

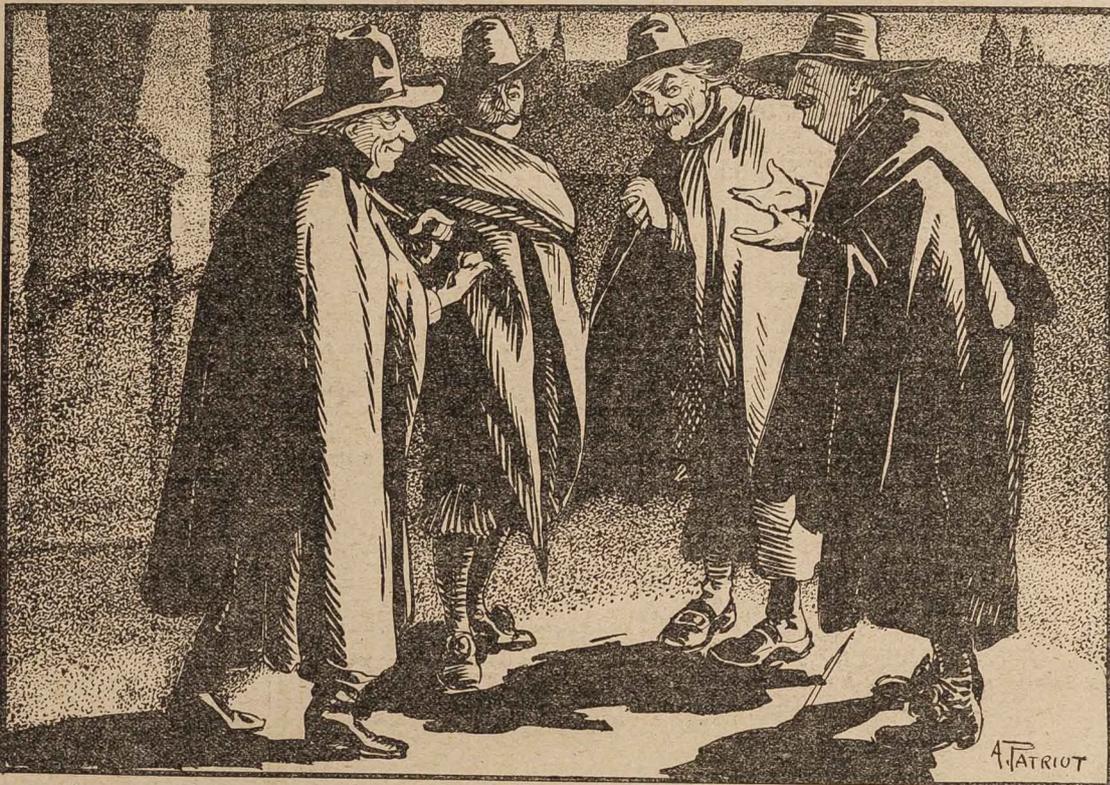
VOTES FOR WOMEN

VOL. V. (New Series), No. 219.

FRIDAY, MAY 17, 1912.

Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free) 11d.

"THE REAL CONSPIRATORS."



CHIEF CONSPIRATOR LL . . D G . . RGE: "Let's make a plot to destroy Votes for Women."
CONSPIRATOR ASQ . . TH: "All right. I'll invent a new Bill with nothing but men in it."
CONSPIRATOR L. G.: "And I'll tell everybody what a nice Bill yours will be when I've torpedoed the other nasty Bill that has nothing but women in it."
CONSPIRATOR R . DM . ND: "Sure, I'll get my boys to help you."
CONSPIRATOR H . BH . SE: "And I'll incite the women to burn a few palaces."
CHORUS OF CONSPIRATORS: "Then we can arrest THEM and say THEY are the CONSPIRATORS!"

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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.

The trial of the W.S.P.U. leaders, the record of which will live as one of the most important of historical and constitutional documents, has now begun. This trial can have no issue which is not a triumph for the leaders and all associated with them. That Lord Coleridge should be the judge in this case is particularly interesting, because of the fact that it was his father who, in 1868, with Dr. Pankhurst, appeared as counsel in the case of Chorlton v. Lings, and sought to establish that women were persons,

and as such entitled to the Parliamentary Vote. It was decided that women were not persons where the exercise of a public function is concerned, and it is upon that judicial decision (so amazing when taken in conjunction with the fact that a woman was then on the throne, exercising the highest of all public functions) that the present disfranchisement of women is based. Though very young at that time, the present Lord Coleridge must have noticed the momentous case of Chorlton v. Lings, and he is thus more fully informed than most men as to the beginning and long continuance of the Woman Suffrage agitation.

Sir Rufus Isaacs Justifies Violence.

That a member of the Government, Sir Rufus Isaacs, the Attorney-General, should appear as Counsel for the Prosecution is another very interesting circumstance. Curiously enough, Sir Rufus Isaacs' own words have many a time been used by W.S.P.U. speakers as a justification of Suffragist militancy, and a very complete and effective defence do they make; at any rate, from the moral and the political points of view. These are Sir Rufus Isaacs' words, uttered on April 22, 1910, during the campaign against the Lords' Veto. Referring to the orderly character of that agitation, he said:—

The days are past for rioting, and we do not need to have recourse to bloodshed or violence to carry on our schemes of progress and reform, because we have a fairly good franchise, which is an assurance that the will of the

people, in these democratic days, must prevail. Formerly, when the great mass of the people were voteless, they had to do something violent in order to show what they felt; to-day the elector's ballot is his ballot. Let no one be deceived, therefore, because in the present struggle everything is peaceful and orderly, in contrast to the disorderliness of other great struggles in the past.

Even we could not have stated the matter more convincingly than this. As Sir Rufus Isaacs so plainly shows, when the people, either men or women, are voteless, "they have to do something violent in order to show what they feel."

Government Responsibility.

Should the Leaders be found guilty and sentenced to a term of imprisonment, the judgment of the Court will not, of course, be accepted as final. The case being a political one, the Government have a special and direct responsibility with regard to it. Many are the conjectures as to what will be the outcome of the trial, and enlightenment is being sought by reference to two other recent trials of militants. The sailors who mutinied in order to call attention to what they regarded as a peril to the lives of themselves and all sea-farers have been convicted but discharged without punishment, the Court thereby marking its sense that the motives of the mutineers were innocent and even laudable, even though the act they committed was technically illegal. The other trial we have in mind is that of Mr. Tom Mann. He was charged with an offence of which the Government took an extremely serious view,

because, as they alleged, he had incited soldiers to act in a manner which would have crippled the authorities in maintaining order, and would have involved a death penalty for the soldiers themselves.

Mr. F. W. Pethick Lawrence.

On another page appears an account of the work and aims of Mr. Pethick Lawrence, who, with his wife, is joint founder and editor of this paper.

Comrade—Not Dictator.

A great many men are prepared to endorse the principle of Women Suffrage. To do so is now a mark of intellectual distinction. Positively it requires courage to be an Anti-Suffragist in these days.

The Case of Miss Malecka.

Great feeling has been shown, and especially in the Press, over the iniquitous sentence passed on Miss Malecka, a British subject in Russia.

An Amendment to the Home Rule Bill.

Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Philip Snowden, and others have announced their intention of moving an amendment to the Home Rule Bill, which would make the Local Government Register, instead of the Parliamentary Register, operative for the purpose of electing the Irish Parliament.

Incitement to Armed Rebellion.

We must again draw attention to the Government's amazing complacency in face of the warlike preparations which Ulster is making to resist the establishment of Home Rule.

Industrial Unrest.

Industrial unrest is the question of the hour. The Cabinet have set themselves to enquire into its cause. As enfranchised working men cannot be kept quiet by force and coercion, the cause of their discontent is being searched for.

The Liberal "Debt of Honour."

"The oldest debt of honour of the Liberal party" was a phrase used by Mrs. Aquith, presiding, last Tuesday, over the annual Conference of the Women's Liberal Association.

The Original Suffrage Bill.

On Tuesday next, May 21, Mr. Lansbury will introduce, under the ten-minute rule, the Sex Disqualification Removal Bill.

Liberal Excuses.

Of course, just as they invented excuses for voting against the Conciliation Bill, certain professing Suffragists will find excuses for voting against Mr. Lansbury's Bill.

that the Government have announced the abolition of Plural Voting, which would render this impossible. They will also talk of the working women being voteless under the Bill, quite forgetting that the Reform Bill, according to their own declarations, is to establish a democratic franchise which, if the sex disability were removed, would enfranchise the working woman just as much as it would enfranchise the working man.

Freedom of Turkish Women.

We are delighted to publish in another column the answer of the correspondent of the Daily Chronicle to Miss Dodd's criticism of his story of the persecution of the Turkish women, inserted in our issue of May 3.

A Whitewashing Report.

The White Paper just issued, dealing with Sir George Savage's Report on the case of Mr. William Ball, is the usual whitewashing document we have learnt to expect when the Home Office is forced to grant an enquiry into the prison treatment of Suffragists.



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MISS HORNIMAN.

One does not need to see Miss Horniman to be persuaded that, as she says, it is "idiotic" that she hasn't got a vote; it is enough to know of her splendid services to the stage, and of her pioneer work in establishing the first completely successful Repertory Theatre in this country.

The artistic and leisurely calm of Miss Horniman's surroundings, and her quiet hospitality to one of a long succession of interviewers were alike characteristic of a person whose life is too busy even for "week-ends."

"Ah, no," she said, "but thereby hangs a tale. I am an M.A. of Manchester—Honoris Causa for services rendered to the Drama. That was conferred on me two years ago, and I am very proud of it."

M. E. M.



MISS HORNIMAN, M.A. OF MANCHESTER; Honoris Causa, for Services rendered to the Drama.

TREASURER'S NOTE.

The solidarity of women all over the world becomes every day a more firmly substantiated fact. The W.S.P.U. in British Columbia, the first branch to be founded outside Great Britain, has sent to headquarters a contribution of forty dollars (£5) as a token of "grateful loyalty."

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £250,000 FUND.

April 2 to April 10.

Table listing names and amounts contributed to the £250,000 fund, including entries like 'Miss F. E. Gardner', 'Miss Annie Briggs', 'Miss Grace Knight', etc.

THE CONSPIRACY TRIAL AT THE OLD BAILEY.

ABSTRACT OF INDICTMENT.

Re v. Emmeline Pankhurst, Frederick William Pethick Lawrence, Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, and Christabel Pankhurst.

- COUNT 1. Charges Defendants between 1st October 1911 and 21st November 1911 with conspiring together and with A. B. Hambling and Jennie Baines to solicit and incite women members of The Women's Social and Political Union and others to wit Sarah Bennett, Olive Wharry, Isabel Potbury, Edith Slade, Grace Stewart, Frances Rowe, Violet Jones, Lelegarde Atheling, Georgina Helen Grant, Evelyn Taylor, Ellen A. Archdale, Eileen Connor, Smith, Lilian Ball, and Violet Hudson Harrey to unlawfully and maliciously commit in and upon property to wit plate glass windows of shops and premises occupied by divers shopkeepers and traders which fronted and abutted on public streets in the City of Westminster and elsewhere in the County of London damage injury and spoil to the amount of £5 and upwards.

Old Bailey, Wednesday morning. The trial, for alleged conspiracy, of Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence began at the Central Criminal Court today before Mr. Justice Coleridge and a jury. The summary of the indictment is given above.

The Scene Outside.

Public interest in the trial was, of course, aroused to a very considerable degree, and, as was the case a fortnight ago, when it was expected that the trial would take place, people interested began to take up their positions outside the Old Bailey in the hope of securing good seats at quite an early hour. Most of them were adherents to the cause, naturally. Colour was given to the scene outside by the white dresses and sunshades of the women who were selling copies of Votes for Women. The gates of the Court were opened shortly after nine o'clock, and ladies were admitted on giving their names to the officers on duty, who had been supplied with a list by the Mrs. Pankhurst, looking considerably better in health than on the last occasion, arrived at a quarter past ten, accompanied by friends. Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence arrived shortly afterwards.

Inside the Court.

At 10.15 the gallery and the seats behind Counsel and at the back of the court were well filled. By the time that the court sat, the seats allotted to barristers were full, and two or three members of the bar were sitting in wig and gown on the floor at the foot of the dock. In the well of the court there were sitting many of the witnesses who had given evidence in the Suffragist trials at Newington Quarter Sessions. The Attorney-General, who conducts the prosecution, was accom-

panied by Sir Charles Matthews, the Director of Public Prosecutions. Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. Pethick Lawrence defend themselves; but Mrs. Lawrence is represented by Mr. Tim Healy, K.C., and Mr. Muir.

Mr. Justice Coleridge entered punctually, preceded by the Lord Mayor, and accompanied by Judge Rentoul and several Sheriffs. The defendants, in clear and emphatic tones, pleaded not guilty. They were informed that their indictment consisted of fifty-four counts, but the clerk of the court did not venture to read the counts at length, either to them or to the jury.

Juror Excused.

An unusual incident occurred whilst the jury were being sworn. One prospective jurymen, afterwards known to be Mr. T. E. Gatehouse, rose when the Testament was handed to him, and made the following statement: I should like to say that I believe there is in Court Dr. Ethel Smyth, a well-known Suffragist, and also a well-known composer of music. Dr. Ethel Smyth knows me well, for I have led the performance of the overture to her opera called 'The Wreckers.' Although I repudiate, of course, everything that the prisoners have done, I do not know whether you think I am a fit and proper person to act as jurymen.

Mr. Justice Coleridge: If you have any feeling in the matter, we will get somebody else. Mr. Gatehouse: I think perhaps it would be better, if I think the Attorney-General knows me well, and he will bear out my suggestion.

Mr. Gatehouse then left the bar, and his place was filled by a juror-in-waiting.

Case for the Prosecution.

Briefly summarised, the case for the prosecution as stated by the Attorney-General was as follows:

The charges against the defendants consisted in the main of charges of conspiracy to commit offences against the law. There was no complication of law; the facts, if made out, clearly amounted to a charge of conspiracy in common law. The defendants combined with themselves and others to commit and to incite others to commit offences against the law. Miss Christabel Pankhurst had not surrendered, but she had taken a prominent part, and much would therefore be heard about her in the course of the proceedings.

"For the purpose of this case the political question is irrelevant," said Sir Rufus Isaacs. "I ask you to discard any view you have on this important political issue." Proceeding, he went on to describe the organisation of the W.S.P.U., of which the defendants were the leaders. It had been in existence since 1907, and had used what was no complicity of law; the facts, if made out, clearly amounted to a charge of conspiracy in common law. The defendants combined with themselves and others to commit and to incite others to commit offences against the law. Miss Christabel Pankhurst had not surrendered, but she had taken a prominent part, and much would therefore be heard about her in the course of the proceedings.

After explaining the various positions held by the defendants in the organisation of the W.S.P.U. the Attorney-General proceeded to say that the banking account always seemed to have been full, money

had always been obtained without difficulty. There were several accounts. Until recently Mr. Lawrence alone could draw from the meetings account and the Votes for Women account. He was obviously the financial and business manager of the paper, as well as joint editor with Mrs. Lawrence. "This paper," added the Attorney-General, "plays a very important part in this conspiracy." There was also a secret code, which was very significant as showing that law-breaking was contemplated.

The case could be divided into two periods, finishing respectively in November, 1911, and March, 1912. In each the same kind of events and the same kind of incidents would be found. On November 15 Mrs. Lawrence sent out a circular asking members to put aside all other considerations and to join the protest, and inflammatory speeches were made by Mrs. Lawrence and Miss Christabel Pankhurst. Final instructions were issued from the Association, which showed that contempt and imprisonment were contemplated. "It is impossible to say that there was no intention to break the law; indeed, the next morning, in accordance with the promise of the circular, Mr. Pethick Lawrence attended and bailed out 175 of the 219 women arrested. Details as to window-breaking then followed, and more references were made to meetings of the W.S.P.U. held at the Savoy Theatre and London Pavilion, and extracts from speeches made by Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and by Miss Christabel Pankhurst were read. At another meeting Mr. Lawrence said that the present situation was as much the fault of the private as of the public, and that the only way to damage their property. These meetings, and others that followed, were held for

the purpose of working up members for the coming protest. On February 20 the circular sent out by Mrs. Pankhurst directed those who were going to take part in the demonstration to go to Clifford's Inn for instructions. In a letter from Mrs. Pankhurst to Dr. Ethel Smyth was to be found the first mention of the "smaller campaign" of March 1, at which £1,200 of damage was done. Mrs. Pankhurst broke a window in Downing Street, and Mr. Lawrence bailed out those who were arrested. On March 4, the day of the great demonstration, some fifty women came to 4, Clement's Inn in the morning, doubtless in connection with the "Hospitality Department." In the afternoon there was a meeting at the Pavilion Theatre, at which Mrs. Lawrence and Miss Christabel Pankhurst spoke, expressing their readiness for imprisonment. After the meeting many of those present were followed to the Gardenia Restaurant, which was taken for that day. Admission was by ticket; they received their weapons there, and then distributed themselves in the streets. At a moment evidently pre-arranged they broke their selected windows. In the sixteen cases alone, of which evidence would be given, £800 of damage was done. The Attorney-General concluded with the words, "You will not be surprised when you hear that the drastic action was taken by the authorities, that the defendants were arrested, that papers were seized at the office, and that they stand here on their trial before you to-day."

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S SPEECH.

Gentlemen of the jury, you have heard from the recital of the offences with which these three defendants are charged that they conspired in the main, and broadly speaking, of charges of conspiracy to commit offences against the law, and of inciting and soliciting persons both to conspire with them and also to commit offences against the law. I do not think that you will have, if you give your respect, my lord, to deal to any extent with any complication of law. The facts which will be presented to you, if made out, if established to your satisfaction, will make a clear case of conspiracy in common law as understood by lawyers. Quite shortly stated, it amounts to this, that what the defendants are charged with is that they have combined with themselves and others for the purpose of committing unlawful offences, for the purpose of inciting other persons to commit offences against the law. These offences are stated and plainly stated, without reference to the legal phraseology in which these indictments are couched, the offences with which these defendants are charged.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst.

You will have noticed that there were only three persons in the dock. There is Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and there is also Miss Christabel Pankhurst charged in the indictment, who has not surrendered; and with regard to whom therefore in this case, although she is not at present on her trial before you, I am in a position to say that she is a prominent person taking a very active part in this conspiracy with the other three defendants, who are present and who are being tried before you, you will have heard much, gentlemen, and I will let me say at the outset to you that whatever your individual views may be upon the political issue, which is not the slightest degree involved in this case, but which I am afraid will be referred to many times during the course of this trial, whether you are enthusiastic supporters of what is called the Woman's Suffrage Movement, or whether you are most zealous opponents of it, it is quite immaterial for the purpose of this case. I am anxious to impress upon you from the moment that we begin to deal with the facts of this case that I am afraid to account to a woman is entitled to the Parliamentary franchise, whether she is entitled to the fullest Parliamentary franchise, whether she should have the same right of franchise as a man, are questions which are in no sense involved in the trial of this issue, and your individual views upon these matters are, as I have said, quite irrelevant and quite immaterial. Therefore I will ask you to discard altogether from the consideration of the matters which will be placed before you any view which you may have upon this no doubt very important political issue. During the course of the case I am afraid it will be impossible to keep out of it various references to political events. I shall trouble you very, very slightly with reference to these, and merely state the events in order that you may follow references that will be made either in speeches or in articles of a newspaper to which I shall have to call attention later; and it is only in that respect that I shall ask your attention to the various events which are referred to in the course of this investigation. It is necessary that I should tell you a little— and it will be made by the defendant, who set out, as I propose to prove by evidence, with the avowed object of destroying the property of perfectly innocent tradesmen, in order that they might get their own way, and in their own way "bring the Government to its knees."

A New Phase.

As I have said, the law allows the fullest latitude to political movements in this country, but it is a new phase for an association, either to be formed, or, when formed, to carry out a campaign of attacking the private property of perfectly

give you in a little more detail in opening, the campaign was started by the defendants who are now in the dock, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst—not only by them, but by them in conjunction with others—but by them as the ringleaders, as the persons who had the directing mind, as you will see throughout the case. I am sure that will not be disputed by them as the chiefs of this movement. You will find that this organisation, having been in existence for a long time, since 1906, is sufficiently near for the purpose of this case—had conducted at various times what are called militant methods. There are, no doubt, you are not alone aware, many associations in this country for the purpose of promoting the women's franchise movement.

Here, every person is free—quite free—to express any political opinions he may hold—publicly, in writing, by word of mouth, at meetings, by circulars, in any form which the person may choose—provided that in expressing those opinions there is no breach of the law, and there is no definite incitement. This Association—the Women's Social and Political Union—in 1911, became very annoyed with the Prime Minister of this country, because, although this Union and other associations had been advocating the grant of the Parliamentary franchise to women, it had not been made a matter which was put forward by the Government of the country. It was only one of those matters on which individual members of the Government were entitled to express their opinions. On November 7, 1911, the announcement was made by the Prime Minister that he intended to introduce a Bill for the granting of Manhood Suffrage, based upon a residential qualification, and that when that Bill was introduced it would be in such a form that a Government could propose an amendment granting the franchise to women on the same terms as to men. I avoid any discussion of, or any further reference to, that I avoid dilating upon the advantage that had been gained by the women's suffrage movement by that announcement of the Prime Minister, as it has really no relevance to the matter we are discussing, and it is not necessary for the Government to set to work to carry out a campaign which, if it had succeeded—and it has not succeeded—would have meant nothing less than anarchy. I do not say that it was their definite object, when they desired to do, what they said they wished to do—I refer to their own language—that they wished to do was to stagger humanity, to bring about a blow to the Government by such a procession to Westminster, and by breaking so many windows that they could afford to snap their fingers at the police and at the Government," by bringing citizens to their senses by destroying their property."

unoffending, innocent persons, getting their living in the public thoroughfares of Westminster or in the City for the sole purpose, apparently, of making the Government "give in" on some political question.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence.

There is the less excuse, I venture to think, for the male defendant, Mr. Pethick Lawrence, who is a member of my own profession, and who at least, one would have thought, would have done his best not to promote disorder, not to create violence, not to stir people up, and very often innocent people, who have had no intention of committing any offences which have brought them into conflict with the police. Mr. Pethick Lawrence, you will bear from the evidence, has taken a most prominent part. It is a little difficult, in dealing with Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, to say which of them was the most prominent part; but it is sufficient if I say this, that you will find in every step that has been taken that they are ringleaders of this movement. Now Mrs. Pankhurst occupies the position of founder and hon. secretary of the Women's Social and Political Union. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence is the honorary treasurer, Miss Christabel Pankhurst was the organising secretary, and Mr. Lawrence has his chambers in the same building, for which he pays £270 per annum. The banking account of the Union is a very important matter, and as you will find in this case, supplying the money for this Association, somehow, not necessary to enquire how. The Association found so many subscribers that its banking account always seemed to have been very full, and with large sums to its credit. So far as I am able to judge from material that will be before you, there never seems to have been any difficulty in obtaining the money required to carry out their campaign. The persons who were authorized to draw on the account were Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Tuks, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, the checks were signed either with Mr. or Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's signature. There were also other accounts at the bank—a meetings account, which obviously is for the purpose of financing the various meetings held throughout the country. Mr. Pethick Lawrence was alone, until recently, authorized to draw the money, and, as you will find in this case, he was the sole editor of Votes for Women. The tenancy of the premises on which that paper was published was in the name of Mr. Pethick Lawrence. The contract of the printing was in his name, and the advertisements and details were carried out by him not only in his position as editor, but obviously in his position as financial and business manager of this paper. This paper, Votes for Women, plays a very important part in this conspiracy.

The Secret Codes.

No doubt, it is very useful if you are desirous of carrying on a campaign of this character throughout the country to have a newspaper, which shall be circulated broadcast, and which will contain articles advocating a course of action, whatever it may be. Besides that, there are a number of departments—I am not going into detail, but it is necessary that I should indicate that this Union consisted of a number of departments. We know from documents which were found there, who were the particular persons who had charge of the departments. There was also, as you would expect to find when a conspiracy of this character is being carried on, a series of secret codes which were used by those in the inner ring, those at any rate with whom it is necessary to communicate. Apparently there is a code which is very significant, because it shows you that it was prepared with the knowledge that it would have to be used by persons who were rendering themselves liable to arrest in connection with the Women's Social and Political Union. The word "Fox" in the code stands for "Are you prepared for arrest?" The word "Foxes" "How many are prepared for arrest?" The word "Goose," "Don't get arrested." Then the word "Duck," "Don't get arrested unless success depends upon it." And besides that—I am only giving you some of the passages—there is a code for the Cabinet, giving the names which are used for various members of the Cabinet. There is, again, a code for the various persons who are the chief persons in this organisation of the Women's Social and Political Union. Mrs. Pankhurst is the letter "M." Mrs. Lawrence is the letter "D." There is a code for places also. Downing Street figuring prominently, and the House of Commons, Whitehall, St. James's Park, and the various public stations in London, codes for meetings that were to be held, and, indeed, very elaborately prepared codes for the purpose of enabling them to communicate secretly, either by telegraph or letter, or even by message.

Now, in November of 1911, with this organisation in this state of perfection, the first thing we see in this case is a circular of November 15, 1911, and this is a circular from Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and I ought to tell you that, at the time

I am now dealing with, Mrs. Pankhurst was in America. Just before I read this, may I say this, so that you will follow more clearly the case which I am presenting to you; it divides itself into two periods. The first period is that which finishes on November 22. It culminated in a riot and a series of window-pane breaking incidents on November 21, 1911. It began with a meeting in Caxton Hall, with a march to Parliament Street, with the breaking of windows in the West End thereafter. The second is a series of incidents leading up to similar action on March 1 and 4, 1912—a period, therefore, which extends from November 23, 1911, to, let us say, March 5, 1912.

In each of these periods you will find the same kind of events happening, the same kind of incitement, the same kind of action taken by the defendants. I am now about to read to you some of the documents upon which we rely, as showing these unlawful acts, leading up to the November 21 riot, and I have just referred to. I would just say this to you, although I may have to read more documents than perhaps one likes in opening a case, it has this advantage, that many of them will not have to be read to you again, and that the documents I am relying upon on behalf of the Crown in this case are documents which emanate from the defendants. There are circulars of the character to which I am now referring, and there are speeches in Votes for Women. I could confine the case absolutely and entirely to the defendants' own statements, and substantially you will find that it is upon that evidence we shall rest the case. But there are other incidents which have to be given in evidence before you in order that you may understand the acts which were actually done on the two days which I called attention to, November 21 and March 4. Now I will go back to the beginning of the documents and deal with the one dated November 15. You will remember that I told you the Prime Minister made his announcement on November 7. This is Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's letter—

4, CLEMENT'S INN.

November 15, 1911.

My dear Colleague in the Women's Movement,

We have come to a very grave crisis. The Government now propose to exploit our long national struggle for political freedom in order to give votes to men. Hundreds of women have already volunteered to take, on Tuesday next, November 21, such action as may be necessary to protest against this outrage on the honour of women. . . . I call upon you to join us.

I doubt very much whether now-days, and educated as we have been recently, we want much explanation of what a protest of this character was intended to be. I cannot judge your strictures with the same details were carried out by him not only in his position as editor, but obviously in his position as financial and business manager of this paper. This paper, Votes for Women, plays a very important part in this conspiracy.

You observe from that that a register was kept of those who volunteered for active service in this army. On November 10 there was a meeting of this organisation at the Albert Hall, and I will read some speeches to you, because it will give you a very good sample of the kind of speeches which were made at these meetings, of the kind of incitement they resorted to, and the encouragement to persons who attended at these meetings to enlist for active service, and to volunteer to do these acts which were to be the protest relied upon at the Albert Hall, and I will read some of the speeches which were read there. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence begins:

Ladies and gentlemen, I have first to read to you a telegram from Mrs. Pankhurst (who was then in America), who is today in Minneapolis. She sends this message: "I share your indignation against the Government's insult to women, and am ready to render the fight. Shall return with practical help from America."

That was received, as you might expect, with loud cheers. Later on Mrs. Pethick Lawrence says: After a long period of truce with the Government, we meet to-night, an united army, on the eve of the election, which is today in Minneapolis. We have broken the terms of peace, and because the Government has broken the terms of peace, and the announcement of the Government of the intention to bring in a Manhood Suffrage Bill is a declaration of war on the womanhood of the country. I do not propose to read the whole of it, but if there is any portion my learned friend, Mr. Healy, would like me to read in passing, I will do so. I am selecting passages which bear upon the question you are now dealing with. The speeches are naturally long—I am afraid speeches are wont to be long.

(Continued on page 524.)

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A SIGNIFICANT PAMPHLET.

Political Recognition in Prison.

A considerable service has been rendered to his generation by Mr. W. Lyon Blease in his pamphlet, "Concerning the Status of Political Prisoners," which has just been published by the National Political Reform League (price 3d.). In it he takes a broad view of what he rightly calls "the very serious problem" involved in the Government's treatment of Suffragist prisoners, pointing out that "political wisdom as well as humanity" calls for a distinction to be drawn between the political offender and the ordinary criminal. Everything that Mr. Blease says in condemnation of the Home Secretary's way of approaching this problem comes with double force from one who describes himself as being "in general matters" a supporter of the present Government, and as not being in entire agreement with the militant form of agitation.

The writer begins by boldly tackling the knotty question—"What is a political offender?" He answers it admirably as follows—

It seems reasonable to claim that it includes any person who breaks the law, not out of a general hostility towards society, but out of some desire to improve its constitution. The difference between a man who breaks a law because he wishes to draw public attention to some obnoxious Act of Parliament, and the man who breaks it because he has some grudge against the owner, or because he wants to steal the goods behind it, is obvious. The act may be equally unwise, equally dangerous, equally detrimental to the owner of the window. But as regards the psychology of the man who breaks it, that is to say, the morality or immorality of his action, there is a vast difference. The one wishes first and last to injure; the other wishes ultimately to do good. It is this psychological difference to which the statesman, if not the lawyer, must always pay attention.

In this passage we have the gist of the whole matter:—the psychological difference between the political and the criminal offender, and the responsibility of the statesman, as apart from the judge or magistrate, for recognising this difference or refusing to recognise it.

The writer then goes on to divide the reasons for the political treatment of Suffragists into two classes, proving his point (1) on the grounds of expediency; and (2) on those of justice. Whereas punishment may, in the case of a criminal, be a deterrent, in the case of the Suffragist, "it can be nothing but a provocation," and will, in fact, only excite that very habit of mind which caused the original offence. As to the rightness of his case, Mr. Blease has plenty of historical precedents to bring forward, and quotes, as we have frequently quoted in these columns, from the speeches of Lord Morley, Gladstone, &c., besides alluding to the Jameson Raiders. He then brings his parallel up to date by quoting against Mr. McKenna not only the new Prison Rule 243a, made by his predecessor, Mr. Churchill, but also his own action with regard to the prison treatment of Suffragists last December, and proceeds in forcible language to tell the story, already so well known to our readers, of the recent repressive measures adopted by the Home Office, and of the Hunger Strike that nevertheless won, because "pedantry and dullness were conquered by devotion."

"The whole atmosphere of Suffragist imprisonments," says Mr. Blease, "is one of official solidarity in the face of an unpopular series of accusations"; and no militant Suffragist will quarrel with his conclusion that it is because the women "use the political means of bringing Ministers to account" that they "are treated with a contempt which would not be tolerated in the case of men." In conclusion, the writer calls upon the Government to recognise the political character of the militant Suffrage agitation, to abolish once and for all "the atrocious process of forcible feeding," and to make public instead of private inquiry into the charges brought by Suffragists against prison officials. Everyone who cares for the British tradition of justice and wise statesmanship, should read and spread this pamphlet broadcast.

A NEW SUFFRAGE PAPER.

We understand that yet another Suffrage paper is to make its appearance. "The Eye-Opener," the first number of which is to be published on June 1, will be the organ of the Men's Society for Women's Rights, and it will deal with some of the terrible evils which it will be the aim of enfranchised women to attack. The paper should be ordered from Mr. A. W. G. Jamrach, 141, St. Stephen's House, Westminster. The price is one penny weekly.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"The Veritable Mirror of Destiny." By I. Hearne. (London: David Nutt. Price 6d. net.)
 "Our Future Existence." By Fred G. Shaw, F.G.S. (London: Stanley Paul and Co. Price 10s. 6d. net.)
 "London's Underworld." By Thomas Holmes. (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd. Price 7s. 6d. net.)
 "The Church Quarterly Review." April. (London: Spottiswoode and Co. Price 3s. net.)
 "The Shoreless Sea." By Sybil Campbell Lethbridge. (London: Holden and Hardingham. Price 6s.)
 "Herself." By Ethel Sidgwick. (London: Sidgwick and Jackson. Price 6s.)
 "The Cheerful Way." By Lady Doughty. (London: Adam and Charles Black. Price 2s. 6d. net.)
 "L'Evolution." By M. L. Almeras. (Paris: Librairie Academique Perrin et Cie. Price 3fr. 60.)
 "Physical Force and Democracy." By Maude Royden. (London: The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. Price 2d.)

The name of the publisher and the price of "The Autobiography of a Working Woman," by Adelheid Popp, reviewed in last week's VOTES FOR WOMEN, were inadvertently omitted. It is published by T. Fisher Unwin, price 3s. 6d. net.
 The price of "A Book of Noble Women" is 7s. 6d. net. (not 10s. 6d.).

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PRISON (POLITICAL OFFENCES) BILL, 1912.

(For a Report of the First Reading see p. 526.)

Whereas it is expedient to amend the law relating to the imprisonment of persons convicted of political offences: Be it enacted . . . as follows:—

1. The Prison Commissioners shall see that any prisoner under sentence inflicted on conviction solely for an offence of a political character, shall be treated as a misdemeanant of the first division, notwithstanding any statute, provision or rule to the contrary.
2. The words "offence of a political character" shall have the like meaning as they have in section three of the Extradition Act 1870. The words "misdemeanant of the first division" shall have the like meaning as they have in section sixty-seven of the Prison Act 1895.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Our Readers, especially members of the W.S.P.U., are again reminded that all communications intended for the W.S.P.U. should, in the absence of Mrs. Tuke, be addressed to Miss Kerr, Secretary (pro tem.), W.S.P.U. Offices, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

Prisoners' Secretary.

All enquiries with regard to prisoners should be addressed to Miss Olive Smith, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

Paper Sellers.

The general public knows that the Leaders of the Union are being tried on a charge of Conspiracy, but it does not know the history of this charge, nor what caused led up to it. The public have only to understand and they will sympathise, for the women's cause is just, and will always win its way. It is therefore of the highest importance to this movement that the paper, VOTES FOR WOMEN, which will contain a full account of the Trial, should be sold all over the country. In London a special scheme for selling has been organised, and to make this a success members and their friends must come forward and give what time they can spare. Remember that this is the urgent call of the moment, and that response must be wide and immediate. Volunteers are especially wanted to give extra time for selling in the City and the West End. Names should be sent to Miss Helen Craggs, The Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C.

Royal Albert Hall, Saturday, June 15.

A Suffrage Demonstration at the Albert Hall in the month of June has been almost an annual feature in recent years, but never before has its success depended so entirely upon the rank and file as it will in the case of the great Albert Hall meeting to be held on Saturday, June 15, 1912. It is not enough to determine to be present oneself: each member must make herself individually responsible for others. Nor must the matter be put off: June 15 is very near now—only four weeks ahead! Members are reminded that only through them can tickets be obtained. Miss Cooke, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, W.C., will gladly supply tickets at the following prices:—Amphitheatre stalls, 2s. 6d.; arena, 1s.; balcony, first four rows, 1s., remainder 6d.; upper orchestra, 6d. (all numbered and reserved). Boxes, to hold ten, £1 10s.; to hold eight, £1 1s.; to hold five, 12s. 6d., may be had through members.

Miss Hambling makes an urgent appeal for stewards. Only members are eligible, and they must be at the Hall not later than 6 p.m.

London Meetings

Visitors to the London Pavilion, Piccadilly Circus, on Monday next, May 20, at 3.15 p.m., will have the pleasure of hearing the Rev. Hugh Chapman, Chaplain of the Royal Chapel of the Savoy, speak on the religious aspect of the Woman's Movement. Mrs. Brailsford will also speak, and the chair will be taken by Mrs. Menseel. The usual meeting at the Steinway Hall on Thursday evening, May 23, at 8 p.m., will be addressed by Miss Annie Kenney and Miss Marie Naylor. These meetings are held weekly, and admission is free. Similar meetings are held in all centres where the Union is represented.

The Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C.

A new pamphlet of particular interest just now is that "Concerning the Status of Political Prisoners," by W. Lyon Blease, reviewed on p. 518. It may be obtained at the Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C., price 2d.

IN MEMORIAM.

From time to time we have sadly to record in VOTES FOR WOMEN the passing from us of one or other of our comrades. Those who have been connected with the Women's Social and Political Union from the beginning will remember that one of the keenest workers in the early days was Miss Rose Lightman, who did woman service, especially by asking questions at meetings addressed by members of the Government. This brave champion passed away last Wednesday, May 8, "A. M. C.," who knew her as secretary of the New Constitutional Society, writes: "She may be said to have died in harness, for she worked with heroic endurance, not letting others know how seriously her health was impaired, until struck down by the illness which proved fatal. Those who saw her at a Tuesday 'At Home' at the office, full of life and brightness, and again a few days later on her sickbed, could painfully realise the extent of her courage and devotion, and what she must have suffered whilst she spent herself in the work. Her motto was 'All for the Cause,' and her fearless and self-sacrificing spirit is worthy to take a place amongst an ever-increasing hierarchy of brave souls who have passed out of the fight, but whose remembrance will remain as an inspiration to those who are working to raise the position of women." The sympathy of all will go out to Miss Lightman's relatives, and especially to her sisters, who are among the Union's most devoted workers.

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The Editors cannot hold themselves in any way responsible for the return of unused manuscripts, though they will endeavour as far as possible to return them when requested if stamps for postage are enclosed.

Subscriptions to the Paper should be sent to The Publisher VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

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The paper can be obtained from all newsagents and book-stalls.

For quotations for Advertisements, apply to the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

London Society of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 58, Victoria Street, S.W. Non-Party. Non-Militant.

PUBLIC RECEPTION

Tuesday, May 7,

EMPRESS ROOMS, KENSINGTON (High Street Station), 3.30 to 6.15 p.m. Chair: Mrs. Theodore Williams. SPEAKERS—Mrs. F. SWABWICK, M.A., Editor of "The Common Cause," and Mr. F. CHOMELBY, M.A. Auctioneers, Sale of Oriental Cloths and Antiques.

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VOTES FOR WOMEN

4, CLEMENT'S INN, STRAND.

FRIDAY, MAY 17, 1912

POLITICAL PRISONERS.

The Women's Social and Political Union demands that Suffragist prisoners be placed in the first division in order that they may enjoy the privileges due to them as political offenders, and in order that the difference of status between themselves and ordinary criminals may have definite recognition. In International conflict prisoners of war are treated with the utmost respect, and no more restraint is imposed upon them than is necessary to keep them out of action. Precisely the same rule should apply in political conflicts, and prisoners of civil war should be treated with similar courtesy and consideration. The Government's refusal to act upon this principle of civilised warfare in dealing with their political opponents puts them outside the pale of well-bred and cultivated humanity.

They attempt to excuse themselves by saying that the offences charged against Suffragists are not political. This display of what is either ignorance or untruthfulness is disgraceful. If they really do not know what a political offence is we will tell them. It is an offence which is committed with a political motive, and is incidental to and forms part of a political disturbance. The character of the act has nothing whatever to do with the question of whether it is political. The motive which prompted it and the circumstances under which it was committed are the sole factors to be taken into consideration. Thus murder at one end of the scale and stone-throwing at the other are both political offences if done with intent to secure political reform. If they are done to promote private and selfish ends, they are ordinary crimes. Thus a Swiss who had shot a member of the Swiss Government during a political rising took refuge in this country, was given shelter here, and his extradition was refused when asked for by the Swiss Government, because, according to English law, his offence was political. If he had murdered his employer in order to rob the till he would have been an ordinary criminal, and would have been extradited. Similarly, if a thief, in order to steal the goods behind it, breaks a shop window, he is an ordinary criminal; but if for the purpose of demonstrating and protesting against political injustice, voteless men break windows, as in the time of the Reform riots, or voteless women break windows as in last November and last March, then they are political offenders.

We have found that an appeal to principle counts for nothing with a Liberal Government, and therefore we are careful to reinforce our demand for the proper treatment of political prisoners by bringing to bear the weight of precedent.

Many years ago, O'Connell and other Irish agitators were in gaol. Sir Charles Gavan Duffy relates how well and honourably they fared in prison, the society of family and friends being permitted to them as well as every facility for performing literary work.

We turn now to more modern instances. The Jameson Raiders, whose offence, as all Liberals will admit, was more serious by far than window-breaking, enjoyed full political privileges. The judge had sentenced them as ordinary criminals, but as the Times of that day reported:

Contrary to the general understanding and expectation in view of the terms of the sentences passed by the Lord Chief Justice, Dr. Jameson and his fellow prisoners were not dealt with as ordinary prisoners on their arrival at Holloway prison on Tuesday night, but, in accordance with a telegraphic instruction received from the Home Secretary, were placed in the apartments reserved for first class madame-camans, and they will be treated as such. This means that they will be allowed to wear their own clothes, may be visited by their friends, will be allowed to write and receive letters, will be spared the indignity of having to do various menial offices, and will also have their meals sent in from outside the gaol, in accordance with the usual prison regulations.

In a leading article the Times said that the Home Secretary's action had given him a claim upon public gratitude, and had given expression and effect to an all but universal sentiment. The Times further declared that the common sense of the public at large drew a broad distinction between the offence of Dr. Jameson and that of "the vulgar law-breaker who seeks his own enrichment and the satisfaction of his private vices." This broad distinction certainly exists as between the offences of vulgar law-breakers on the one hand, and of Suffragettes on the other. A feeble and ignorant attempt has been made to show some essential difference between the Jameson Raid, with its attendant attack upon life and property, and window-breaking, and to prove that the one act was political, whereas the other is not. But as we have shown, it is the motive prompting the act, and not the character of the act which determines whether it is political or not.

Let us turn to another case which presents an even closer parallel to that of Suffragists charged with window-breaking, and with inciting to window-breaking. It is the case of Mr. Ginnell, the man responsible for the policy of cattle-driving. Cattle-driving is an offence which is certainly no more political than window-breaking. Yet we find that Mr. Ginnell had the privileges of a political prisoner. Every day he had several visits from friends, and was actually interviewed by a newspaper representative, the account of the interview appearing in the Press the following day. He had every possible privilege in the matter of food, and he tells that one of his friends placed an order with a wine merchant to supply him with as much champagne as he could drink. More important than all, he was allowed, while in prison, to write a book in defence of the very action for which he was imprisoned, and this book was afterwards published.

We will point to yet another case, more likely still to carry conviction to the minds of those who have hitherto failed to understand the claims of Suffragist prisoners. It is the case of the late Mr. W. T. Stead. He was charged with an offence by no means political if viewed apart from the motive which lay behind. The offence alleged against him was that he had feloniously, by force and fraud, taken away from her parents a child under fourteen years of age. He was further charged with unlawfully and indecently assaulting her. His friends knew that he was morally innocent, and that he had defied the law in order to reform it. But technically, and in the eye of the law, he was as guilty as any of the soundrels whose vicious practices it was his object to prevent. That is to say, he was, according to the arguments of Mr. McKenna and the Government, no more entitled to be placed in the first division and treated as a political offender than are the Suffragettes. And yet the Home Secretary of those days transferred him to the first division, and he was able in consequence to receive books, papers, letters, flowers—everything that heart could wish for. In his account of his experiences, he says: "Twice a week my wife brought the sunlight of her presence into the pretty room, all hung round with Christmas greetings from absent friends. Twice a week she brought with her one of the children." He describes a Christmas party at which the whole family met together and played blind man's buff. He tells how, during the whole course of his imprisonment, he continued to edit the Pall Mall Gazette, and to write articles for its columns. Why should the Suffragists now in prison, and the Leaders now on trial, be denied similar treatment?

And now for the strongest and most binding of all precedents! Nearly 150 militant Suffragist prisoners have been in the first division already. This fact, often overlooked, cannot be too widely advertised at this moment. For what has been done once can and must be done again. The first Suffragist prisoners to be placed in the first division were Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, and nine others. Originally sentenced on October 24, 1906, to two months' imprisonment in the second division, they were transferred a few days later, by order of the Home Secretary, to the first division. The forward magistrates made a practice of placing Suffragists in the first division, and upwards of 122 women were thus dealt with. The Organising Secretary of the Union, during a fortnight's imprisonment, received a daily visit from a shorthand writer, and was thus able to carry on her official work. It continued to be a matter of course to place Suffragists in the first division until March, 1907, when suddenly the old and evil plan of treating them as ordinary criminals was reverted to. The event has shown that this has had no deterrent effect whatever. Indeed, it has, if anything, strengthened women's determination. The number of militants has increased, and the struggle for the rights of political prisoners has been pursued with a heroism which has excited admiration for the women and contempt for the Government. Concessions and special rules have been grudgingly and unwillingly conceded at one moment and withdrawn at another. The time has now come when a definite understanding must be arrived at. The Women's Social and Political Union demand as a right that to soldiers captured in warfare for the Vote due honour shall be accorded.

F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

Now that the Founder and Editor of VOTES FOR WOMEN has been called by a strange working out of the law of destiny from his office chair at Clement's Inn to the dock at the Old Bailey, now that another has grasped the editorial pen that he has been obliged to lay down, it is right and fitting that a larger public than heretofore shall be taken into the secret of what Mr. Pethick Lawrence has given and done for the Woman's Movement.

Not empty handed did he enter into it. The following brief summary of the outstanding events of his life suffices to show that he brought with him a brilliant record of achievement, and quietly laid aside the fulfilment of his personal career for the sake of a great regenerating struggle for human liberty fraught with supreme issues for the human race.

Born in 1871, Fred Lawrence went to Eton in 1885, and in 1889 won the "Tomline," the chief mathematical prize of the school, over the heads of boys two years his senior. In January, 1891, he became "Captain of the Oppidans," and was thus placed in a position of authority over more than nine hundred boys.

Proceeding to Cambridge University in October of the same year, he won a scholarship at Trinity College, and devoted himself to the special study of Mathematics, obtaining First Class Honours as Fourth Wrangler in 1894. He spent the next year at Natural Science, obtaining a First Class in the Natural Science Tripos in 1895, thus achieving a "Double First." Meanwhile he took considerable interest in the "Union"—the Cambridge University Debating Society—and was elected successively Secretary, Vice-President, and President, his immediate predecessor in office being Mr. Phillip Whitwell Wilson (P.W.W. of the Daily News), who in his turn had succeeded Mr. C. F. G. Masterman, the present Under-Secretary to the Treasury.

Mr. Lawrence was also a keen billiard player, and represented his University in the Annual Billiard Match, winning with his partner the four-handed match for Cambridge. In 1896 he competed for the "Smith" Prize, the principal mathematical prize in the University, and secured second prize for an Essay on the Factorisation of Numbers. He also devoted his energies to the study of Political Economy, and carried out a special investigation on the rates of wages in different towns. His Essay on this subject, since published as a book, "Local Variations in Wages," won for him the chief University Prize for Political Economy, the "Adam-Smith" Prize. In 1897 Mr. Lawrence was given one of the coveted fellowships of Trinity College in recognition of his work in Mathematics and Political Economy. He also contributed several papers on the Theory of Numbers to mathematical journals.

The next fourteen months were occupied with a tour round the world. Mr. Lawrence visited different parts of India, where many of his College friends who held positions in the Indian Civil Service were stationed. He also went to Ceylon, Australia, New Zealand, China, Japan, and the United States. On his return to England he decided to take up his residence at Mansfield House (the well-known University Settlement in Canning Town) and devote himself to the study of conditions amongst the working people of London.

For two years he took an active part in the life of the Settlement in every field. Having been called to the Bar in 1899, he sometimes sat as "poor man's lawyer" to give legal advice to all who applied for it. He also assisted the Settlement work by financial help, particularly in the building of a Boys' Club and of a Women's Hospital. He presented to the Men's Club his own billiard table, and instituted an Annual Competition amongst the members.

In 1900 he was selected the Unionist Candidate for North Lambeth, but after a full study of the South African problem and a visit to that country he found himself in opposition to the views of the Unionist Party, and retired from the Candidature.

In the same year he was appointed as Professor at Manchester College, Oxford, and lectured there during the year on social questions. He also contributed an Essay on Housing to a book entitled "The Heart of the Empire," put together by a number of Cambridge men. In that Essay he sketched out the policy of town-planning, a policy which has since received official recognition and support.

In 1901 he became engaged to Emmeline Pethick, one of the two founders of the West London Central Guild and President of the Esperance Working Girls' Club, and in October of the same year they were married, the ceremony being carried out in the Canning Town Public Hall. The wedding party was noteworthy, because it included, in addition to the members of the families concerned, not only Mr. Lloyd George and several political friends, but also members of the Canning Town Clubs and of the Esperance Girls' Club and a party of fifty old ladies from the St. Marybone Workhouses, who had been personal friends of Mrs. Lawrence for several years. Shortly after the marriage Mr. Lawrence adopted his wife's maiden name in addition to his own, and was known henceforth as Mr. Pethick Lawrence. He identified himself very closely with all his wife's social interests, and took an active part in the organisation of a co-operative dressmaking business, which paid a minimum wage of 15s. a week with an

eight hours day. He also built as a gift to his wife a holiday cottage for children close to his country home, and gave great financial assistance in erecting the freehold of a seaside holiday hostel for working people, which accommodates sixty visitors at a time.

In 1901 Mr. Pethick Lawrence obtained a controlling interest in a London evening paper, The Echo, and a little later became the Editor himself. The paper was run on advanced lines, and excluded the betting news from its columns. At the end of four years he found that, though he had nearly doubled the circulation and had been able to reduce the annual loss of the paper which he had found on taking it over, the loss was still considerable, and publication could not be continued. By company law the whole property of the paper passed in liquidation from the shareholders to the debenture holders, to the exclusion of the interests of the creditors and all the members of the staff. But Mr. Pethick Lawrence at once decided to meet out of his own private purse all the claims of the creditors in full, to the amount of several thousands of pounds, and to pay himself to every member of the staff a sum equivalent to two or three times the normal notice, in view of the enforced termination of the contract.

Several constituencies in the Liberal interest had in the meantime been offered to him, but these Mr. Lawrence had not felt able to accept. After winding up The Echo, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence paid a visit to South Africa, where they found many friends. While there they heard of the imprisonment of Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney and the story of how they had asked a question at Sir Edward Grey's meeting in Manchester. On their return to England in 1906 they took an early opportunity of meeting Mrs. Pankhurst, and from that time forward they both identified themselves with the campaign of the recently-formed Women's Social and Political Union. When his wife, the treasurer of the Union, was imprisoned for the first time in October of the same year, Mr. Pethick Lawrence stepped into the breach, strengthened the financial position of the organisation, and developed



MR. PETHICK LAWRENCE. Elliott & Fry.

plans for focusing national attention upon the facts of the case. In November, 1908, he acted as counsel for Mrs. Baines, and in the preliminary proceedings relating to the appearance of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Gladstone as witnesses, he was opposed by the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General. It is interesting to note that the Daily Telegraph, which gave a short summary of the Attorney-General's speech, reported Mr. Lawrence's speech nearly verbatim. Among many other special schemes of his own, he organised the Women's Social and Political Union Literature Department, now the Woman's Press, which was founded in January, 1907. In 1907 he and his wife founded the weekly organ of the W.S.P.U., Votes for Women. For the first fifteen months of the existence of the paper Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence financed it and bore all the loss themselves. After having established its circulation and its reputation as an advertising medium, they handed it over to the W.S.P.U., but continued the editorship up to the day of their arrest on March 5, 1912.

But Mr. Pethick Lawrence's name will live in the grateful remembrance of men and women not because of his immense services rendered to the organisation of the W.S.P.U., nor for the ceaseless and untiring work done in his headquarters office in Clement's Inn. It will live by reason of the position of isolation that he has been content to accept and occupy for many years as the necessary condition of his loyalty to a Cause indifferently championed, when not strenuously opposed or absent-mindedly betrayed, by all the political parties and organisations of men. The absolute integrity and the moral strength which cannot be assailed either by beguilement or ridicule, or boycott, or threat, or persecution—that will be remembered long after the actual political issues of the conflict have taken their due place in the vista of the past.

Capacity to stand alone depends not only upon the strength and sincerity of conviction, but upon the possession of an iron will and the power of relentless determination. And these characteristics

are part of Mr. Lawrence's moral inheritance. Though a Londoner born and bred, and intensely proud of the fact (for he loves his city as a mountaineer loves his mountains), Mr. Lawrence comes of a Cornish stock. His grandfather and his forbears were children of the Cornish soil. Everyone who knows the folk of Cornwall recognises in them two main strains of racial type. In the first are to be found characteristics of the Southern and Eastern races. The sun of Spain and Phoenicia which warmed the blood of their ancestors seems to glow still in the veins of these men and women, dark of eye and swarthy of skin. They are of imaginative mind and ardent temperament; passionate lovers and haters; warm-hearted in their personal relationships, and easily led through generous emotions. Not so the other type. In that county are to be found faces hewn, as it were, out of its granite foundations. They belong to a fair, blue-eyed stock, unemotional, of indomitable temper, and relentless will. They seem to impersonate the rock-bound coast against which the waves of the wild Atlantic spend their violence in vain. It is to this stock that Frederick Lawrence belongs.

On the north coast of Cornwall his people lived, toilers for generations, till, in the early years of the nineteenth century, his grandfather made his way to London, and beginning at the bottom of the ladder, worked his way to success and became, like Dick Whittington, Lord Mayor of his adopted city. Two of the sons of this sturdy pioneer entered Parliament as representatives of the City of London, and each of them in his turn filled the office of Lord Mayor. A third son became Parliamentary representative of one of the divisions of Cornwall, and his sole surviving grandson, Frederick William Lawrence, when he threw himself into the political movement for winning the vote for men and women, started forth upon an enterprise fraught with even greater difficulties than those which confronted his grandfather, the country-born youth thrown upon his own resources in a great city. And he has brought the same racial characteristic of relentless determination to the accomplishment of the task. Per ardua stabitur (Steadfast through difficulties)—he has been true to his family motto.

Uncompromising honesty and rugged strength are stamped upon Mr. Lawrence's physique and personality, and are apparent to all who are brought into touch with him. Very few, however, even amongst those who know him in daily life, realise the depth of his human sympathy or the gentleness of his heart. Amongst those who understand this side of his nature are children, servants, simple country folk, and a handful of his intellectual equals who are devoid of the self-consciousness so easily affronted by a certain downrightiness of manner disconcerting to people accustomed to speak and hear smooth things. Conscious unity with the entire sentient creation is part of his religion. He sees life as one and indivisible in all its forms, and every pulsating creature is his fellow, who shares with him the burden of suffering and of sacrificial service. This sense of fellowship is of the spirit, not of the emotions, and manifests itself not outwardly, but inwardly by his mental attitude which places him on a level with all living things. With children he is accepted as an equal and a mate—and that is his own attitude towards them. He never thinks of talking down to them, and when he plays their games he does it as a child who enjoys the fun in exactly the same way as they do. He accords to their opinions and tastes precisely the same respect as he would accord to those of grown people. In a word, he is as real as they are, and therefore he is an actual personality to them of whom they take account.

To the human personality, whether he meets it in the child or in the man or in the woman, in the "savant" or in the unlearned, he yields reverence in the sense of human dignity and human equality, and on the elemental ground of humanity he regards each human soul as his peer, irrespective of all social and intellectual diversities. Reality and simplicity are the fundamental condition of his every relationship, and the so-called "chivalry" which is too often half snobbery, half patronage, is utterly alien to him. Weakness and dependence as such make no appeal to him. He does not need them as a stimulus to his endeavour or as an effect in contrast, to minister to his sense of self-importance.

Strength calleth unto strength, deep unto deep, and Man unto his Mate. That Mr. Pethick Lawrence should stand in the dock with his wife as a leader of a Movement for the establishment of the human equality of men and women is the perfect and complete expression of the faith to which they together bear public witness, the faith which hails the coming of a better day, when men and women shall be one in purpose and one in service to the general good.

It is only natural in a world of so much make-believe that the very simplicity of such a personality should be a stumbling block to many. The sophisticated and the self-diffident shrink from his uncompromising truthfulness, and instinctively fight shy of it. He is impersonal as the rocks and the trees, and that in itself is a challenge to persons of importance.

He will never know the sweets of personal popularity, and would not appreciate them if he did. He lives to obey a law which is the law of his being, and to accomplish a purpose to which he knows himself called, and thus he has passed already in spirit into the world of universal life of which he is parcel and part. No powers of the world can crush his will or weaken his spirit or subvert him from his aim. It is of such elemental stuff that reformers are made.

THE CASE OF MR. WILLIAM BALL.

The report of Sir George Savage, M.D., F.C.P., to the Home Secretary, regarding the treatment of Mr. William Ball in Pentonville Prison, was issued last week as a White Paper. It will be remembered that Mr. Ball was sentenced at Bow Street on December 22, 1911, to two months' imprisonment, for breaking two windows at the War Office as a protest against the unjust sentence passed on another Suffragist prisoner (Mr. MacDougall), and also as a protest against the Prime Minister's announcement of a Manhood Suffrage Bill. In his defence he stated that he had two daughters and two sons, and he wanted his girls to be protected in the State as well as his boys.

Mr. Ball was therefore a political prisoner, and entitled to the prison treatment of political offenders. As he was refused even the ameliorations of prison conditions allowed under Rule 243a—framed expressly for Suffragist prisoners—he at once began a Hunger Strike. The authorities met his protest by the unvarnished method of forcible feeding, and this process was repeated twice daily for five and a half weeks. His wife was left without news of him until January 19, when she received a printed form stating that he was "in his usual health." On February 12, she received a curt statement from the Governor of the prison, informing her that her husband was to be certified insane and removed to a pauper lunatic asylum that day. This was in effect accomplished before Mrs. Ball had time to prevent it; and it was only by the strenuous efforts of Lady Constance Lytton, Mr. Pethick Lawrence, and others, that her husband was removed to a nursing home, where he was well cared for until he recovered his usual health.

In response to the agitation immediately set on foot by the Women's Social and Political Union and by the Men's Political Union, an inquiry was granted by the Home Secretary. As we have previously pointed out, the way in which this inquiry was carried on invited a whitewashing report. It was conducted privately; no opportunity was given to Mr. Ball or his representatives to cross-examine the prison

officials, who were really the accused; and the main points at issue were ignored or slurred over by Sir George Savage, who did not attempt to discover why Mr. Ball was forcibly fed at all, or how a perfectly sane and healthy man was brought by five weeks of prison treatment to a condition in which it was possible to certify him as insane; or why he was taken to a pauper lunatic asylum without an opportunity being given to his friends to place him elsewhere. According to his report, an extract from which we print below, everything was for the best in the best of possible prisons, even to the quality of the rubber used in the throat tube; and the "one mistake" he had been able to discover was that Mrs. Ball "was not informed of the earliest symptoms of his mental disorder." No doubt, the favourable view taken by Sir George Savage of what must remain one of the prison scandals of the century was not discouraged by the letter from the Home Office, which, in appointing him to make the inquiry, assured him that "Mr. McKenna has entire confidence in the discretion and humanity of the prison officials." The Manchester Guardian published a strong leading article as a comment on the whole proceeding, and a letter from Mr. H. W. Nevinnson to the Daily News summarised the leading defects of the Report.

Extract from Sir George Savage's Report, published as a White Paper, May 8, 1912.

As a result of all this careful examination, I have come to the following conclusions: That Ball was from the first treated with the utmost consideration. He was not forcibly undressed, nor at any time was any violent method followed. He was sufficiently guarded. He had the opportunity of writing a petition if he had been able, or wished to do so. No obstacle was placed in the way of communication with his wife. The one mistake seems to have been that she was not informed of the earliest symptoms of his mental disorder. His weight was maintained during his stay in prison. A proper kind of food was given him in sufficient amount. The apparatus for feeding was of the simplest kind. Ball did not object to it. He, in fact, told the asylum authorities that the one fault he had to find was that they did not feed him often enough while in prison.

In my opinion, both in the prison and in the asylum, Ball was kindly and properly treated, and his insanity could not be attributed to any treatment to which he was subjected. I saw the tube with which he was fed. It was one of the best type of soft rubber with funnel, the feeding taking place by gravitation. Such an instrument is quite free from any danger and may be used for years without harm occurring.

A Strong Comment. (From the Manchester Guardian, May 9.)

The medical report on the case of Mr. William Ball evades the questions to which an answer was required. Sir George Savage tells us that Mr. Ball was not driven mad by his treatment in prison, but was weak-headed and subject to hallucinations before, that no violence was used in forcibly feeding him, that the tube was a nice soft indiarubber one, and so on. There are passages in the report on which, with all respect to Sir George Savage, a certain degree of scepticism is still permissible. But even if every sentence in it is accepted at its face value, the main complaints about the treatment of Mr. Ball are left unanswered and untouched. The methods of forcible feeding may have been as gentle as it is possible to make them, and still have been martyrdom enough to throw a stronger mind than his off its balance. But why should he have been forcibly fed at all? He declined to take his food because he was denied the benefit of Rule 243a, which at that time—December last—was given to all women Suffragist prisoners. The amelioration of prison treatment under that rule was not given to women as such, but was simply a recognition of the fact that their offences came within the provisions of the rule. Mr. Ball had a right to the same concessions, and the evidence now given that his mind was not well balanced so far as it goes, only confirms this. If he had been a little unbalanced, then the less excuse for treating him as though he were a dangerous criminal, guilty of moral offences that cried for retributive punishment. Again, we are still without explanation of the cruel carelessness which gave the wife a cruel notice of the husband's removal to an asylum too late for her to help him. The cruelty was not intended, but even if it had been it could hardly have inflicted more pain. And whoever was responsible deserves such censure as will make such painful accidents very unlikely to happen again.

"HOSPITAL TREATMENT."

We are indebted to a released prisoner for the following details of the recent Hunger Strike in Holloway, which serve to prove afresh the disgusting brutality of the process of forcible feeding, and the hypocrisy of those who call it "hospital treatment."

Miss Vera Wentworth was fed after thirty hours' Hunger Strike, though many who had been hunger striking for several days were not fed. On Friday, the doctor came to feed her at about twelve mid-day, and she told him that in the afternoon she would probably hear news that would enable her to take the food with a clear conscience, and she asked him to wait till then. He merely replied, "I could not possibly do that." She asked why; he made no reply, but had her forced into the chair. The news came in the afternoon; so on that occasion she was fed quite unnecessarily. On each occasion she complained that they overfed her, and made her feel ill in consequence; but they made joking remarks about "feeding her up," and took no notice of the complaint.

Mrs. Jane Terrero was fed with the nasal tube after four days' Hunger Strike. She was fed twice. She said, "It was not pain, it was agony." The second time she was fed she was left in a state of spasms, but no one went back to look after her.

Mrs. Field was fed after seventy-two hours' Hunger Strike. She was fed three times. She had had bleeding from the nose and coughing. They took her by the throat to try and make her swallow the food, and this caused her much coughing. She bled from the nose for ten days. After she had been fed she went to take some water, and found that they had put the feeding-tube into the water, and there was oil in it. She rang for one and a half hours before a wardress came to her. She tasted this oil for days. Those who were hunger striking had no fresh air from Tuesday to the Saturday.

Mrs. Alice Green was fed after thirty hours' hunger striking. She resisted against six people. The pain lasted several days, and she was up all night bathing her nose. She felt a great shock after it.

Miss Maggie McFarlane was fed with a nasal tube. It hurt very much, and broke something in her nose which started to bleed before they left her. They did not come back. It went on bleeding for an hour without stopping, and then began again. She still feels the pain and headache, and she has had nausea ever since.

Miss May Jones was fed with a nasal tube after five days' Hunger Strike. She has been deaf in the ear on that side ever since.

TURKISH WOMEN AND THE VEIL.

Dear Editors.—The unfair attack of an American college upon my Daily Chronicle article on the present status of Turkish women would require no refutation on my part, as it sufficiently refutes itself, had it not been altogether one-sided (and one-sidedness is never fair play), and had it not given an inaccurate superficial view of the actual state of affairs.

To begin with, the attack says: "The better class of women are very careful to wear the chador (the covering), the veil not being absolutely necessary." And then goes on asserting that "Halide Hanoum was not unveiled, but wore her tarshaf." There is evidently a confusion in the mind of the writer of the above lines as to what is tarshaf and what is veil. If the veil is not absolutely necessary, why, then, the outburst of indignation at my information that Halide Hanoum appeared unveiled?

Now, let me assure you that the veil is necessary for Turkish women, and becomes more so with the regrettable advent of the spirit of reaction. At the beginning of the Constitution, Turkish ladies thought that they could disregard certain antiquated injunctions. They are now woefully disappointed, as restriction and oppression are being manifested at every turn.

Another point: The veil is of paramount necessity if the hanoum (woman) appears in public. Time and again have friends told me of rough policemen reminding, in anything but a courteous manner, a Turkish lady to veil her face more carefully.

It could hardly be possible for Halide Hanoum to deliver an address in a covered face, could it? I made most careful inquiries, and was told by everybody that her face was uncovered. This was, of course, natural. Now is not an uncovered face an unveiled face? The writer of the attack upon me evidently equivocates.

Where is, then, "the entirely untrue statement" of the Observer? It is the equivocation! The writer speaks of a great wrong done by my statement that Halide Hanoum appeared unveiled, with costs, it did no wrong whatever. That she appeared unveiled and talked before an audience of gossips has been spoken of as a most distasteful thing by more than one orthodox Turk, and has been severely condemned by more than one newspaper, and that long before I ever took my pen to write my Daily Chronicle article. And, as the Standard confirms, Halide Hanoum was even threatened with imprisonment. If any wrong, therefore, has been done, it was done by the writer of the attack upon me, who, in asking Halide Hanoum to speak at the college, exposed her to serious danger.

Of course, I personally, do not believe for a moment that the cause of emancipation of the brave Turkish women will ever suffer from champions outrageously coming forward to inflict a vigorous blow at the barriers of tradition and superstition, of usage and habit. My humble statement did no wrong whatever, and that long before I ever took my pen to write my Daily Chronicle article. And, as the Standard confirms, Halide Hanoum was even threatened with imprisonment. If any wrong, therefore, has been done, it was done by the writer of the attack upon me, who, in asking Halide Hanoum to speak at the college, exposed her to serious danger.

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A long time, until coming generations succeed in overcoming the religious fanaticism of their predecessors.—Yours, &c., Windsor Hotel, Crown Street, Strand.

INCITING TO MILITANCY.

ULSTER RIGHT—Mr. Birrell Admits That There is a Time to Fight.

"If there were a danger of civil and religious liberty being interfered with, fighting would be right, and would be right in the eyes of Ulster, for they were not going to allow anyone in Ireland—in any part of Ireland—to have his religion or his property interfered with." This is not the utterance of some old Tory, but of Mr. Birrell, the Chief Secretary for Ireland. It was expressed at the annual conference of the Women's National Liberal Association, to-day, over which Mrs. Asquith presided.—Evening News, May 14.

Sir Edward Carson, speaking on the Home Rule Bill at the Hotel Cecil on May 11, said:—"Mr. Asquith has said that Englishmen never yielded to threats. Englishmen might not, but Governments did." They were moving forward. It was no longer a time for speaking, but it was a time for action.

"The Observer," May 12. In a leading article the Observer says:—"We believe the country is prepared to be roused; but it waits for some touch of action which will show that this struggle goes deeper than words."

"The Pall Mall Gazette," May 10. In a leading article the Pall Mall Gazette says:—"Two years hence, if they last so long, the Government will be quite ready to force their measure through the House of Lords and plunge Ireland into civil war. It may be—we date not prophesy—that the challenge they have thrown down to liberty and civilisation will, after all, have to go before the tribunal of physical force. When Reason is systematically dismissed, with costs, it is hard to see what other upshot can be in the lap of destiny. The moral indifference of partisanship in the House of Commons is elbowing other questions besides this dangerously near to the plane of violence."

Where is, then, "the entirely untrue statement" of the Observer? It is the equivocation! The writer speaks of a great wrong done by my statement that Halide Hanoum appeared unveiled, with costs, it did no wrong whatever. That she appeared unveiled and talked before an audience of gossips has been spoken of as a most distasteful thing by more than one orthodox Turk, and has been severely condemned by more than one newspaper, and that long before I ever took my pen to write my Daily Chronicle article. And, as the Standard confirms, Halide Hanoum was even threatened with imprisonment. If any wrong, therefore, has been done, it was done by the writer of the attack upon me, who, in asking Halide Hanoum to speak at the college, exposed her to serious danger.

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HAVE YOUR OWN BOOK-PLATE.

Practically every thoughtful possessor of books wishes to have his or her ownership permanently noted in every volume by means of a book-plate, and that such plate should have a personal interest as displaying in its design



Specimen Design for Lady's Book-plate.

either the arms or some other attribute of quality or taste of the owner. But hitherto it has not been possible to produce original, specially-designed book plates at other than a cost which is beyond the means of many who would like to possess one. To have a book-plate of one's very own, designed in accordance with one's own ideas, has seemed out of the question. It is no longer so. My present endeavour is to fill the need. I have a staff of artists familiar with the work, each book-plate being treated separately and differently in order to incorporate some special features as desired by the purchaser, and the prices vary from as low as 17s. 6d. for the design, block, and 100 plates, complete, to four or five guineas for the best copper-plate work; but in

request I will send specimens free to any address at home or abroad. It generally takes about three weeks to complete the design, plate, and 100 copies.

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a hospitality department for the express purpose in the Union.

In the morning you should surrender at the time mentioned on the police charge. You should not be carrying anything which you are likely to need during the imprisonment.

There is a series of circulars of that character. They are very much of the same type as those which I dealt with in the earlier history of November, 1911, making the preparations for imprisonment which it is seen was bound to follow. On March 4, 1912, in the morning, the morning of the great battle, about fifty women came to Clement's Inn in ones and twos and threes. Some came on foot, some in taxicabs, some with luggage and some without. The luggage was sent away to various addresses, all being part and parcel of the plan arranged, and of the hospitality department to which I have just referred.

Miss Pankhurst and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence were both at this address. In the afternoon of March 4 there was a meeting at the Pavilion Theatre, and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence begins.

We meet on an exceedingly serious occasion, an exceedingly important moment in the development of our movement. Evolution has become a revolution. If you resist justice, justice will avenge itself upon you. They thought we were invited to political subjects, but the women have turned at last. I look at these broken windows and I think of the message "women have had enough and have given up." The women have come home to roost, like chickens. The Government had sowed the wind, and now they are reaping the whirlwind.

"Years in Prison." The Attorney-General (reading): One of the Sunday papers talks about years in prison. Very well, let them give us years in prison. I say they won't do it. They dare not. They say we are all going to get heavy sentences.

The Judge: Is that Miss Christabel's? The Attorney-General: Yes, my lord. The Attorney-General (reading): They say we are going to get heavy sentences. All I can say is, we might as well be hung for a sheep as a lamb. Let them give us seven years, if they like.

The Attorney-General also quoted: I am ready for it. I tell you all of us, we have had a dozen years hard labor, some working outside. We are ready for seven years' penal servitude, and tell the Government so. We shall do our bit, even if it is hanging down. We shall go into prison and leave the others to us, one by one, after they have done their bit.

Sentences like those (went on the Attorney-General) struck one as very ridiculous, but you have got to bear in mind that they are addressed to a number of women, excited, agitated, attending to be instigated to commit offences.

Now they tell us they will bring an action for conspiracy against some of those on the platform. We are not afraid of them. It will be the best day's work for this movement that the Government has ever done.

I won't trouble you with reading further passages of those very violent speeches. Many of those present were followed, and we now know and you will hear that the Granada Restaurant was taken for March 4, and it was taken for this express purpose. You could only get into the restaurant by a card of admission.

The meeting was open, of course, only to those who had volunteered and who were ready to do their work. We shall be enabled to call before you one woman who was present. These persons went there in order that they might be supplied with the hints necessary for them to hurl at the windows, or in order that they might receive the hammers, and then eventually they collected in twos and threes and went to the various parts of the West End of London. Walking about in twos and threes they naturally did not excite the attention in any way of the police. Having proceeded through the Strand for the underfaken money, and exclusively to the further a political end, I would remind you of the House that when Dr. Jameson and his colleagues were tried and found guilty of having invaded a foreign country, as the Government then was their term of imprisonment for a few months was that of first-class misdemeanants.

Furthermore, hon. gentlemen opposite, whose case I have not time to go into, by fighting exactly as women have been fighting found themselves in prison for political offences, and got the very same treatment which women are now claiming, and which this Bill will confer on them the right to have. Then we have the case of other countries. In most other countries the political offender is treated on quite a different footing from the ordinary offender. He is regarded more as a prisoner on bail than as a criminal against society. What is known as Custodia Honesta (honourable custody) prevails more or less in Australia, Germany, France, Holland, Italy, and even Russia. Surely Great Britain can well afford to follow where these countries lead in this respect. As to the authorities in favour of this change, the Prisons Commission which sat in 1870, recommended that political offenders should be treated in a separate establishment from ordinary criminals. The reason for that is obvious. Then as to the authorities. Professor Bryce, His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, in a letter which he wrote on this question said—

It is certainly not easy to find a satisfactory definition of a political offence. Yet we feel the difference between the ordinary criminal and those whose treatment we describe. Perhaps the only test that whenever the moral judgment of the community at large does not brand an offence as heinous and degrading, and does not feel the offence to be one which destroys its respect for the personal liberty of the prisoner, it may be said that prison treatment ought to be different from that awarded to ordinary criminals.

That is the opinion of Professor Bryce.

they are charged, and it will be your duty to return a verdict accordingly.

The Attorney-General then sat down, having spoken for two hours and twenty minutes.

The prosecution then called evidence, which will be fully reported in next issue. [Full reports of the Trial are appearing daily in the "Standard".]

POLITICAL OFFENDERS.

Mr. Keir Hardie's Bill.

In the House of Commons on Tuesday, May 14, Mr. Keir Hardie said: I beg to move, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to render political offenders misdemeanants of the more serious kind, and to explain in a few simple sentences why I take this means of asking leave to bring in this Bill instead of handing it in the usual way. Those who are responsible for this Bill are hopeful it is possible to pass it as a non-contentious measure during the present Session. It contains one operative Clause. Its object is to secure that prisoners who are convicted of a political offence solely shall be treated as first-class misdemeanants. The definition of a political offender is taken from Section 3 of the Extradition Act of 1870. Since that Act was passed there have been several decisions in the Law Courts as to what constitutes a political offence, so that the Extradition Act and the case law which has grown out of the Act leave no doubt as to what is meant by the term "political offender." As to a first-class misdemeanant, we have taken the meaning contained in Section 67 of the Prison Act of 1865. We are not, therefore, seeking to create any new special privilege for any section of the community. We are simply seeking to lay down that a person who is convicted solely of a political offence, as already defined by law and by decisions in the Law Courts, shall be treated as a first-class misdemeanant. Let me say at once, quite frankly, that the reasons for this Bill and the urgency for it is mainly the treatment of women political prisoners. These have been subjected to periods of imprisonment ranging from four weeks to six months for political offences. They claim to be treated as political offenders. The claim was refused by the prison authorities, whereupon what has come to be known as the hunger strikes were inaugurated. They had their object to secure for women political offenders the same treatment as has been given to men political offenders in times gone by. In regard to the offences which the women have been guilty of, it is alleged that the breaking of windows disqualifies them from being considered merely political offenders, but our Law Courts have laid it down that even the killing of a person under certain circumstances is a political offence, and he is, therefore, exonerated from liability to be extradited for his crime. Perhaps the House will allow me to quote a few lines from the decision of Mr. Justice Denman on this very point. The case was that of Castioni, who was accused of having killed a gentleman in Switzerland, and extradition was applied for. Mr. Castioni defended his own case, and Mr. Justice Denman, in giving his decision, said—

The question really is whether upon the facts it is clear that the man was acting as one of a number of persons engaged in a collective political character with a political object, and as part of a political movement and rising in which he is taking part. If so, the offence is political, and if the offender's motive is to satisfy private spite or to gain some personal end, it is an ordinary crime.

I submit that in the case of the women Suffragettes. Their acts of violence were undertaken openly and exclusively to the further a political end, and in the House that when Dr. Jameson and his colleagues were tried and found guilty of having invaded a foreign country, as the Government then was their term of imprisonment for a few months was that of first-class misdemeanants.

Furthermore, hon. gentlemen opposite, whose case I have not time to go into, by fighting exactly as women have been fighting found themselves in prison for political offences, and got the very same treatment which women are now claiming, and which this Bill will confer on them the right to have. Then we have the case of other countries. In most other countries the political offender is treated on quite a different footing from the ordinary offender. He is regarded more as a prisoner on bail than as a criminal against society. What is known as Custodia Honesta (honourable custody) prevails more or less in Australia, Germany, France, Holland, Italy, and even Russia. Surely Great Britain can well afford to follow where these countries lead in this respect. As to the authorities in favour of this change, the Prisons Commission which sat in 1870, recommended that political offenders should be treated in a separate establishment from ordinary criminals. The reason for that is obvious. Then as to the authorities. Professor Bryce, His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, in a letter which he wrote on this question said—

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Send your SOILED GOWN and 4s. to CLARK'S. They will Dry Clean and return it postage paid, looking like new. WRITE NOW FOR COMPLETE PRICE LIST. CLARK & Co., THE CLEANERS, 14, HALLCROFT ROAD, RETFORD.

Mr. Keir Hardie then proceeded to give quotations from the speeches of Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Asquith and Mr. Gladstone, in support of his contention that political rights should be given to political offenders in prison, ending with the late Lord Beaconsfield's reference to the treatment of the Chartists. The proper treatment of these people was not to punish, but merely to restrain them from propagating their doctrines. That is our case, concluded Mr. Hardie. I ask the House to allow this Bill to be introduced in the hope and expectation that, with all these authorities behind me and with the progress which prison reform has made, it may be possible for it to become law this Session and remove what is undoubtedly a crying scandal from our midst. The question was put, and agreed to, and the Bill was ordered to be brought in by Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. Wedgwood, Mr. Snowden, Mr. Jowett, Mr. Clynes, Mr. Arthur Henderson, Mr. Thomas Richardson, Mr. Parker, Mr. Lansbury, and Mr. John Ward. The Bill was presented accordingly, and read the first time; it will be read a second time on Tuesday next.

LONDON MEETINGS FOR THE FORTHCOMING WEEK.

Table listing London meetings for the forthcoming week, including dates, locations, and speakers.

SCHWEITZERS COCOA THE OLDEST and STILL THE IDEAL COCOA

"AS FAR AWAY AS RUSSIA IS."

All England has been outraged, and rightly so, by the grave miscarriage of justice involved in the case of Miss Malecka, a British subject who was sentenced at Warsaw, on May 10, to four years' penal servitude, to be followed by lifelong exile in Siberia. The charges against her was that of holding intercourse with the Polish Socialist Filipowitch, both in London and in Warsaw. We print below some extracts from the Liberal Press, which has been especially loud in condemning this persecution of an Englishwoman at the hands of a tyrannical and reactionary Government.

The Russian Government must realise that the English people will not be fobbed off with a technicality. They will see a fellow subject of theirs sentenced to a savage punishment for no offence which they can appreciate, and they will bring pressure to bear upon the British Government to secure a remedy.—The Daily News.

We appeal to every citizen, whether he or she has a vote or not, to address an urgent request to the Member of Parliament for their division, of whatever political party, to support by every means in his power the movement initiated by Mr. Morrell and his friends. It is the duty of the British nation and the Government to accord her all the support which a law-abiding subject of the British Sovereign has a right to expect.

It is an appeal to the heart, the conscience, and the honour of Britain.—The Daily Chronicle.

A Comment! In the course of a leading article on May 13, the Daily Herald says: "Infamous as is the sentence on Miss Malecka, a British subject, there is no hope whatever of our weak Foreign Secretary doing anything effective in the matter. But Sir Edward Grey is not a strong man. He is a timid temporiser. . . . And there are other reasons why it is difficult for him to protest against any indignity inflicted on a woman. He might be reminded that he is a member of a Government who are themselves torturing women political prisoners by forcing food through their noses, placing them in verminous cells and the like."

Some members of the Addressers' Franchise League are visiting Exeter, Dorset, tomorrow (Saturday) to give two performances under the auspices of the Church League for Women's Suffrage. The plays, afternoon and evening, will be "An Englishman's Home," "A Woman's Influence," and "Miss Appleby's Awakening."

Suffragists should be interested to know that Helen Cole, F.R.H.S. (Diploma R.E.S.), Practical Gardener, whose specialist work in town and suburban gardens is advertised in Votes for Women, is arranging an exhibit of models and plans at the Royal International Horticultural Exhibition (May 22 to 30), to show various possibilities of the above. She or one of her workers will be glad to be consulted at the Exhibition—Stall No. 132, at Chelsea Hospital Gardens.

Mrs. Hydon Dale asks us to acknowledge on behalf of her workers, that she has been awarded a gold medal for her work in the suffrage cause. She or one of her workers will be glad to be consulted at the Exhibition—Stall No. 132, at Chelsea Hospital Gardens.

Block kindly lent by the "Pall Mall Gazette." MISS MALECKA WITH HER COUNSEL, MR. LEON PAPIEWSKI.

AT THE LONDON PAVILION.

At the weekly meeting at the Pavilion last Monday, in two fine speeches, we had both the man's and the woman's points of view, each giving us a light on the great Suffrage movement, characteristic of the different, yet remarkably alike in breadth and sympathy. The woman speaker was one who has the home ties that we are told go to the making of a complete woman, yet who devotes all she can spare of herself and her life to unflagging work for the cause. In a fine speech she foreshadowed the new world that is to arise; she showed us that the evil powers were fighting harder than ever just because victory is sure, and she led us through the valley of the shadow to the land of freedom, ending on the note of "Fight the good fight; keep the faith."

We are sorry space will not permit us to publish a full report of Mrs. Mansel-Moellin's moving speech, which held her audience spellbound until they expressed their feelings at its close by a tremendous outburst of enthusiasm.

The man speaker, Mr. Laurence Housman, also has his own life-work, and uses his talent unstintingly in the service of the movement. As an artist he sees more clearly than his fellow-men the truth lurking behind the mists, and in the clearest and most logical way he brought before his hearers the fact that our country is a great law-breaking one, otherwise our liberties would not be what they are. The true instinct for revolt, he said, was not anarchy, but a desire to secure reforms and those liberties of which we are so proud. This spirit of revolt, which inspired our fathers, was now leading the women, and the fact that this revolt came from the law-abiding classes was enough in itself to damn the Government. In this great fight the Government, which provoked the fight, were in the position of the accused; and yet they were also the prosecutors, and could manipulate processes and sentences to their advantage. "They can touch the button which teaches how prisoners are to be treated; how much they are to be sentenced to; how they are to be regarded by those to whom they go for their sentence. It (the Government) can avoid arrest when it is convenient to

WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC.

According to the Shield (which is the official organ of the British Committee of the International Federation for the Abolition of the Slave Trade), the Member who has charge of the Criminal Law Amendment (White Slave Traffic) Bill has some hope of overcoming the opposition of those members who have hitherto blocked it, in which case it might go through as a private member's Bill. But, adds the Shield, it ought to be Government Bill. A strong movement is on foot for pressing the Cabinet to adopt it. A couple of hours of Parliamentary time would be sufficient for the second reading, and its after progress is already assured.

It may be of service to remind our readers that the main provision of the Bill, which is quite short, is to enable the police to arrest procurers and traffickers without warrant, as pickpockets and murderers are arrested. At present they are often able to escape while a warrant is being prepared.

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