardice vanishes even as mist before the wind of morning.

Let us all who believe in the elementary principles of Truth, Justice, Mercy, and Righteousness be up and doing. Join the Fellowship so that we may meet, not as ships that pass in the night, but as vessels of the one fleet sailing together until we all shall reach the harbour for which we are bound.

AN UNJUST LAW

THE MEANING OF MY PROTEST

By F. W. Pethick Lawrence

Considerable interest and discussion has been aroused by the statement which I made last week with regard to the injustice of the law of 1908 (Costs in Criminal Cases Act, 1908), which I have fought up to the point of bankruptcy.

The *Evening Standard* agrees so far with me as to say that there is an "absence of financial equity in the law's attitude towards a prisoner found guilty and a prisoner found innocent. A guilty person can be charged with the costs of the prosecution as well as those of the defence, but the State does not take on itself what would seem to be the corresponding duty of paying all law charges of a person declared innocent. In trifling cases at the police courts a defendant who has established his innocence often finds himself compelled to pay for doing so. Court fees or some such petty exaction make him realise that perfect justice is not established even in England. On the same principle, a King who has been wrongfully convicted receives the King's pardon, not the State's apology. The law has a paltry objection to owning that it has done wrong."

On the other hand, the *Yorkshire Post* refuses to see that reasonable exception can be taken to such a law. "If people commit crimes," it says, "they have no right to ask for sympathy in the event of their being made to pay the piper." It does not consider that any complaint can be made with regard to the refusal of the Government to admit the corresponding liability to reimburse an innocent man for his costs. It proceeds:—

It is an accepted principle of our criminal system that if the Crown prosecutes a man for crime, and loses, the Crown does not pay costs. It never has paid costs. Why should it do so? There are always two stages in a criminal prosecution such as that in which Mr. Pethick Lawrence is involved. The magistrates have to hear the evidence, and see that a presumptive case is made out against the prisoner. If no such case is shown, the man is discharged. If he is committed, there is then trial before a judge and jury, and though there may be many cases in which the full trial discloses the innocence of the accused, in by far the greater number of acquittals what is evidenced is the absence of a full and complete proof of guilt.

This is surely a most dangerous and novel proposition, entirely foreign to every principle of English law. In legal language it amounts to saying that the English verdict of "not guilty" is really equivalent to the Scotch verdict of "not proven."

If that were so, if there were in England as in Scotland three verdicts, "guilty," "not proven," and (say) "innocent," and if in the second both sides paid their own costs and in the first and third the losing side paid both, I should not contend that there was any substantial injustice in the law. But this is not so. "Not guilty" in England means that the man has been found innocent by twelve of his fellows; and it seems to me a very serious matter that a man who secures this verdict should be put to serious loss in money, when his failure to obtain this verdict will mean that he has to pay both sets of costs as well as to undergo the punishment inflicted on him.

What I am specially concerned with is the case of offences connected with political revolt. Revolt almost invariably necessitates illegality. When reforms are not conceded from a sense of justice, the oppressed of all countries of all classes of all times have been driven to illegal action. The history of the United Kingdom teems with illustrations. The barons under King John, the Scotch under Robert Bruce, the Lollards in the Middle Ages, the martyrs under "bloody" Mary, the Parliament under Charles I., the Whig Lords under James II., the American Colonies under George III., the Irish Home Rulers in the eighties of last century, the Irish Home Rulers to-day all have been guilty of illegal actions.

Those who take sides with revolt must therefore be prepared to face not only Government displeasure, but also Government prosecution. But they are entitled to even-handed justice. They are entitled to claim that in playing their game against their formidable enemy they shall not be confronted with loaded dice.

Originally the "Crown" made no pretence at equal dealing when it attacked a private subject. For instance, the prosecution could call witnesses to prove guilt while the prisoner could not call witnesses to prove innocence. But bit by bit these injustices were removed, until it was the boast of the English law that the prisoner stood on an absolute footing of equality with his accusers. This new law of 1908 is a backward step; it is a blow aimed at the equal justice of our criminal system, and as evidenced by its first application to myself, it is a blow likely to be specially employed in the case of political offences.

WOMEN'S HOMES

The women of England, afflicted by ills,
Came at last to perceive and to note
That to get politicians to pass any Bills,
We must bribe them by giving our vote.
So they asked for the franchise to gain them a share
In the Government's favour and grace;
But they always were told in response to the prayer
That the home was their natural place.

Now, the women who labour from morning to night
In the sweater's unspeakable den,
Sought a voice that would bring their deplorable
Plight

To the notice of chivalrous men;
But the wisecracks said that they shouldn't be blind
To the palpable facts of the case,
As, of course, if they troubled to look they would find
That the home was their natural place.

And the laundry girl came from the mist-laden room,
Where she toils in the vapour and heat
Till consumption has ruined her lungs and her bloom,
And has left her to die in the street.
She begged for the franchise to pass her an Act
That would save both her health and her grace;
But they asked her politely to think of the fact
That the home was her natural place.

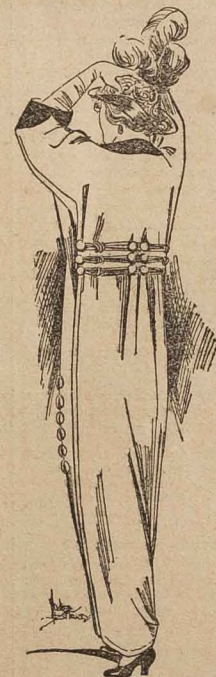
And the prostitute came from her place on the street,
Where she stands till her purchaser comes;
The procurer's abode was her only retreat
In the midst of the pitiless slums.
She requested the vote, by its aid to obtain
Some employment that's not a disgrace;
But they sent her away to the pavement again,
For the home was her natural place.

So the women returned to the homes in the slum,
To the dens where they sweat and they slave;
To the stage and the street, till they sink and
succumb.

And have peace in a premature grave.
But they'll always remember the gratitude owed
To the chivalrous men of the race;
For by male legislation these homes are bestowed,
And the home is their natural place.

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ACTIONS FOR DAMAGES

Claims for Over £2,000

The proceedings in bankruptcy against Mr. Pethick Lawrence to which reference has been made above must not be confused with the actions for damages which are to be heard in the course of the next few days in the law courts, in which Mr. Pethick Lawrence figures as one of the defendants. The bankruptcy proceedings are the remains of the criminal trial in May last, as the outcome of which Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Pankhurst were found guilty and sentenced to nine months' imprisonment, while in addition the whole costs of the prosecution were imposed on Mr. Lawrence and Mrs. Pankhurst and are now being collected from the former. The actions for damages are civil actions brought at the instance of ninety-seven firms to recover from Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Pankhurst and others sums amounting in the aggregate to over £2,000, which it is alleged they suffered in loss by the breakage of windows in November, 1911, and March, 1912. These civil actions have been consolidated into two, one consisting of four firms and one of ninety-three, and it is anticipated that the hearing will take place next week. More detailed particulars of the claims are given on page 497 of this issue.

THE SCANDAL OF THE PRISON VAN

By C. Nina Boyle

Suffrage prisoners have long been familiar with the vile conditions incident upon being conveyed to His Majesty's places of detention.

On receiving a sentence which amounted to fourteen days imprisonment, I and my colleague, Miss Anna Munro, were recently conveyed in one of these vans from Marylebone Police Court to Holloway.

On reaching Holloway, we found there Miss Short, whose experience was more horrible still, and whose tale had met with scant courtesy and attention.

Miss Munro referred the matter to the Governor of Holloway, who declined to take any action, saying it did not concern him or the Visiting Committee.

to make some atonement. Our thanks are due to two members of the Committee, who showed their interest very readily, and helped us with questions to put our case.

In the case of Miss Short, questions were asked in the House by Mr. Jowett, M.P., and the reply of Mr. McKenna was to the effect that the "prison vans were never overcrowded."

The Commissioner of Police has now been approached, and the members of the Women's Freedom League who have lately undergone imprisonment are waiting on him to ask the meaning of the information supplied to Mr. McKenna.

OPEN LETTER TO "VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWS

Dear Fellows,—You will be interested to hear that we intend as a Fellowship to take our stand amongst those who are contending for the right of public meeting in Hyde Park.

Fellows, we are working you very hard just now. Well, we, the editors, are working very hard too—very, very hard.

This week's issue of the paper must be circulated broadcast. You can see for yourselves how important it is. Go on helping us to get our protest against the encroachment of the Executive understood by great numbers of people.

Since our Christening Party we have almost doubled our membership. In view of the immense vitality and energy now manifesting itself in the Fellowship, it is absolutely essential that we have another Reunion to report results and sketch out new developments before the summer holidays.

Now just one word more of advice as to another way of helping our paper, and a story to illustrate it, for the truth of which I can vouch.

"Why I am Made a Bankrupt" to every solicitor and barrister in the country. I have received £30 already towards that sum.

Last week's sale was satisfactory, thanks to the response of sellers. Fourteen new volunteers have come forward, a member of the Men's League among them.

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS (To May 19, 1913.) Table listing names and amounts.

The two items appearing in previous list: Miss H. Thompson, 6s. 6d.; Miss Rachel Thompson, 6s. 6d., being subscriptions to the paper, have been deducted from the total of last week.

THE URBITOR BURBERRY

The permanent characteristic of the British Climate is its changeability—settled contrary to changes of weather—which call for something out of the ordinary as protective covering

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THE publishers inform us that their readers readily respond to advertisements in these columns—therefore we shall appreciate it if when you are buying here you will intimate to the salesperson that you saw the article mentioned in "Votes for Women."

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By appointment to H.M. The King, H.M. The Queen, H.M. Queen Alexandra, and H.M. The Queen of Norway.

BOOKS FOR MOTHERS

Dr. Elizabeth Sloan Chesser has written a very useful book called "Perfect Health," in which she deals clearly and sensibly with such subjects as "Common Ailments," "Nursing Children," and "The Health of the School-Child."

There are two classes of books for mothers: those that can be left on the bookshelf for anyone to refer to in moments of emergency, and those that the mother keeps carefully locked up in her own drawer.

An entirely different style of book is Mrs. Re-Bartlett's "Sex and Sanctity," a sequel to her former work, "The Coming Order." Here it is not only the physical or social, but the spiritual point of view that is dealt with.

The enormous power of these women militants to suffer and to sacrifice themselves for an impersonal cause, is the one thing which thoughtful people at this moment should be finding worthy of consideration.

Mrs. Re-Bartlett goes on to show that it is not only wider knowledge and power that inspire the movement, but wider love of women for women, leading to a solidarity of sex such as the world has not before witnessed.

The second part of the book consists of three essays, one of which is reprinted from the Vita Femmine Italiana, and another from the Hibbert Journal.

A Handbook for Mothers

Miss Buckton's little book is meant for the use of parents and teachers, as a help to them as much as to the children. It is not intended to be put into the hands of young children at all, but as a framework to assist mothers and teachers to answer the questions of children in a consistent and helpful way.

HEALTH FOR MEN

We live in an age extremely interested in matters of health and hygiene, and much popular literature is devoted to the subject. "The Care of the Body," by R. S. Woodworth, Professor in Columbia University (The Macmillan Co., New York, price 6s. 6d. net), is one of many.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"August Strindberg." The Spirit of Revolt. Studies and Impressions. By L. Lind-af-Hageby. (London: Stanley Paul and Co. Price 6s. net.)

"Perfect Health for Women and Children." By Elizabeth Sloan Chesser, M.B. (Methuen, 5s. 6d.)

Summer Fashions at the REGENT ST. House of Peter Robinson

THE latest dictates of LA MODE are always a feature of the varied and interesting displays of New Styles at our Regent Street House.

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A SWEATED WORKERS' EXHIBITION
Will be held under the auspices of the Women Writers' Suffrage
League and the Men's League for Woman Suffrage, on
WEDNESDAY, MAY 28th, at 3 to 6.30 p.m., at
KNIGHTSBRIDGE PALACE HOTEL (Tube Station: Knightsbridge).
Chairman: MRS. FLORA ANNE STEELES.
Speakers: The Hon. the EARL OF LYTTON, Miss
CLEMENTINA BLACK, A. G. GARDINER, Esq., Mrs.
CAVENDISH BENTINCK, J. MALCOLM MITCHELL, Esq.,
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FRIDAY, MAY 25, 1913.

**DON'T PLAY
THE ENEMY'S GAME**

In the teeth of every form of opposition our movement for the extension of constitutional liberty grows in numbers and in strength. To the amazement and the consternation of its opponents the agitation for the vote can neither be entrapped by political chicanery nor side-tracked by betrayal, nor held up by Press boycott nor suppressed by violence, nor terrorised by special penal legislation. So long as all the various battalions of the Suffrage army stand united each in its own place, holding its own position in the field, yet presenting a continuous front line to the enemy, its forces cannot be beaten.

Baffled at every point in the direct attack, those who passionately desire the downfall of all that this Movement stands for, are seeking more secret and insidious methods to secure their end. A deliberate attempt has been set on foot for breaking up the fine solidarity of the Woman's Movement. We do not believe for one moment that it will succeed, but it is as well to announce that the ruse is understood. It is necessary to expose the plot.

Just as the hostile Press, working in collusion with the political authorities and with the agents of the police, deliberately and cunningly hypnotised a certain section of the foolish crowd, and made of it a tool for the accomplishment of their malign political purpose, so with precisely the same intent, influences are being set in motion in a very secret, subtle, and crafty way to hypnotise conscientious and well-meaning Suffragists, and to use them as tools to precisely the same end, by driving them on to "condemn" militancy.

The foolish crowds who practise Suffragist baiting in Hyde Park and elsewhere have been mesmerised into the belief that they are demonstrating righteous indignation in the interests of property, when they are, in reality, being cleverly used as pawns in the Government's game of suppressing the right of free speech. Suffragists who "reputate" or who "condemn" their allies in the fierce and prolonged struggle for emancipation, instead of directing their attack entirely upon the common foe, quite un-

wittingly and with the best intentions in the world, have been mesmerised into the belief that they are fulfilling a high moral duty, when in reality they are being made the tools of a very malignant set of forces and are playing into the enemy's hand.

We do not intend to suggest for one moment that Suffragists should not hold definite opinions as to the best way of winning the vote, or that they should not yield strict obedience to moral conviction if it bids them to eschew in all circumstances that life may offer, recourse to acts of physical violence. That is a matter to be settled by the individual reason and conscience which governs personal action.

But let it be clearly understood that no one has the smallest right to demand or to expect from the most peaceful or law-abiding Suffragist any further expression of criticism other than that which is implied in the fact that she is not associated by membership with a militant society.

Every upstanding woman who respects her mentality is not only bound to close her mind to the hypnotic suggestion that a declaration of condemnation is required of her, but she has every right to resent deeply the gross impertinence of such a demand.

The fact is that the forces that are bent upon holding women in subjection are once again endeavouring to exploit the double standard of conduct as applied to men and women. There are hundreds of thousands of law-abiding and constitutional Unionists who are repelled by the idea of revolution in Ulster. Yet nobody in their political senses would dream of calling for a public condemnation and repudiation on their part of Sir Edward Carson and his section, with the hope of creating a stampede of moderate Unionists from the Conservative Party.

So farfetched and preposterous is this demand that it would be utterly powerless to endanger our Movement, were it not for the fact that women have been forced for so long to absorb the opinions of others instead of relying upon their own judgment. We must sternly refuse to allow our reason to be befogged or our wills to be mesmerised by the malign influences of those whose one idea is to create confusion and disorder in our solid ranks.

Let there be no mistake. The law-abiding Suffragist who quits her place in the field, where she is fighting with the "constitutional" equipment of her own battalion, to occupy a seat upon the judgment throne or even a place in the box with the jury, in order to pronounce a verdict upon the action of an ally in the field, has mistaken her vocation and forgotten her duty. She becomes thereby a source of strength to the enemy and of weakness to her own side.

Consider how different, according to divergency of temperament, would be the method of individuals faced with the need for action in any ordinary circumstance of life. Suppose, for instance, that a number of individuals were confronted with the spectacle of a man grossly and cruelly ill-treating a woman in the street. The action of one would be to deal the bully a direct blow, of another to appeal to him to desist, of another to go in search of a policeman, of another to rouse the neighbours, of another to fetch medical help for the injured woman. That is to say, some would be urged to militant action, others to moral suasion, others to the appeal to law and order, others to seek the aid of public opinion. For each course something could be said.

If so many divergencies of action are imaginable in one simple situation of human affairs, how inevitable it is that in a world-wide movement, such as the Woman's Movement is to-day, there should be a diversity of methods to suit different minds and various temperaments.

In view of the present crisis of our Movement, let us realise more deeply than ever our essential solidarity. Let us divest ourselves of intolerance, let us turn a deaf ear to the traitors of our sex who urge us to betray or to attack one another. Let us close our reason to the obsession of the double moral standard in life, in warfare, and in politics. Then, true to our own conscience and loyal to our comrades, we shall resist the wiles and the machinations of those who would bring us and our cause to naught, and our great Suffrage Army, highly organised and complex in its departments, will stand united and victorious, one in devotion to that proud flag which has never seen an ultimate defeat.



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THE SUFFRAGIST CONSPIRACY CHARGE

Defendants Committed for Trial

On Thursday in last week the case for the prosecution was closed at the resumed hearing, before Mr. Curtis Bennett at Bow Street, of the conspiracy charge against the seven defendants connected with the work of the Women's Social and Political Union. The case against the eighth defendant, Mrs. Drummond, as stated in our last issue, had been adjourned to July 8 on account of her illness and consequent inability to appear. After further evidence had been heard, all the defendants in Court were committed for trial at the next Sessions at the Central Criminal Court, which opens on May 27. Bail was allowed in every case.

THE EVIDENCE
As before, Mr. Travers Humphreys and Mr. William Lewis conducted the case on behalf of the Director of Public Prosecutions; Mr. C. A. McCurdy appeared for Miss Barrett, and Mr. Adrian Clark for the other defendants.
Detective-Sergeant Renshaw was the principal witness for the prosecution, and his evidence was followed by an interesting cross-examination. He put in a certain number of receipts for money paid to women who were shown by the "Crime Record Book" to be convicted of various offences. He also produced receipts signed by Mrs. Drummond, Miss Kenney, Miss Kerr, and Miss Barrett for the expenses of journeys to Paris, and a large envelope, on which was written, "Ex-prisoners invited to Albert Hall meeting, April 10." The contents consisted of letters from various persons, accepting or declining invitations.
Other receipts related to legal expenses incurred by the W.S.P.U. in the defence of persons charged with various offences, and to the item, "Prisoners' Hampers." Altogether, witness produced 1,300 documents relating to 456 persons.
Important Cross-Examination
In cross-examination, Mr. Clark asked: Do you know that many of the payments for which you have produced receipts were made months before conviction, and in other cases months after conviction?—Yes.
Are they all receipts for out-of-pocket expenses and board and lodging?—Not all, but the greater number are for board and lodging.
Were the greater number of payments made long before October, 1912?—Yes.
Did some of the convictions take place as far back as 1908?—Yes.

Replying to Mr. McCurdy, the witness said the great bulk of the entries in the first of the "Crimes Record Books" related to acts of disorder arising out of deputations to Ministers.
Mr. McCurdy: Is not the book, in fact, a comprehensive record of all disturbances, or proceedings arising out of alleged disturbances in connection with the suffrage movement from the year 1905?—Yes.
You say that as regards a number of names you have been able to trace the fact that they were in receipt of payment. Are the number of cases in which you have traced payments from the W.S.P.U. a very small percentage of the names contained in that book?—A very small percentage.
A Correction
Mr. Ernest Walter Carter, general manager to Messrs. Speaight and Sons, printers, Fetter Lane, was recalled for the purpose of correcting a statement, made at a previous hearing, that his firm printed the election address of Mr. George Lansbury on the occasion of the by-election at Bow and Bromley.
Other evidence having been given with regard to damage incurred through fires in pillar-boxes, the case for the prosecution was declared closed, and Mr. Bodkin asked for the prisoners' commitment for conspiracy and inciting others to commit damage.

FOR THE DEFENCE
Mr. Clark pointed out that Miss Lake did not take up any duties at Lincoln's Inn from the end of January.
The position was simply that of a paid servant at a moderate salary, and there was no suggestion that she had ever made any speeches inciting to violence. The mere fact that she was a member of the Union was not sufficient to justify the magistrate in committing her for trial as a criminal conspirator.
With regard to Miss Lennox, who was sub-editor of the "Suffragette," the same remarks applied to her; and the evidence against Miss Kerr only went to show that she was an ordinary paid employee of the Union for the purpose of looking after the business details. In her case also there was no suggestion that she had ever made any speeches. Mrs. Sanders was responsible for the banking account, and she did nothing else but pay the debts of the Union by which she was employed. As to Miss Kenney and Mr. Clayton, evidence had been called which they might at a later date explain if they desired to do so.

Mr. McCurdy's Speech
Mr. McCurdy said Miss Barrett's case was in many respects on all fours with those of Mrs. Sanders, Miss Kerr, Miss Lennox, and Miss Lake, but it presented some special features of its own. The case put forward by Mr. Bodkin was that the purpose of which was lawful propaganda, and was engaged upon the staff of an organisation which existed merely for the procuring of the commission of crimes, and that they were actively concerned in the publication of a paper, the *raison d'être* of which was to incite its readers to commit crimes.
Counsel submitted that the evidence had so far failed to make that out. So far from the so-called "Crime Record Book" being in any sense a list of convicted offenders in receipt of payment from the funds of the Women's Social and Political Union, it turned out that only a very small percentage of the persons whose names were there recorded had at any time received money, and as regarded even that small percentage the payments were not made at or about the times of the alleged crimes. Therefore, the case so dramatically opened by Mr. Bodkin absolutely disappeared, because the facts surely pointed to a precisely opposite state of things. So far as the objects of the Union, as expressed in its literature, were concerned, there was nothing to which exception could be taken. It was suggested that the *Suffragette* ought to be stopped because it contained incitement to crime. From October to April the contents of that journal had been under the careful surveillance of the Scotland Yard authorities, and was any English jury going to find a sub-editor guilty of conspiracy on account of her association with a paper for their share in none of the offences which had either the printers or publishers ever been called upon to answer?

No Bombs Thrown
It was true that on one occasion Miss Barrett delivered a speech in which she appeared to have used some rather strong language about bombs, but although evidence had been called as to criminal outrages of a very deplorable character it had not been suggested that anybody connected with this movement had ever thrown a bomb.
Mr. Bodkin: Not thrown.
Mr. McCurdy: I say thrown. I hope we never shall hear that, and therefore it is perfectly obvious that when this lady

says, "Every time we hear of a bomb being thrown we say, 'Thank God for that,'" she cannot be speaking literally.
Counsel added that he desired on behalf of Miss Barrett to make it plain that she claimed that she was a member of a society the purpose of which was lawful propaganda, and was engaged upon the staff of a newspaper the purpose of which was lawful controversy, and which had done nothing to give anybody the right to suppress it.
The Magistrate's Decision
Mr. Curtis Bennett said he did not wish to say anything which might do harm to the prisoners, and therefore he did not propose to answer the speeches made on their behalf. An answer could easily be given to them both.
In answer to the statutory caution, Mrs. Sanders and Miss Kenney said they were not guilty; the others made no reply. Defendants were committed for trial, and on signing an undertaking to take no part in the militant movement pending the trial, were admitted to bail.

A FREE PRESS?
Home Office Withdrawal
On Thursday evening in last week the following statement was issued on behalf of the Government:—
Neither by Mr. McKenna in the House of Commons nor by Mr. Bodkin at Bow Street Police Court has any statement been made which warrants the suggestion that there has been any attempt to suppress the *Suffragette* newspaper before it was published, or that any proceedings would be instituted against the printers and publishers of it unless after its publication it was found to contain incitements to the commission of crime or to the destruction of public or private property. Both before and after April 30, the day upon which Mr. Bodkin, upon the instructions of the Director of Public Prosecutions, gave his public warning at Bow Street, it was, and it has, remained open to the Women's Social and Political Union, or to any other publisher, either in London or elsewhere, to print and publish the *Suffragette* newspaper provided that after its publication no incitement to the commission of crime or to the destruction of property was to be found in its columns. In the two cases in which proceedings have been taken they have been commenced after publication and after an examination of the contents of the two issues of the newspaper.

SUNDAY IN HYDE PARK

A Day of Contradictions

The Press and the police between them have done their best to persuade us that the public is thoroughly incensed against the advocates of woman suffrage. It would be interesting to learn why, in that case, the public in Hyde Park are Suffragist in their opinions on Sunday morning, and anti-Suffragist on Sunday afternoon?

The National Union's Meeting An immense body of police made a ring round the platform of the N.U.W.S.S., and prevented both the hooligans from reaching the lorry and the greater mass of the spectators from hearing the speakers.

The Real Fight

When the suffrage meetings to all appearances, were over for the afternoon the real fight for Free Speech began. For it was then that the purple, white, and green flag was raised by members of the W.S.P.U., who, unlike the other societies, have been refused platform, police protection, and all the other privileges of the open-air speaker in Hyde Park.

The Reason for it

The reason for all this is perfectly plain to any unbiased frequenter of Hyde Park at the present time. The pickpockets and other graceless allies of the Government lie abed of a Sunday morning, and the police, finding no one about except the ordinary public, who, as we have always maintained, are quite willing to give the suffrage speakers a hearing whether they agree with them or not, are driven back on their natural rôle of protector, and in the absence of anything striking to protect, play the part with great success.

The Encouragement of Disorder

Disorder was encouraged in the usual way last Sunday afternoon. The Men's League started their meeting at three o'clock, and having provided their own stewards this time (a precaution the threat of which had caused the police to turn up in more sufficient numbers than on the previous Sunday), they secured a fair hearing from a very large crowd, in which there was as usual a comparatively small section of howling and singing youths.

WELCOME TO "FREE SPEECH PRISONERS"

At the reception given in their honour at the Portman Rooms last Monday evening, both Miss Nina Boyle and Miss Anna Munro spoke of the great improvements that were noticeable in prison conditions at Holloway Gaol since Suffragists were first imprisoned there.

Miss Anna Munro contrasted her recent treatment with that in 1908, and said that Suffragists had effected a wonderful improvement. Now they kept their own clothes, the windows were clean and made to open, and the baths were as good as they could wish in their own homes.

Advertisement for Frederick Gorringe, Ltd. featuring 'Noteworthy VALUES In the Newest COATS & SKIRTS'. Includes illustrations of two women in coats and text describing 'OXTON' and 'HASTINGS' styles.

Table titled 'SUFFRAGISTS IN PRISON' listing names, when sentenced, and length of sentence for various individuals.

THE MANCHESTER PRISONERS Miss Evelyn Manesta, who was sentenced on April 23 to one month's imprisonment and an additional four months if she failed to find sureties for good behaviour.

THE CAT AND MOUSE BILL IN OPERATION Three women and one man—Miss Ella Stevenson, Miss Phyllis Brady, Miss Mill-cent Dean, and Mr. Hugh Franklin—who were released under the Cat and Mouse Act, are, we understand, still at large.

MISS MANNING'S FINEPA ID The following letter has been sent by Miss Geraldine Manning to the magistrate who fined her 20s. and 5s. compensation in the Dublin Police Court on May 8 for damaging a bust of Mr. John Redmond, and gave her a week in which to pay.

Sir Eustace Fitzmaurice Piers The following letter for Women Movement (and also the Fellowship, in which he was greatly interested) in and around Amersham, has sustained a deep loss in the death of Sir Eustace Fitzmaurice Piers, who passed away on May 10 at "Tristernagh," Cheam Bois.

ACTIONS FOR DAMAGES TO BE HEARD SHORTLY IN THE COURTS

Arising out of the broken windows of November, 1911 and March, 1912, two actions for damages are shortly to be tried in the Law Courts. In the first of these the defendants are Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Mrs. Tuke, who represents both herself and the members of the W.S.P.U.

Table titled 'FIRST CONSOLIDATED ACTION' listing names of plaintiffs, places, persons alleged to have broken windows, and amounts.

Table titled 'SECOND CONSOLIDATED ACTION' listing names of plaintiffs, places, names of persons alleged to have broken the windows, and amounts.

Main table listing actions for damages, including names of plaintiffs, dates, places, names of persons alleged to have broken the windows, and amounts of damages.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS.

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All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

MADAME ALICE GODFREY'S Dramatic Recital at Steinway Hall, Friday, May 30, at 8.15. Tickets, 2s., 3s., 5s. Steinway Hall, and of Madame Godfrey, 2, Crossfield Road, Hampstead.

TO PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATES. A good opening presents itself at Dover for an Independent Unionist Candidate in favour of Women's Suffrage.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

JOIN THE "LEAGUE OF JUSTICE." Programme of uncompromising militancy without violence or law-breaking to win the Vote and break up unjust monopolies. Particulars.—Hon. Organiser, 2, Lyndale, Hampstead, N.W.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE will hold a Public Meeting in Portman Rooms, Baker Street (entrance in Dorset Street) on Wednesday afternoon, May 23, at 3.30. Speakers: Mrs. Bracher on "Woman's Suffrage in New Zealand," and Miss Nina Boyle. The Chair will be taken by Mrs. Despard.

BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

BOARD-RESIDENCE for STUDENTS, visitors to London, and others; comfortable; moderate terms; central.—Miss Kibbey, 5, Guilford Street, Russell Square.

BRIGHTON.—A visit to "Sea-View," Victoria Road, the best tonic. Hostess, Miss Turner, W.S.P.U. Terms moderate. Outdoor sleeping accommodation if required. Nat. Tel., 1702.

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