

VOTES FOR WOMEN

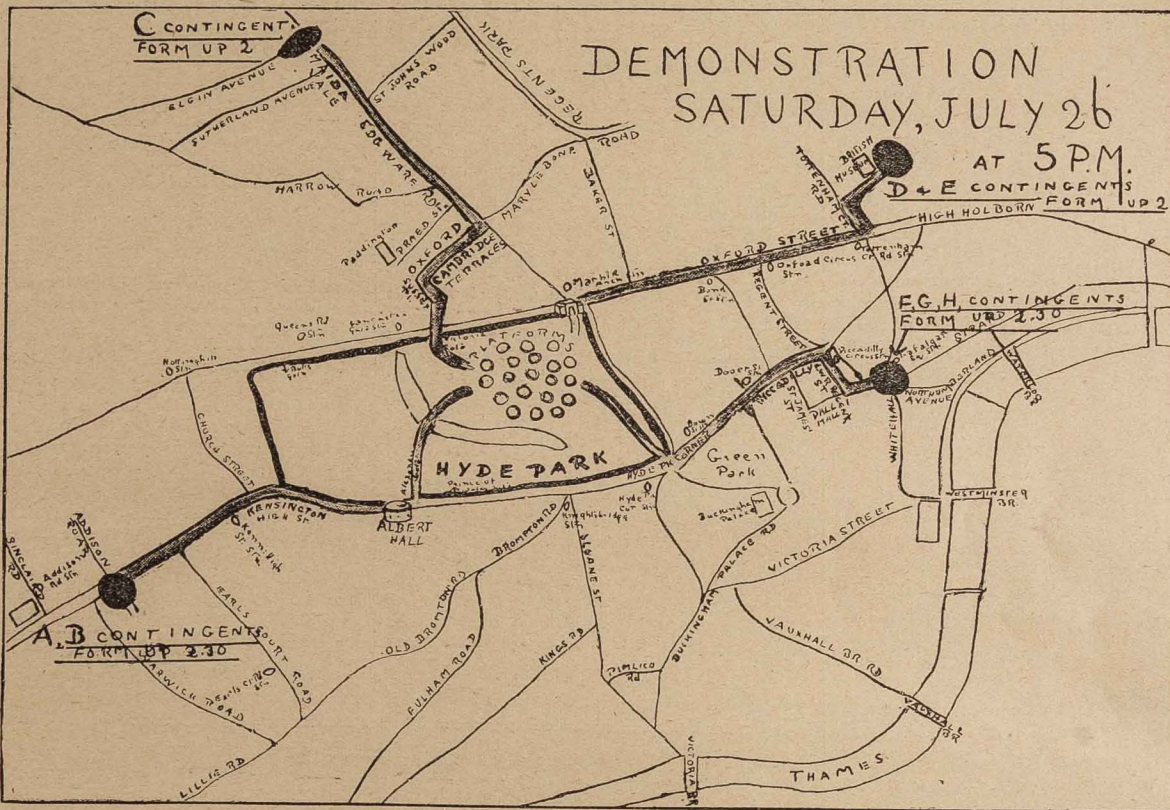
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TO HYDE PARK!



Map of Hyde Park and environs, showing the points of assembly and routes of the four great processions joining in the monster demonstration, at 5 p.m., in the Park to-morrow (Saturday), which is the culminating feature of the National Pilgrimage through England, organised by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

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DEDICATION

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

THE OUTLOOK

We commend to new readers of this paper the statement which we print in our leading article this week with regard to the Votes for Women movement. We tell over again what it is that women are fighting

for and why they are struggling to obtain it, and we give an outline of the course of the agitation during the past eight years.

To-Morrow in Hyde Park

To-morrow, Saturday, will be an important day in the history of the movement, for on that afternoon Hyde Park will be the scene of a monster demonstration gathered together to demand the enfranchisement of women. On every side mighty processions of men and women, many of whom have marched to London as Pilgrims from remote parts of the country, will enter the park and converge on the space allotted for meetings. There from twenty platforms men and women orators representing the large group of Suffrage Societies known as the N.U.W.S.S.—the law-abiding Suffragists—will hold forth to vast audiences; and resolutions calling for the immediate enfranchisement of women will be put to the meeting.

Previous Hyde Park Demonstrations

This is not the first time that a great concourse of people has come together in Hyde Park to demand this reform. Five years ago, in June, 1908, a monster demonstration was held there by one of the militant organisations—the W.S.P.U.—at which

something like half a million people were present. Writing of this meeting, the correspondent of the *Times* said:—

The organizers of the demonstration had counted on the attendance of 250,000. This expectation was certainly fulfilled. Probably it was doubled; and it would be difficult to contradict anyone who asserted confidently that it was trebled. Like the distances and numbers of the stars, the facts were beyond the threshold of perception.

Again in 1910 a combined demonstration of all the Suffrage Societies was held in the park, at which there were as many as forty platforms, and immense enthusiasm for the cause of Votes for Women was exhibited.

The Great Pilgrimage

To-morrow's demonstration will be the culminating feature of the great Pilgrimage which for six weeks past has been marching down the great roads of England to the Metropolis. Several of these streams of Pilgrims have already coalesced. Several others will unite to-day, so that on Saturday there will only be four separate contingents converging on the Park. The map we print at the head of this page will give our readers the principal features of the demonstration, and will enable them to select points of vantage

still to be served actually exceed in many cases the original sentences inflicted.

An Incentive to Crime

But even "Onlooker's" statement does not fully expose the whole failure of the Act. The object of criminal legislation should be first and foremost to repress crime. But in the present instance it is clear that in spite of (we can almost say because of) the cruel provisions of the Act, the revolutionary deeds of a section of Suffragists continue unabated. A prisoner released on license may be able to elude the police by a disguise and either fly the country or commit a fresh offence; the one thing she cannot do is live a peaceful, law-abiding life. The Act is therefore, as has already been proved, in many cases a direct incentive to crime.

A Solemn Warning

What the Act really does is to cause an infinite amount of added suffering to those women who, for reasons that they hold to be adequate, are at open war with society. It has not quenched their spirit, because that appears to be unquenchable. Men and women, whatever view they may take of these women and their actions, are slowly coming to realise that they will either have to allow these women to die or else they must compel the Government to carry into effect a reform which has the great bulk of the country in its favour. The *Globe* and the *Express* are urgently pressing on the Cabinet the former alternative. We raise our voice in solemn warning against this wicked suggestion. We call upon all that is left of statesmanship in the Liberal Party to have done with coercion, and to act at once with justice and wisdom.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence Turned Out of the Reform Club

As a result of the part he has played in the agitation for Woman Suffrage, Mr. Pethick Lawrence has been turned out of the Reform Club, of which he had been a member for nearly twenty years. By a rule of the club a man ceases to be a member on being adjudicated a bankrupt, but it is specifically stated in the rule that the Committee, after considering the circumstances, have the power to reinstate him. It will be remembered that as a matter of principle Mr. Lawrence refused to pay the costs of the prosecution of himself and others in the Conspiracy Trial of 1912, and suffered himself to be made a bankrupt. After the money had been taken from his estate by the Official Receiver, an order was made annulling the bankruptcy. Nevertheless, the Committee of the Reform Club has refused to reinstate Mr. Lawrence as a member of the club, in spite of the fact that annulment does not merely terminate bankruptcy, but expunges it completely, so that for all ordinary purposes it is as though it had never been.

The Case of Mr. Lansbury

The special case with regard to George Lansbury is

fixed for hearing on Monday next in the High Court. It will be remembered that Mr. Lansbury was called upon in the police court to show cause why he should not be bound over to keep the peace in consequence of a speech delivered at the Albert Hall. Mr. Lansbury contested the legality of the proceedings, but the magistrate ruled against him. When, however, Mr. Lansbury refused to be bound over and prepared to face imprisonment as an alternative, the magistrate consented to state a case for the High Court. In addition to Mr. Lansbury, the position of Mr. John Scurr and others depends on the decision.

River Oratory

An effective demonstration was made by the Women's Freedom League on Tuesday last from the river in front of the Terrace of the House of Commons. Miss Nina Boyle, the secretary of the League, standing on a specially chartered steam launch, addressed a large number of Members of Parliament on the subject of Woman Suffrage, drawing from them constant rounds of applause. In spite of the frantic efforts of the Terrace policemen, the boat kept its place, and it was not till twenty minutes had elapsed that a boat containing river police made off and easily outdistanced its pursuers.

The Mental Deficiency Bill

We regret to see that the Mental Deficiency Bill is not included among the Bills put an end to by the process known as the Massacre of the Innocents. This dangerous piece of legislation is far too complicated for us to analyse in detail in these columns, but we hold very strongly to the opinion that a measure of this kind, involving the personal liberty of large numbers of children as well as of adults, ought not to be carried into law until women, who have far greater experience on such questions than men, have an equal share of expressing their opinion through the ballot-box.

Items of Interest

The important conference at the Caxton Hall on the Cat and Mouse Act, followed by the Public Meeting in the Kingsway Hall, is taking place on Thursday after we have gone to press. Tickets for the latter, to be held at 8 p.m., were to be obtainable at the doors.

We recommend to women to watch with vigilance developments of the proposals put forward by certain doctors and endorsed by a section of the Press with regard to new legislation for dealing with contagious diseases. In our view it is essential that women must become voters before such a question can safely be handled.

In view of the special value of this issue for purposes of propaganda, readers are invited to purchase extra copies for distribution among their friends.

DREAM SHADOWS

An Allegory

By F. W. S. Bloxham

Once I was told of a wonderful land of rare delights, the entrance to which was through beautiful golden gates. There soft breezes blew, sweet scents filled the air, birds sang, murmuring brooks crooned a lullaby, and all things breathed peace, kissed by the warm beams of the sun they loved. No restless yearnings, no burning desires were to be found there, for such disturbing elements could not enter through those golden gates whose gleaming portals opened only to mortals who know nothing of such feelings.

Who passed through then into that mystic land, do you ask? Well, listen, and you shall hear. There were mites of children in whose wonder-filled eyes no shadows of doubt or distress were visible, who played with the sunbeams and paddled in the stream, conscious only of the joy of living. Then there were older children, too, mortals who had somehow managed to remain in the enchanted land of childhood, lulled into that sense of security which a sheltered life brings with it. But the wonder had faded from their eyes, and a dull dreaminess was there instead. Still, for them too, the soft breeze blew, the air was fragrant with flowers, the stream murmured its lullaby, the birds sang, for were they not safe within the golden gates of Sheltered Womanhood, where no restless yearnings troubled them, no harsh cares disturbed the even tenour of their lives. But for all that they were asleep!

Then one day a strange thing happened. One of the sleepers awoke. And lo! the golden gates had crumbled to dust, and the whole landscape was dark, while the air was filled with ear-splitting sounds of

war and tumult. And the woman moaned in her distress: "Oh! woe is me, for I am all alone, and this is hell!"

But a voice cried: "Courage, up and fight, for this is life, and you are a warrior whose cause is Justice and Purity, whose foe is Tyranny and Lust. You are not alone, for the battle is the Lord's, and Victory is assured." Then the woman arose, terrible and grand in her new-found strength, and soon she found herself surrounded by an ever-growing army of women—warriors, against whose ranks the unseen enemy pressed in vain; for though the fight waxed hot and the foe seemed invincible, yet every soldier in that gallant band who fell in the fray, left behind her a halo of light that illumined the path for those who hurried forward to fill the gap. And as the Light spread, lo! the darkness vanished and the enemy with it, until at last the victorious warriors—now seen to be a mighty host of men and women—filled the place where once the fight had been.

And she who had been chosen to lead the army on to victory, forgot how the fight began, forgot the loneliness, the darkness and despair, remembering only the glorious message that had come to her, and nerved her to face the foe, endowing her with superhuman strength, because like Galahad of old her heart was pure. And the land of rare delights, that sensuous paradise she knew to be a Lie, for beauty, truth, and purity are of the spirit not of the senses, and true happiness comes not to sense-bound dreamers but to those who awake to the call that bids them go forth to do battle, each in his own way, for the cause of Justice and Purity.

OBSTINACY OF MR. ASQUITH

Refusal to see Scottish Deputation—Speeches from the Premier's Doorstep—Scotsmen Return Indignant

One of the most interesting events of the past week was the deputation of Scottish representative men—some forty in number—who were seeking an interview with Mr. Asquith to lay before him the protests against the Cat and Mouse Act adopted at a number of large public gatherings in Scotland, and the demand made by the same meetings that the Government should proceed to the immediate enfranchisement of women. This deputation contained Provosts, ex-Provosts, Bailies, Councillors, J.P.'s, ministers, barristers and solicitors, teachers, and other representative persons.

The organisation of the deputation had been undertaken by the Actresses' Franchise League and the Men's League for Women's Suffrage. To the enthusiasm and devotion of Mrs. Arnelife Sennett was due the success of the meetings in Scotland, and the efficiency with which the arrangements for the deputation were carried through. It is evident from the Scottish Press that the whole campaign was to them both surprising and impressive.

At Downing Street

Early on Friday morning the members of the deputation arrived in London, and were met by Mrs. Arnelife Sennett and officers of the Men's League. After breakfasting at Enston, they proceeded to the offices of the National Political League, where a short meeting was held and addressed by George Lansbury, Mrs. Sennett, and G. Layworth. Ten members were then selected to wait upon the Premier.

From Glasgow: Bailie Alston, J.P., Provost Perry, Dr. A. Wilson, J. M. Soryngour, M.A., and W. Thomson, B.A. From Edinburgh: J. Wilson MacLaren, Councillor Crawford, Bailie Murray, W. Cuthbertson, J.P., Councillor Barrie, and Alex. Orr, secretary to the deputation.

On arrival at Downing Street, the deputation was heartily cheered by the members of the public gathered in Whitehall. Downing Street had been cleared, and was held by a cordon of police, through which the deputation passed, and the ten representatives were at once admitted to the Premier's house. Here they were received by Mr. Gulland, the Scottish Whip, and one of Mr. Asquith's secretaries. The conversation was brief, but pointed. The deputation insisted that they should see Mr. Asquith, but were told that they could not possibly do so. (As a matter of fact, Mr. Asquith had driven away from Downing Street about 10.30.) The representatives were invited to leave written statements of what they wanted to say, and these would receive, &c., &c. This they declined to do, as they considered such a proceeding mere waste of time.

After making an emphatic protest against this discourteous treatment of a body of public men, they left in disgust, and a short meeting was held in front of the house, Bailie Alston, Councillor Crawford, and the Rev. C. Burton, Episcopal Minister of Girvan and Stranraer, addressing the body of the deputation. Bailie Alston said that everyone of them knew the rising feeling in Scotland on the question of the Cat and Mouse Bill, and no doubt the Government would realise it at the next General Election. The Rev. Mr. Burton said that not only in Scottish towns, but in the country parishes, the abhorrence of the Cat and Mouse persecutions were turning people against the Government by the hundred and the thousand.

The deputation then retired, and after a brief consultation of the leaders at the Men's League offices, reassembled for an early lunch with Lady Cowdray at Carlton House Terrace.

What Mr. Asquith Refused to Hear

The speeches that the delegates intended to make to Mr. Asquith have been printed and circulated, that of Bailie Alston, J.P., gives a terse, clear statement of the views the delegates intended to express to the Prime Minister. It is as follows:—

"We are here to-day to urge a view of the question on Women's Suffrage that is widely held by the people who make up the Local governing bodies in Scotland.

"The question has now reached a stage when we can no longer stand aside and allow matters to take their course.

"The view we urge is this, the local authorities are finding it more difficult to carry on local government and maintain efficient administration of the Law in face

that are taking place all over the country. "We are not here to excuse, blame, or defend those acts, but many of us hold that the Government, in their Individual and Collective Capacity, by resisting this just demand, are more responsible for these outrages that have taken place all over the country than the persons who actually committed such acts.

"We, therefore, urge upon the Government to put an end to the present unenfranchisement of affairs by granting a reform at least thirty years overdue, and which at least two-thirds of the people are anxious to see on the Statute Book."

The other members intended to proceed along much the same lines. Councillor Crawford wished to refresh Mr. Asquith's memory as to what happened in Ireland before Gladstone's time, and to ask him to give effect to his own famous remark that "the will of the people must prevail." Mr. W. Cuthbertson, J.P., and Mr. Wilson MacLaren wanted to urge on the Prime Minister that the time was now ripe for the reform, as did also Mr. Alexander Orr.

Indignation at the House

In the afternoon they waited on Mr. G. N. Barnes at the House of Commons, and were taken by him to Committee Room 14, where they found Mr. H. G. Chancellors, with Messrs. C. E. Price, Mackinder, McCallum Scott, Sir William P. Beale, and other Scottish M.P.'s, before these the spokesmen laid their case.

The proceedings which followed were a revelation to many members of the deputation, for Liberal, Conservative, and Labour M.P.'s alike displayed such an incapacity for the ordinary processes of reasoning that one after another of the visitors rose and made indignant protests against what seemed to them deliberate misrepresentations both of the facts at issue and their own protests. The M.P.'s, unconscious—like all people who have acquired the habit of arguing in a circle—of any deliberate misrepresentation, were very indignant at the heckling to which they were subjected, and Mr. Mackinder threatened that they would all withdraw from the room.

A fresh storm arose when hon. members—forgetting that they were not in the House—began giggling over the description of the operations under the Cat and Mouse Act. This brought several of the Scottish visitors to their feet in bitter protest, and for the moment sobered the M.P.'s. Mr. Chancellors, the only Member present who had won the respect of the delegates, made a tactful attempt to restore peace, which was, however, at once rendered futile by Mr. Barnes. One stately Scot thereupon rose abruptly, and clapping his hat on his head, said, "You're not honest—you're a lot of Parliamentary frauds," and with that walked out. His fellow-deputations cheered and thumped the desks.

After that the proceedings became something of a confused give-and-take heckling, in which the hon. members hardly took the trouble to disguise their contempt for persons who could regard Parliamentary

business as anything but a game played for the ulterior motives of the players.

RECEPTION TO THE SCOTSMEN

In the evening a successful reception was held by the Actresses' Franchise League and Men's League at the Knightsbridge Palace Hotel. At first to "talk and treat" was the business of the evening. Speeches came next. Mrs. Arnelife Sennett was in the chair, and on rising was received with applause. She said that the agitation for Women's Suffrage had dissolved itself into a fight against one man. The time had come for a change of leadership; the country was not so barren of men that it could not find one to fill Mr. Asquith's place.

She then told her audience how the deputation had been thought of and formed. It came about through the sacrifice of Emily Davison's life. (Cheers.) As Mrs. Sennett was standing in the Morpeth churchyard, a gardener said to her, "This woman has given us something to hitch on to, and, by God, we will do it." Then Mrs. Sennett thought how fine it would be to raise a deputation of men from the North.

Scotland was splendid, she declared. People had said to her, "Why did these (the Deputation) make a row? Well, I hope," she continued, "they will next time, for they are not going to let things rest." (Laughter and cheers.)

Mr. Laurence Housman then spoke. He said the Scotch were always said to be a poetic nation. Well, the members of this deputation had done a poetic thing. They had again invaded the House of Commons in repulsion. That was a work of imagination. It was a weakness of men to be pleased with apparent success, and very disappointed with apparent failure.

What we must all do is to show the men of this country that there is a denial waiting whatever is done. We are fighting a great non-party fight against party organisation. Party is to-day barring the way to justice. Unless men are willing to threaten party we are powerless. When we threaten party Parliament will act.

Councillor Crawford, of Edinburgh, spoke next. He referred to Miss Davison's death, and asked, "Is that sacrifice of health and strength and wealth going to be of no avail? 'I think,' he said, 'it is going to be of avail.' He then went on to deal with the Deputation's experiences that morning, and also with the attitude of the Press, which, he said, was of course biased and unfair. He only hoped that Mr. Asquith was feeling half as uncomfortable as Mr. Gulland had looked when he received them that morning.

Mr. Crawford spoke of the large numbers of miners who were in sympathy with the women's cause, and said that if the miners' group in East Fife would tell their member that it must be right-about turn, then Mr. Asquith would have to seek a new seat, or follow the example of the American who changed his views to suit his audience.

Mr. W. Cuthbertson, J.P., said the average woman was much superior to the average man, and especially so in the lower strata of life. It was incredible that men like Mr. Asquith should not see that Women's Suffrage was bound to come, and that to stop it was impossible. It was like trying to sweep back the Atlantic with a broom.

Mrs. Finlayson Gauld, a Scotswoman, said a few words in a splendid, inspiring way that made her audience feel that they must be up and doing. "I am glad our men have been refused," she exclaimed, "because it will let them understand how militant women have been turned out."

Mrs. Arnelife Sennett then put the following resolution, which was carried unanimously and enthusiastically:— "That this meeting considers that Mr. Asquith has violated the principles of democracy, and calls upon him to resign the great office that he holds." Afterwards the Actresses' Franchise League gave a short, and, of course, good entertainment.

IN HYDE PARK

On Sunday evening a demonstration was held in Hyde Park at six o'clock, when large audiences gathered round the platforms of the Actresses' Franchise League and Men's League. Later the Men's League arranged a second, and ultimately a third, platform, two or three members of the deputation speaking at each.

They were received with marked attention, their evident sincerity and the humour and energy of their speeches appealing strongly to the listeners. They gave humorous and indignant accounts of their adventures. Councillor Crawford dealing with the Downing Street incident, took as his text, "The wicked fish when no man pursueth", and they were well cheered when the announcement was made that they were going to stay over Monday and again invade the House of Commons—the "House of Bluff," as one speaker termed it. They expressed the utmost indignation at the treatment that had been accorded them, one speaker declaring that they had had the greatest possible difficulty in keeping the lid on some of the delegates, and he, for one, didn't mind when it blew off now.

At the close of the meetings questions poured in from all sides. Finally, at all the platforms resolutions were carried by overwhelming majorities regretting the Premier's refusal to receive the deputation, condemning the Cat and Mouse Act, and calling for an immediate Government measure for the enfranchisement of women.

A FURTHER ATTEMPT

The deputation made another fruitless attempt on Monday morning to see Mr. Asquith. In the evening they were eventually received by Mr. McKinnon Wood, the Secretary for Scotland, in his private room at the House of Commons.

Bailie Murray asked for the "Cat and Mouse" Act to be repealed; Mr. McKinnon Wood declined to give a pledge. Councillor Crawford desired militants to be treated as political offenders; Mr. McKinnon Wood said he did not regard arson as a political offence.

Councillor Crawford further said that Mr. Asquith was steering the Liberal Party on to the rocks of destruction. In his part of the world the electors at the next election would vote either Unionist or Socialist rather than support the present proceedings of the Liberal Government.

On leaving, the bailies said the interview was "utterly unsatisfactory." (The "Daily News" comment on the deputation will be found on page 635.)



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FRIDAY, JULY 25, 1913.

WHAT IT'S ALL ABOUT

The great demonstration in Hyde Park next Saturday of law-abiding Suffragists belonging to the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies will cause many a man and many a woman to ask, "What is it all about?" The same question has been on the lips of hundreds of thousands who have been present at the countless meetings organised by different Suffrage Societies in every part of the country. The same question has been silently asked by millions during the past few months as they read in their newspapers the story of revolutionary deeds done by women, of drastic punishments inflicted, of hunger strikes in prison, of prisoners released under the Cat and Mouse Act, of rearrests and of scenes of riot and disorder.

Everybody knows the answer to this question in general terms; everybody knows that it is the demand for Votes for Women which has caused all these things to happen. But only some people know the precise measure of enfranchisement for which women are asking, or what they hope to gain by it if granted; while as to the main features of the modern history of the agitation, nearly everybody is in ignorance. It is on these points that we hope in this article to enlighten them.

In the first place, the reform for which women are asking is precisely defined by the phrase, "the removal of the sex barrier." In other words, women claim that the qualifications which entitle a person to a Parliamentary vote shall not be affected by the sex of the person concerned. If a law embodying this principle were carried to-morrow, it would enfranchise about a million and a quarter women (mostly householders paying rates and taxes), of whom about 80 per cent. belong to the working classes. When it is remembered that there are at present some seven and a half million male voters, it will be seen that this demand which is put forward unanimously by all the Suffrage Societies is at once logical, moderate and reasonable.

In reply to the second question why women think the acquisition of the Parliamentary vote so important that they are prepared to carry out on its behalf an agitation involving the sacrifice of time and money, and in some cases of liberty and health and even life itself, women give three answers. Firstly, they need the vote for the protection of themselves and other women under the law and the administration of the country. They point to the unequal treatment of women in the Insurance Act, to the exclusion of women from the better-paid posts in the Civil Service, to the sweating of women in Government employ, to the laws relating to divorce, the guardianship of children, inheritance, and many

other matters as showing that a voteless section of the population does not obtain fair consideration at the hands of Parliament. In the second place, they claim that in all legislation affecting the interests of the country as a whole, and the men and women and children in it, the women's point of view is not given adequate weight. They say that the improvement of housing, the better protection of child life, the purification of food, and many other questions do not command the attention they deserve because the women who care most about these things have not the driving power of the vote to force them to the front. And they say that in consequence many thousands of little children die annually from preventable causes, and that the health and life of the country is gravely deteriorated. Lastly, they say that the Parliamentary vote is a symbol of citizenship, that the exclusion from the vote of the whole female sex is a stigma of inferiority which no glib talk about the "differing spheres of men and women" can obliterate. They claim their right to be an equal sovereign half of a sovereign people, and they refuse to accept any lesser or inferior status.

The modern history of the Woman Suffrage agitation divides itself naturally into four main periods. The first period from 1905 to the spring of 1910 was the period of early militancy, when a number of women grown tired of a patience which had lasted for forty years determined to heckle Cabinet Ministers at their meetings, to oppose Government candidates at by-elections, and to go in deputation to the Prime Minister at the House of Commons. During the whole of this period women did no violence, but great violence was done to them; they were flung out of meetings with great brutality, and the Prime Minister, refusing time after time to see their deputations, had them first knocked about by posses of police, then arrested and imprisoned on a charge of obstruction.

The second period consists of the years 1910 and 1911, when the militant women declared a truce in methods of militancy, and all Suffragists joined together to secure the passage of a Bill acceptable to all parties. The Conciliation Bill, as it was called, passed its second reading in 1910 by a majority of 110, and again in 1911 by a majority of 167; but on each occasion was blocked by the fiat of the Cabinet, which refused to give further time for its discussion, in spite of the fact that the women combined to hold larger demonstrations than had been previously held in support of any other reform, and that nearly every local body of importance petitioned Parliament in favour of the Bill. At length, Mr. Asquith gave a definite pledge for time and fair play for a similar Bill in 1912, and this promise all Suffragists accepted.

This period was brought to an end in November, 1911, by Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George, who, breaking the spirit of the pledge on which women had relied, announced the introduction of a Manhood Suffrage Bill, undertaken at the same time so to draft it that an amendment to include women could be moved. The law-abiding Suffragists accepted the new offer and worked for it. The militant women foresaw a trap, and reverted to militancy; two monster protests were made in which hundreds of women took part, extensive window breaking taking the place of a mere deputation because women were not prepared to face again the brutality to which they had been subjected before. For this demonstration several hundreds of women were arrested and imprisoned.

The last period, which is still continuing, began with the exposure of the sham of Mr. Asquith's promise. The Speaker ruled all Woman Suffrage amendments to the Manhood Suffrage Bill out of order. Mr. Asquith proceeded to substitute an entirely worthless alternative for the pledge which he had failed to keep; and the prospect of any immediately successful Parliamentary action was reduced to nil. The law-abiding Suffrage Societies who had trusted the promise were furious, and declared their intention of becoming anti-Government; while the leader of the larger militant society, abandoning the method of monster protests by increasing numbers of women, declared for frankly revolutionary courses. To this the Government have replied with coercion.

We have now explained to the new readers of this paper what it is all about. They have now to tell us what they propose to do to help us to compel the Government to listen to reason, and to grant to duly qualified women that share in the Government of the country to which they are justly entitled.

MR. MCKENNA'S FAILURE

The Cat and Mouse Act Shown Up

By "Onlooker"

What has been the net result of the Cat and Mouse policy to date?

It was on April 25—exactly three months ago—the Royal Assent was given to the Prisoners' Temporary Discharge for Ill-Health (or Cat and Mouse) Bill, after the eloquent pleading of Lord Haldane had secured it a lightning passage through the House of Lords. Here was the week-end upon them, and unless their Lordships hurried up, it seemed at least half a dozen prisoners, already on the point of collapse, would have to be released unconditionally, and so get off scot free. Under the proposed Act, these "mice" could be recaptured as often as necessary and made to serve out their sentence in snatches. Their Lordships, who exist to prevent hasty legislation, duly hurried up, the whole of the Committee and Third Reading stages occupying some sixty seconds. The Bill was passed, and as soon as Ministers came back from their week-end, Mr. McKenna began his releases under the new form of licence.

In point of fact, the first four prisoners released—Miss Ella Stevenson, Mr. Hugh Franklin, Miss Phyllis Brady, and Miss Millicent Dean—were not re-caught with the ease predicted, for the simple reason that the police were never able to find them again, a circumstance which applies to another half-dozen of the prisoners since released.

But what of the majority of the Suffragist captives—those with whom the Government has been at closer grips? How far with these has the purpose of the Government's Coercion Act succeeded?

To judge of that, we must realise what ends the Government could have proposed to itself as a result of this legislation. Clearly they could have had but two ends in view: (1) the avowed and decorous aim of vindicating the majesty of the law by compelling each prisoner ultimately to suffer the full term of his or her sentence, however long that might take; or alternatively (2) the unavowed and sinister aim of wearing out its political opponents by the breakdown of their spirit or the complete exhaustion of their physical powers.

It is now apparent that in neither of these aims has the Government succeeded. Indeed, in both of them it has conspicuously failed, and so far as the first of these aims is concerned, the failure must daily become more ludicrously apparent, as may be seen by a mere recital of the results to date. Whilst as to the only alternative aim, its very success, if that were possible, would but land the Government into a more difficult and dangerous position than any it has yet had to face. In the one case we have farce; in the other case all the elements of tragedy.

Such is the position in which Government place themselves when determined to do anything rather than adopt the simple and obvious course of doing justice.

Let us, firstly, see what has been accomplished by the Act towards compelling the prisoners to serve the sentences inflicted.

Under its provisions twenty-seven prisoners have been dealt with—or twenty-six if Miss Lilian Lenton and Miss "May Dennis" be one person, as suggested. The law has failed even to get Miss Lenton, or "Miss Dennis," to trial, in each case the prisoner having to be released without bail, and thereupon disappearing.

Sentences Aggregating Over 21 Years

The convicted prisoners released under the Act received sentences totalling in the aggregate over twenty-one years, of which, up to the present, not one year has been served between them, the average being about ten days per prisoner. Even at the rate of progress during the past three months, there are sentences of nine months each which would not be completed until 1918, 1919, or 1921, whilst Mrs. Pankhurst's sentence of three years would take until 1935. But, in point of fact, with each prisoner, every term of reincarceration gets shorter, and every term of release gets longer, which means that the arrears accumulate faster than they can be cleared off, and many of the sentences could not be served in a lifetime.

In two recent cases, it will have been noticed, the utter futility of the whole proceeding has been enhanced by the released prisoner, as soon as physically well enough to get about, committing a fresh act leading to a new trial and sentence, thus adding at each release to the arrears of the original sentence—a sort of accumulation of arrears at compound interest.

For its entanglement in this impossible position, it

is significant to note that the Government receives not a scrap of sympathy from the public or the Press. The man in the street looks on in wonder or in derision. The Liberal Press maintains a kind of uneasy and shame-faced silence, and the Tory Press, having helped to egg on the Government to this futile action, can hardly conceal its delight at being able to taunt it with another administrative failure.

Meanwhile, all the elements of tragedy lie within the near future. At the time the Act was under discussion, in the issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN for April 4, the editor predicted that suffrage prisoners would in the majority of cases refuse to conform to the terms of their licence, which would mean the adoption of the following procedure:—

"A woman is arrested, convicted and sentenced. She adopts the hunger strike. After a few days, in the course of which she may or may not be forcibly fed, she is reduced to such a condition of health that the prison doctors certify that her life is in danger; she is then released and goes home, where, after careful nursing, she is restored to health. She is then rearrested, again hunger strikes; her vitality rapidly sinks, she is again released, goes home, and is once more nursed back to life, when the whole ghastly tragedy is re-enacted."

This is exactly what has happened. Indeed, it is difficult to know what else could have been expected, except by those determined to deceive themselves, and the Government has deceived itself so often with regard to matters arising from the Woman Suffrage movement, and seems so determined not to learn by experience that it may well have added in this case to its record of exploded delusions.

It has failed, then, so far either to break the spirit of its captives, or to exhaust their physical powers of resistance and endurance, and it daily becomes clearer that they are determined to continue the battle so long as body and soul can hold together.

Such a struggle between the Government and a prisoner, if the Government is determined to prolong it, can be ended only in one way—by the death of the prisoner. Is the Home Office prepared to face that? Is the Government prepared to face it?

We know that in history similar struggles have so ended. We know that in our own times, in the prisons of Russia, such struggles have so ended. But we have left the days of the Inquisition and the Star Chamber behind, and we do not live in Russia.

Let the Government take warning by the fiasco which followed on their attempts to suppress freedom of speech and freedom of the Press. Discredit of a far more serious character awaits them when the inevitable tragedy sheds all too lurid a light upon their methods of meeting an agitation for political freedom. On the other hand, they have nothing to lose with all the more responsible elements of society if they take their courage in both hands and let the world see the daring spectacle of a Liberal Government applying to one-half of the nation the greatest of the principles of Liberalism.

LIBERALISM*

This book contains a well-written statement of what Liberalism means to an English Liberal, and a plain and honest account—from the Liberal's point of view—of the work of the Liberal Party in the last 150 years. No Tory could be expected to endorse Mr. Lyon Bleasde's version in these pages of the principles and policy of Toryism during that same period, and the mere historian would not always accept the author's narrative of events or his verdict on certain political transactions without protest.

But though the volume is frankly partisan, it is an ably sincere piece of work, and a good deal of thought and much wide reading have been spent over its preparation. And, if it is partisan, what of that? If we want to know what Liberalism means a Liberal is the right person to supply the information, and the tone and temper of Mr. Bleasde's style are admirable. This is his definition of the Liberal-minded man: One—

who looks upon each of his fellows as of equal worth with himself. He does not assume that all men and women are of equal capacity, or equally entitled to offices and privileges. But he is always inclined to leave and to give them equal opportunity with himself for self-expression and for self-development. He assumes, as the basis of his activity, that he has no right to interfere with any other person's attempts to employ his natural powers in what he conceives to be the best way. He is unwilling to impose his judgment upon that of others, or to force them to live their lives according to his ideas rather than their own. They are never to be used by him for his own ends, but for theirs. Each is to be left to himself to work out his own salvation. . . . Upon class distinctions in society, privilege of sex, rank, wealth, and creed, he wages unceasing war. They are, in his eye, weights and impediments. To one of two individuals, not distinguishable in natural capacity, they give an advantage which is denied to the other.

Having thus equipped his Liberal with a set of high principles, Mr. Lyon Bleasde sets out to tell us how Liberal statesmen and politicians have fulfilled their calling since the time of George III; and makes out for them a far better case than they deserve. Of course, the Liberal—the Parliamentary Liberal, that is—of Mr. Bleasde's definition has no more real existence than the "economic man" of the old political economists. Once in politics, and a member of the Liberal Party, his business has been to do his best for the Party, and, incidentally, for himself and for the country. The man of clear principle is always out of place in the House of Commons, and is as much disliked by the party managers outside. Hence the failure of John Stuart Mill and the success of Palmerston, Melbourne, and many lesser men. Cobden was too honest to become a Cabinet Minister.

It is when we come to "Liberalism since 1905," and to the treatment of the Women's Suffrage movement by the Liberal Government that Mr. Bleasde is at his best; and, in fact, the whole book really leads up to this masterly indictment of Mr. Asquith and his servile followers. Mr. Lyon Bleasde knows the history of the last seven years, and has grasped the importance of the "Votes for Women" agitation. Are we not all indebted to him for many and valuable literary contributions to the cause? Writing as a Liberal, an ardent Liberal, his attack on the present office-holders is the more effective.

We hope this book will be read by all Liberal M.P.'s, candidates, and members of Liberal Associations. Amongst such it cannot be too lavishly circulated.

J. C.
* "A Short History of English Liberalism." By W. Lyon Bleasde. (Fisher Unwin, 10s. 6d. net.)



THE SUSPECTED SEX
GIRL (Suddenly noticing Policeman): "I fahnd it like that. I never done it, Mister; straight I never."

WILD SCENES AT THE PAVILION

Police Outwitted.—Arrest of Mrs. Pankhurst

Shortly before midnight on Saturday an astounding scene was enacted outside Mrs. Pankhurst's police-watched flat in Little Smith Street, Westminster.

Soon after eleven o'clock the suspicions of the two police watchers were aroused by the constant arrival of a number of men and women outside the mansions in Little Smith Street, a quiet thoroughfare behind the Church House, which at night is practically deserted. A little later a taxi-cab was driven up to within a few yards of the entrance, and two women got out and entered the flat. Shortly afterwards several women came out, one of whom was a heavily-veiled woman of Mrs. Pankhurst's height and appearance. She walked slowly down the steps of the building and advanced towards the waiting cab. The detectives at once approached and attempted to arrest her. Her companions drew her away, and other Suffragist sympathisers instantly appeared and struggled with the officers. Police whistles were blown, and a number of constables and scores of the general public quickly arrived. Cheers and counter cheers were given, the women did all they could to prevent the arrest, and a scene of tumult and confusion ensued.

Eventually, after the detectives had sent for assistance, the lady, holding her veil with two hands closely over her face, was placed in the taxi-cab, two officers accompanying her. The cab had gone several hundred yards before the Scotland Yard men succeeded in unseating the lady, and then, to their surprise and chagrin, they found that they had been cleverly duped. The Suffragist they had in charge was not Mrs. Pankhurst.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Pankhurst herself, who had come down the steps behind the veiled lady, during the tumult walked quietly through the crowd, round into a back street, and drove away in a private car that was waiting there for her. The detectives came rushing back, police reinforcements close on their heels, only to be greeted with the ironical laughter of the waiting Suffragists, who assured them that the real Mrs. Pankhurst was gone. The police, however, declined to acknowledge their own complete discomfiture, and preferring to believe that Mrs. Pankhurst was still in the flat, continued to keep their useless vigil outside.

AT MARLBOROUGH STREET

The six persons arrested on Monday appeared before Mr. Denman at Marlborough Police Court on Tuesday. The case of Mrs. Marshall (wife of the solicitor to the W.S.P.U.) was taken first. She was charged with assault and interfering with the police.

Counsel for the defence said there was a general mêlée, and defendant was really trying to exercise a restraining influence. She would plead guilty to a technical obstruction.

Mrs. Marshall: I shall not be bound over. I shall give no undertaking of any sort. The Magistrate imposed a fine of 20s., or fourteen days in default.

Police Vindictive

Mrs. Margaret Rogers was charged with assaulting Inspector Hayes, who said she caught hold of his shoulder strap with her left hand and struck him four or five times on the face with her right. He admitted that he might have swung Mrs. Rogers off her feet.

Mrs. Rogers, on oath, said she caught hold of Hayes's arm, whereupon he at once lost his self-control. The police were very vindictive; he was lashing out with his fists in a dreadful rage. He looked quite murderous. She did not hit him in the face.

Mrs. Verdant, of Pinner, said that Hayes caught hold of the defendant once a day, and she looked as if she would be choked. "I should not be here to-day," she declared, "if I had not seen what I consider a most brutal assault on a woman." Mrs. Florence Norgreen, of West Kensington, corroborated.

Mrs. Rogers was fined 20s., or in default fourteen days' imprisonment. The Misses Rock, West, and Grahame were then charged with obstruction. All three denied that they took any part in the disorder. Miss Grahame, in the box, said she never left the room until she was arrested, and the magistrate dismissed the case against her. He ordered the other two defendants to enter into their own recognisances for six months, or twenty-one days in default.

Major Fisher was next charged with assaulting Inspector Riley. Mr. Muskett said he understood that allegations would be raised against the police in this case, and so it would be convenient for the case to be adjourned for the defendant to instruct counsel. The magistrate adjourned the case until Monday, granting Major Fisher bail in his own recognisances of £25.

PROTESTS FROM ALL SIDES

Clergy Come Forward

A memorial signed by the Bishop of Lincoln and 120 of the clergy protesting against the working of the Prisoners (Temporary Discharge for Ill-health) Act has been addressed to the Prime Minister and the Home Secretary. The memorial is as follows:—

"With whatever weight belongs to our opinions as responsible citizens and men who by our calling are separated from party interests in politics, we desire to express our unqualified abhorrence of the working of the Prisoners (Temporary Discharge for Ill-health) Act. Experience has now made it plain that the continued enforcement of the Act can only result in the slowly effected death of those to whose cases it is applied, and we view with the utmost repugnance and the gravest misgiving the permission accorded to a Home Secretary, in the supposed interests of mercy, to transform a sentence of a few months' imprisonment into a capital sentence inflicted in a peculiarly odious and cruel fashion."

"It is obvious," the memorial continues, "that the strength of the resistance offered by the women lies in the intensity of their conviction of the justice of their claim." Such strength no oppression can overcome, and the memorialists demand the immediate repeal of the Act "in the name of humanity and good government alike."

The signatories include: The Bishop of Lincoln, Henry G. Allfree, T. Bateson Allworthy, B.D., J. B. S. Barratt, J. F. Bethune Baker, D.D., W. E. Cobb, D.D., A. E. Corniber, John Cullen, D.D., R. B. Lawson Exton, A. E. Girdlestone, Canon Green of Manchester, F. M. Green, B.D., C. H. Hatfield, James O. Hannay, Bernard O. F. Hewwood, F. H. Hovey, W. Llewellyn Herford, E. T. Kerby, A. H. E. Lee, A. M. Mitchell, Leigh L. Orton, T. R. Price, J. E. Roberts, W. C. Roberts, Clement F. Rogers, Preliminary Rudolf, H. M. Stepienson, Cecil R. Simmonds, R. T. Talbot, D.D., and Courtney C. Weeks.

VIEW OF THE PENAL REFORM LEAGUE

The following resolution has been forwarded to the Prime Minister, the Lord Chancellor, the Home Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, the leaders of the Opposition, and the Executive Committee of the Penal Reform League, having in view the discredit brought on law by what is known popularly as the 'Cat and Mouse Act,' and the injury inflicted thereby on the cause of penal reform, hereby expresses its conviction that when a prisoner who is in prison for conscience sake brings himself by hunger-striking or similar self-discipline to a state of health which, in the opinion of the Medical Officer of the prison in which he is confined, endangers his life, then justice and humanity demand that he be released unconditionally."

THE INFAMOUS ACT

Resolutions demanding the immediate repeal of the infamous 'Cat and Mouse' Act have been passed by the Bristol branch of the Women's Labour League and the Sheffield branch of the Railway Clerks' Association. The Wimbledon Trades Council and the Wimbledon Branch of the Shop Assistants' Union.

MEETINGS OF PROTEST

On Thursday, after we had gone to Press, a conference was to be held from 10 to 5 at the Caxton Hall. Sir Edward Burt was to open the conference, and the speakers were to include Canon Simpson, Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., the Hon. Mary Lawless, Miss Margaret MacMillan, the Rev. Dr. Cobb, Mr. Mansell Moulton, Miss Lena Ashwell, Mrs. Golden Sanderson, Miss Lumsden, L.L.D., Mr. and Mrs. Petrick Lawrence, Mr. Goulden, Miss Adeline Bourne, Miss Evelyn Sharp, and Mrs. Macdonald Denison. In the evening a public meeting was to be held in the Kingsway Hall.

THE ALTERNATIVE TO COERCION

Mr. John Redmond, speaking at Plymouth recently, drew a touching picture of the state of affairs if the Government were ousted, the Conservatives returned, and Ireland persisted in demanding Home Rule. "There would be coercion, suppression of free speech, the filling of gaols with men who refuse to barter their liberty and their right to self-government."

Are we to believe that Mr. Redmond is really unable to see that this is exactly what is going on now? Or is the fact that it is merely women who are filling the gaols sufficient to cause him to become wildly blind to what is going on around him? Mr. Redmond can feel deeply the wrongs of Irishmen who are denied the right to self-government, and yet it is he, and the Irish party under his leadership, who have done all in their power to deny the self-same right to Irishwomen as well as Scottishwomen and Englishwomen, and when these refused to barter their liberty and their right to self-government, he, through the infamous Cat and Mouse Act, Women have had enough of this thinking in watertight compartments!

MISS BARRETT RE-ARRESTED

Miss Barrett, a member of the W.S.P.U. and a prisoner on her licence under the 'Cat and Mouse' Act, was one of the speakers at a meeting in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, on Thursday night. She was greeted by much cheering, and in the course of her speech said that none had any intention of endeavouring to escape. "Nothing would please the Government better than that they should make themselves scarce, but they were not going to do so."

A large crowd gathered outside the Grand Hotel, and the police kept the people moving. About half an hour before Mr. Asquith was due to arrive two large windows at the side of the hotel were attacked simultaneously and shattered, the women who threw the stones calmly submitting to arrest. Later another window was smashed, the culprit escaping detection.

At the time arranged for Mr. Asquith's arrival three fire engines dashed up, a false alarm that the hotel was on fire having been given through the exchange. The Premier's appearance was the signal for other windows to be smashed, and five more women were arrested.

Police in Front and Behind

Preceding Mr. Asquith's car was a motor driven by a policeman, and following were two cars carrying ten detectives as passengers.

It was the original intention of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce to throw open their reception to the Premier to women, and also to hold it in the Town Hall; but courage seems to have failed them, and it was actually open only to men, and held in an hotel, the very offices and shops surrounding which were in the hands of the police. No member of the general public was allowed to approach the building in which the leader of the 'people's house' was speaking.

Two members of the Men's Political Union, nevertheless, were present at the banquet. Mr. Asquith had just been photographed in the reception room when one of the Suffragists stood before him and accused him, face to face, in a loud voice for two or three minutes, of torturing the women rather than give them the vote. He was then ejected by detectives, and kept in the building until late at night. At every table during the banquet this incident was discussed.

Later, when Mr. Asquith rose to make his speech, he was again loudly questioned with: "Why did he not deal justly and honestly with the women?" The second interruer was then immediately turned out of the building.

A Personal Account
One of the men who took it upon himself to remind Mr. Asquith of the dark things he finds it so shamefully easy to forget, sends us the following report:—

"I was fortunate enough to have procured a ticket for the dinner, and so obtained admission without difficulty. After a short while another member of the M.P.U. and myself entered the room in which we were to dine, but passed on entering because a flash-light photo was just about to be taken. That being over, I looked round at the company, only to find that my neighbour was none other than Mr. Asquith. I at once turned on him and asked him how he dared to torture women rather than give them justice. If anyone ever hurts Mr. Asquith it will be because such person has found the irritation provoked by the smile the Premier reserves for suffragists, even stronger than the restraint which his silver hair naturally inspires. The incident of the smile had no serious effect in this instance, owing to the fact that a small army of diners and detectives closed upon me and took me down to the lounge. There a high police official whose zeal had completely overcome his emotions searched me with very disappointing results."

"I was detained in the lounge for about five hours, during which time I was shown some of the missiles which had come through the hotel windows during the evening, and made the acquaintance of many officials of the Government. In the end I was told that I must either leave Birmingham without delay or spend the night in the cells, to be charged in the morning with obtaining a ticket under false pretences, breaking a window at Cannon Row Police Station, and (3) damaging an inkstand, which she threw through the latter window."

The defendant said she committed the act in protest against the 'Cat and Mouse' Act. "If the people do not see the sin of the Act," she added, "they will see the absurdity of it. I have been given three months' hard labour, and all the hard labour I have done is breaking the window last night."

Sir John Dickinson sentenced her to one month's imprisonment with hard labour for breaking the Home Office window and fourteen days' hard labour for each of the other offences, the terms to run concurrently. "I shall do about two weeks of it," said the defendant.

ABSURDITY OF THE 'CAT AND MOUSE' ACT

Miss May Richardson, who was released on Saturday on licence under the 'Cat and Mouse' Act, appeared at the Bow Street Police Court on three charges—(1) breaking a window at the Home Office, (2) breaking a window at Cannon Row Police Station, and (3) damaging an inkstand, which she threw through the latter window.

REMINING THE PRIME MINISTER

Suffrage Scenes at the Banquet to Mr. Asquith at Birmingham

Mr. Asquith was not allowed to make his visit to Birmingham on Monday without the reminders on the subject of his treatment of women to which he will be must have become almost accustomed—and this despite the special police precautions that were taken.

A large crowd gathered outside the Grand Hotel, and the police kept the people moving. About half an hour before Mr. Asquith was due to arrive two large windows at the side of the hotel were attacked simultaneously and shattered, the women who threw the stones calmly submitting to arrest. Later another window was smashed, the culprit escaping detection.

At the time arranged for Mr. Asquith's arrival three fire engines dashed up, a false alarm that the hotel was on fire having been given through the exchange. The Premier's appearance was the signal for other windows to be smashed, and five more women were arrested.

Preceding Mr. Asquith's car was a motor driven by a policeman, and following were two cars carrying ten detectives as passengers.

It was the original intention of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce to throw open their reception to the Premier to women, and also to hold it in the Town Hall; but courage seems to have failed them, and it was actually open only to men, and held in an hotel, the very offices and shops surrounding which were in the hands of the police. No member of the general public was allowed to approach the building in which the leader of the 'people's house' was speaking.

Two members of the Men's Political Union, nevertheless, were present at the banquet. Mr. Asquith had just been photographed in the reception room when one of the Suffragists stood before him and accused him, face to face, in a loud voice for two or three minutes, of torturing the women rather than give them the vote. He was then ejected by detectives, and kept in the building until late at night. At every table during the banquet this incident was discussed.

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It was the original intention of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce to throw open their reception to the Premier to women, and also to hold it in the Town Hall; but courage seems to have failed them, and it was actually open only to men, and held in an hotel, the very offices and shops surrounding which were in the hands of the police. No member of the general public was allowed to approach the building in which the leader of the 'people's house' was speaking.

Two members of the Men's Political Union, nevertheless, were present at the banquet. Mr. Asquith had just been photographed in the reception room when one of the Suffragists stood before him and accused him, face to face, in a loud voice for two or three minutes, of torturing the women rather than give them the vote. He was then ejected by detectives, and kept in the building until late at night. At every table during the banquet this incident was discussed.

Later, when Mr. Asquith rose to make his speech, he was again loudly questioned with: "Why did he not deal justly and honestly with the women?" The second interruer was then immediately turned out of the building.

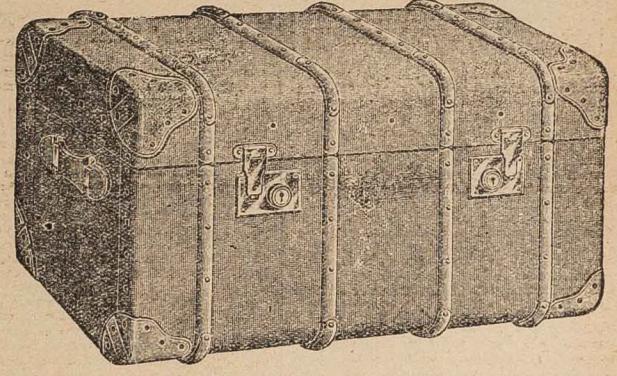
A Personal Account
One of the men who took it upon himself to remind Mr. Asquith of the dark things he finds it so shamefully easy to forget, sends us the following report:—

"I was fortunate enough to have procured a ticket for the dinner, and so obtained admission without difficulty. After a short while another member of the M.P.U. and myself entered the room in which we were to dine, but passed on entering because a flash-light photo was just about to be taken. That being over, I looked round at the company, only to find that my neighbour was none other than Mr. Asquith. I at once turned on him and asked him how he dared to torture women rather than give them justice. If anyone ever hurts Mr. Asquith it will be because such person has found the irritation provoked by the smile the Premier reserves for suffragists, even stronger than the restraint which his silver hair naturally inspires. The incident of the smile had no serious effect in this instance, owing to the fact that a small army of diners and detectives closed upon me and took me down to the lounge. There a high police official whose zeal had completely overcome his emotions searched me with very disappointing results."

"I was detained in the lounge for about five hours, during which time I was shown some of the missiles which had come through the hotel windows during the evening, and made the acquaintance of many officials of the Government. In the end I was told that I must either leave Birmingham without delay or spend the night in the cells, to be charged in the morning with obtaining a ticket under false pretences, breaking a window at Cannon Row Police Station, and (3) damaging an inkstand, which she threw through the latter window."

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RIVER SPEECH TO M.P.'s

There was an amusing incident on the terrace of the House of Commons on Tuesday evening. Shortly after five a river launch, Le Reine, containing four ladies and a crew of three men drew alongside the terrace, on which many members were walking or sitting. The women unfurled the banner of the Women's Freedom League, and two of them, mounting the wooden covering of the deck cabin, began to address the members. They were soon joined by a crowd, and a large number of ladies who were then on the terrace helped to make quite a large-sized meeting.

Members, hearing the unusual sound of a woman's voice raised in hot argument, flocked from smoke rooms and committee rooms, until two or three hundred were present. The House of Commons police tried to interfere, but as the launch kept some feet from the edge of the terrace they were powerless, and the river police were not in sight.

"You must go away," said a policeman sternly to the captain of the boat. But the captain had his orders, and made no reply, merely smiling a cryptic smile.

Miss Nina Boyle proceeded to address the assembled company, putting a great deal into a twenty minutes' speech. She warmly upbraided them, telling them that they were quite ready to accept the help of women at election times, and yet when elected, just as ready to refuse women their rights.

for Parliament without the women. You have got yourselves into a ridiculous position—perfectly ridiculous. If you only knew how ridiculous you look and how ridiculous you really are, you would soon call in the women to help you." (Laughter and cheers.)

The members listened patiently. Mr. John Redmond watched the scene, and Mr. Devlin and Mr. Pensonby and Mr. Outwater and Mr. Arthur Henderson and many other well-known members. Several times ladies on the terrace waved approving handkerchiefs to the orator on the boat. The members voted the speech and the "raid" a great success. "She's a better speaker than most of the members," remarked a Liberal M.P.

All the time the meeting had been going on, the House of Commons police were telephoning frantically to the river police to come in a boat. At last the police boat appeared on the other side of Westminster Bridge. At a signal from her companions the lady brought her finest speech to a close. Another lady (who apparently was presiding) rose and said briefly, and with a bright smile, "Thank you very much for your attention and appreciative hearing. If it is necessary to complete your education we shall come back again." She then flung some leaflets among the members.

There was laughter among the members and among the occupants of the boat, and the meeting raised a loud cheer as the launch went swiftly away—much too quickly for the police boat that followed. When the police arrived half a minute after the affair they were ironically cheered. Their prey was out of reach, and they did not even attempt any pursuit.

—Morning Post.

REGISTRATION OF NURSES

A striking example of the helplessness of women without the vote is provided by the failure of nurses to get the Bill providing for State registration carried through Parliament.

A representative of VOTES FOR WOMEN attended last Friday the meeting of the Society which exists for pressing forward this reform, and heard from the lips of speakers the same tale of the refusal of Cabinet Ministers to listen to the grievances of women who have no means to compel attention, that those who are fighting for the franchise are accustomed to hear.

Sir Victor Horsley showed conclusively that the Government did not realize the importance of this Bill, though it concerned not merely the nursing profession, but the well-being of the nation as a whole. He emphasized the fact that the public suffer directly from neglectful nursing if the standard of efficiency is not upheld by the State. The public, he said, were under the impression that the medical and nursing profession were at loggerheads over this question. This was a mistake. They were perfectly united on it. The society had advocated this measure for over twenty-five years, and it was absolutely necessary for the Government to pass this Bill. He then outlined suggestions which, after pressing, might be brought to bear—deputations, petitions, and the like, coming in conclusion to the remedy of the enfranchisement of women.

Dr. Chapple spoke of the utility of a private member's Bill, and urged the Government to take up the question; if they refused to do so, it provided one more argument in favour of the view that votes for women could not be secured by address.

Mrs. Bedford Fenwick, President of the Society, pointed out the difficulty of nurses, whose bread and butter depended on their not giving offence to the hospital committee coming out into the open to sign petitions. She thought deputations might be of some value, and urged her audience to do what they could to induce the Press to be fair with regard to the subject.

Misapplication of Public Money

The following strong resolution was carried among others by the meeting: "The Society for the State Registration of Trained Nurses, in annual meeting assembled, desires to point out that the work in which the Central Hospital Council for London is actively engaged is its organised opposition to the State Registration of Trained Nurses, that nurses have themselves financed, for the last quarter of a century, the movement for their registration by the State, and that it is most unjust that hospital committees, which are opposing a reform unanimously recommended by a Select Committee of the House of Commons, and approved by the House of Lords, should take power to utilise the contributions of the charitable to support their reactionary policy, in connection with the education and status of trained nurses."

DRESSED AS A NURSE

The British Journal of Nursing, commenting on the Queenie Gerald case, says: "The interest in this case for nurses is that when the police came to the house they were admitted by a woman dressed as a nurse, who was evidently in the employ-

ment of the procuress, and proves that nurses' uniform is used by women actively taking part in White Slave Traffic. This woman calls herself 'Nurse Betty,' and the police suppressed her real name, although we learn she says she is a midwife. We hope the Central Midwives Board will find out if she is 'certified,' and no doubt a knowledge of her craft can be usefully employed in connection with a place of ill-fame, in a manner calculated to bring her within the arm of the law."

WOMAN FACTORY INSPECTOR

The announcement that Miss Constance Smith has, by a Special Order in Council, been appointed a senior lady inspector of factories will attract attention, because of her connection with most of the societies having for their object the betterment of the industrial condition of women.

Miss Smith's work for the Christian Social Union Research committees, for the Industrial Law Committee, for the Women's Trade Union League, and for the Trade Boards was acknowledged in 1912, when she was invited to become chairman of the industrial section of the National Union of Women Workers. As writer, public speaker, and committed woman, Miss Smith has shown herself possessed of sound common sense, a faculty of prompt decision, and accurate knowledge. She has especially studied the loss of life and health due to lead poisoning in the Potteries, and her appointment may be due to the undoubted desire of the Home Office officials to lessen the high mortality of potters in the earthenware industry.

WOMEN AND THE FEEBLE-MINDED

The desirability of the co-operation of women in caring for the mentally defective was discussed on Monday during the consideration of the Scottish Mental Deficiency Bill by the Scottish Grand Committee of the House of Commons.

Mr. Whyte moved that a district board of control should have power to co-opt women members, not exceeding in number one-third of the total membership of the Board.

Mr. Munro-Ferguson urged that the co-optation of women should be made compulsory, contending that their presence on local bodies had been shown to make for economical administration. Mr. Pringle thought the proposal to make it mandatory upon local authorities to co-opt women was thoroughly undemocratic. He hoped the Secretary for Scotland would not allow himself to be rushed off his feet by that wave of feminism. (Laughter.)

Mr. McKinnon Wood said he would be willing to accept an amendment providing that where any district board contained no women the board should co-opt not more than two women to be members, and to this proposal the Committee agreed without a division.

One other view, expressed more than once, is that these Mental Deficiency Bills are very dangerous measures, and that it is necessary to enfranchise women before a satisfactory Bill can be produced. If, however, the Bills are to be carried in anything like their existing form, the presence of women on the boards will be of distinct advantage.

W.S.P.U. FUNDS RETAINED BY THE POLICE

Application was made at the Bow Street Police Court on Thursday, in the name of Mrs. Pankhurst and on behalf of the Women's Social and Political Union, for a summons under the Police Act against the Assistant Commissioner of Police to show cause why he should have handed over to the Union certain money, cash, postal orders, and cheques, seized at the time of the police raid on Lincoln's Inn House on April 30. The applicant's solicitor stated that he had applied to the Assistant Commissioner to hand over the money, and had been told that the Assistant Commissioner could not do so without an order.

The magistrate granted the summons.

"A HUMAN LABEL"

Mrs. Rigby committed for trial before the Stipendiary Magistrate at Liverpool, charged, on her own statement, with placing an explosive in the Liverpool Exchange on July 5. It will be recalled that Mrs. Rigby, when before the Court originally, confessed to having set fire to the bungalow of Sir William Lever at Rivington.

Since she was remanded a week ago, Mrs. Rigby had been hunger-striking, and in consequence of her reduced health she was released from Walton Gaol on Wednesday. When she appeared in Court on Thursday she looked very ill.

Mrs. Rigby said she surrendered herself to the police because she bungled the matter. "I forgot to put the suffragette label on the bomb," she said, "and after the explosion I posted it in a pillar-box near by. I have now presented myself to you as a human label."

"I wrote and told my husband that I was coming here, and I have called in and told Miss Jollie that I was coming here. She begged of me not to come, because no woman likes another woman going through that 'Cat and Mouse' thing. But I told her I had quite made up my mind. It is easier than you are, of course, so easy to die if one wishes to."

The defendant, who was committed for trial, declined to make application for bail, and thanked the magistrate for his kindness the previous Thursday.

LIVERPOOL ROYAL VISIT INCIDENT

At Liverpool on Friday Miss Helen Jollie, the Liverpool secretary of the Women's Social and Political Union, was charged with breaking a plate-glass window.

It was stated that the Royal procession passed the Women's Social and Political Union headquarters on Friday, and the previous night the police screwed up the windows of the offices. Miss Jollie, as a protest, picked up a poker, and, going outside, smashed the nearest window.

Defendant did not deny, and charged the police with committing an illegal act by screwing up the windows. The amount of the damage was reduced to £4 19s., and the stipendiary gave defendant an opportunity of paying this sum and being discharged. She refused, and was fined 1s. and the amount of the damage, or fourteen days in the second division. Defendant declared she would "hunger strike."

THE CASE OF MRS. WYAN

Mrs. Wyan, who was sentenced to 14 days' imprisonment for assaulting a police constable during the tumult that ensued on the attempt of the police to arrest Mrs. Pankhurst outside the Pavilion last week, has been released under the Cat and Mouse Act. She writes to us to point out that the charge on which she was sentenced on the evidence of a single constable was wholly untrue, as she neither assaulted nor made any attempt to assault the police.

MRS. PANKHURST

Graduates' Petition to the King In response to a circular letter issued recently by the committee of the London Graduates' Union for Women's Suffrage a petition for presentation to the King has been signed by 474 teachers and graduates of the University of London praying for the pardon of Mrs. Pankhurst.

The petition points out that it is difficult to see how the continued release can be justified if it merely enables the prisoner to endure more suffering than would otherwise have been possible before she ultimately succumbs. It is submitted that if the authorities mean to desist, the time for desisting has been reached, for it is doubtful whether Mrs. Pankhurst can suffer more and live. The petition is drawn up in the same terms as that which a fortnight ago was presented by six prominent London teachers and graduates, Professor Haldimont, Sir Victor Horsley, Professor Karl Pearson, and Mr. Sidney Webb, and is signed, among others, by R. W. Chambers, M.A., D.Lit. (Assistant Professor of English, and Librarian, University College, London); Alice Northorn, M.B., B.S., Helen Charlotte Isabella Gwynne-Vaughan, D.Sc., F.L.S. (Lecturer in Botany, Birkbeck College); Beatrice Harraden, B.A.; C. T. Martin, M.D., D.Sc. (Director of the Lister Institute of Preventive Medicine); and Adeline Roberts, M.D., B.S.

CORRESPONDENCE THE SCOTT FUND

Dear Editors,—I want to call your attention to the £75,000 collected for the "Captain Scott Fund," about to be allocated by a committee headed by the name of the anti-suffragist Lord Curzon. From the sum collected it is proposed to take £17,500 for scientific purposes, and I consider that, as regards science, the money will have been obtained under false pretences. Scientific needs leave the general public cold, and it can hardly be pretended that they would have subscribed such a sum for the purpose had they known at the time. Tender sympathy for the bereaved relatives, and that alone, in probably every case, called forth the generous contributions to the Scott Fund. Hoping that you can voice a protest against such a reduction from the Widows' and Orphans' Fund.—Yours, &c., LUCY DENRICK-SWINDLELL.

FROM A FELLOW

Dear Editors,—I thank you for your letter, also badge, received, and your advice as to how one can work for the Fellowship, and will act on it as far as I possibly can; but the time I can give is very little, I'm sorry to say, as I am in business from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m., besides the journey there and back, half an hour each way. I have always sold some VOTES FOR WOMEN at Piccadilly Circus last Thursday and Friday evening for an hour and a half each time, and will continue doing so each week, and also next Saturday. I am taking some out for the N.U. Demonstration in Hyde Park, and my friend will also take some, and we will do our best to get them placed, and sell as many as possible. We can both talk a little on Women's Suffrage, and are always ready to do so—I mean in a private way—for we are heart and soul in it. She will be joining your Fellowship shortly, I think, but her time, like mine, is fully taken up. I will do as well as I can with the "Record Card," and if it shows up rather empty, I cannot help it, I should have done my best.—Yours, &c., (MRS.) DRUSILLA BULL.

BIASED ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAW

As we have stated before (see VOTES FOR WOMEN, July 18), Mrs. Katherine Harvey, of Brackenhill, Bromley, Kent, is refusing on principle to comply with the regulations of the Insurance Act. She has also refused to pay taxes, and barricaded her house and grounds against the tax-collectors from May till December of last year, and again since May-day of this year.

On July 21 she appeared at the Court House, Bromley, before a fairly full Bench, summoned on ten counts in respect of her gardener, William David Asquith. When pleading guilty, Mrs. Harvey stated that she had no intention of paying. Many Suffragists are resisting the Insurance Act on the principle that they refuse to be governed without their consent, or to be taxed without representation. In this case Mrs. Harvey received the following sentence:—

Table with 2 columns: Description of fine, Amount. Total 16 17 10

These "special costs" were applied for by the solicitor for the Insurance Commissioners on the ground that no defence was attempted.

There have been other prosecutions under the Insurance Act in regard to persons who have not had a shadow of principle on which to base their objections to this Act, but not one of these persons has been treated with the same severity as this woman Suffragist—a few shillings being generally the extent of their fines. After this it is well to remember the pointed remarks recently made by Mr. Justice Rentoul in a criminal trial at the Old Bailey as to the "leniency" invariably meted out to women in criminal cases.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following incidents have been attributed by the Press to Suffragists during the week:—

Wednesday, July 16 (after we went to press).—Attempt to fire dressing-boxes and stands at Doncaster Rogers' Football Ground. Explosion of letter addressed to Mr. John Dillon, M.P., at General Post Office, Dublin.

Thursday, July 17.—Home Office window broken by Cat and Mouse prisoner; arrested.

Saturday, July 19.—Fires in six letter-boxes at Birmingham.

Sunday, July 20.—A large unoccupied house at Selly Oak, Birmingham, destroyed by fire; Suffragist literature found.

Tuesday, July 22.—Large empty house at Perry Bar, Birmingham, gutted by fire.

NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

President: Mrs. Cecil Chapman

The last "At Home" of the season was held on Tuesday, July 15. Miss Eva Ward gave a most interesting address on the development of modern woman. This was retailed by restrictions which at Cambridge were found to a degree that was bound to have an injurious effect on the after life and career of many of its women students. Mrs. Cavendish Benckel dealt with the position of woman in industry. With a fine courage, much appreciated by her audience, the speaker referred particularly to the Factory Inspectors' Report, which reveals certain cruel and almost unspeakably revolting conditions with which many working women have to contend.

A most enjoyable afternoon was spent last Sunday, when the N.C.S. entertained the Scottish Deputation of Balfour and Councilors at the new lecture room. The large gathering of members and friends present included Mrs. Archibald Bennett, Mr. Laurence Housman, and Miss Winifred Mayo, besides Mrs. Cecil Chapman, Mrs. Hartley, and other members of the Committee. After tea everybody went on to Hyde Park, where a meeting was held under the auspices of the Men's League for Woman Suffrage.

CHRISTMAS SALE.—This will be held in our large new room on December 2 and 3. Those responsible for its success have planned the arrangements on a much more extensive and ambitious scale than formerly. We therefore appeal most earnestly to every member and friend to begin at once to make pretty and useful articles for the various stalls, which have been allotted as follows:—

- CLOTHING STALL.—Mrs. Cecil Chapman and Mrs. Hartley. BRIC-A-BRAC.—Kensington Committee. SOAP AND SCENT, &c.—Hampstead Committee. TOYS AND BASKETS.—Dulwich Committee. LITERATURE, CALENDARS.—Chelsea Committee. FUTURE MEETINGS AND EVENTS Saturday, 26th.—N.U.W.S.S. Procession. Members and friends of N.C.S. urged to join. Assemble Hampton's doorway, Trafalgar Square, 2.30 p.m., and march without colours or banner, to Hyde Park.

Sunday, 27th.—Hyde Park, noon. Mrs. Kerr and Miss McGowan. Monday, 28th.—Peckham, The Triangle, Rye Lane, 8 p.m. Miss McGowan, Miss Simon. Tuesday, 29th.—Putney, Werton Road, 8 p.m. Miss Simon, Miss McGowan.

IN THE COURTS

Wednesday, July 16.—At the Marlborough Street Police Court, before Mr. Denman, charged with obstruction, Miss Margaret Forbes-Robertson; bound over in £5 for 6 months.

Thursday, July 17.—At Liverpool, charged with placing a bomb in basement of Liverpool Exchange, and with firing house of Sir W. Lever, M.P., Mrs. Rigby; committed for trial.

Friday, July 19.—At the Mansion House, before the Lord Mayor, charged with assaulting the police, Mr. J. M. Teague and Miss Mildred Marsden; the former fined 7s. 6d. and the latter discharged.

At the Bow Street Police Court, Mrs. Dickinson, charged with breaking a Home Office window, Miss Mary Richardson (out on licence); sentenced to 14 days.

At Liverpool, charged with breaking a plate-glass window, Miss Helen Jollie. Given opportunity of paying £4 19s. damages and being discharged; refused, fined 1s. and damages of 14 days; fine not paid.

Tuesday, July 22.—At the Marlborough Street Police Court, before Mr. Denman, charged with assaulting the police, Mrs.

SUFFRAGISTS IN PRISON

Table with 3 columns: Name, When Sentenced, Length of Sentence.

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

- Accessories Franchises League, 2, Robert Street, Adolph, W.C. Artists' Suffrage League, 239, King's Road, S.W. Australian and New Zealand Voters Association, 9, Grafton Street, W. Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, 55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W. Church League for Women's Suffrage, 6, York Buildings, Adolph, W.C. Civil Service Suffrage Society, 13, Sotherby Road, Highbury. Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, 48, Dover Street, W. Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies, 14, St. James' Street, S.W. Forward Civic Suffrage Union, 53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W. Free Church League for Women's Suffrage, 2, Holmby Villa, Upper Clapton. Friends' League for Women's Suffrage, Mill Field, Street, Somers. Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society, 2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester. International Women's Franchise Club, 9, Grafton Street, W. Irish League for Woman Suffrage, Emerson Club, 13, Buckingham Street, W.C. Irishwomen's Franchise League, Antient Concert Buildings, St. Brunswick St., Dublin. Irishwomen's Reform League, 25, South Anne Street, Dublin. Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association, 163, Rathgar Road, Dublin. Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation, 29, South Anne Street, Dublin. Irishwomen's Suffrage Society, 27, Dorset Place, Belfast. Jewish League for Woman Suffrage, 33, Hyde Park Gardens, W. London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage, Chester Gate, Ealing. Marchers' Qui Vive Corps, 60, West Street, Hoxham. Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage, 23, St. Paul's Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

COMING EVENTS

At the Ethical Church, Queen's Road, Bayswater, a special service will be held on Sunday next (27th) at 7 p.m., in connection with the Suffrage Pilgrimage. Miss Maude Royden will speak on "The Pilgrim Spirit."

- Men's League for Woman Suffrage, 136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster. Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement, 12, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C. Men's Society for Women's Rights, 25, Victoria Street, S.W. Master Women's Franchise League, 85, Grand Parade, Cork. National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society, 5, John Dalton Street, Manchester. National Political League, Bank Buildings, 14, St. James' Street, S.W. National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W. New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage, 8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge. People's Suffrage Federation, 31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W. Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage, 11, Howe Street, Edinburgh. Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage, Sunwick, Berwickshire, N.B. Spiritual Militancy League, 46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W. Suffrage Atelier, 6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W. Suffrage Club, 5, York Street, St. James', S.W. Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Com. (Pub.), 21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W. Votes for Women Fellowship, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C. Women Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society, 85, Sutherland Avenue, W. Women's Freedom League, 1, Robert Street, Adolph, W.C. Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom, 10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne. Women's Social and Political Union, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C. Women's Tax Resistance League, 10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C. Women Teachers' Franchise Union, 27, Marlow Road, Lee, S.E. Women Writers' Suffrage League, Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

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SUFFRAGISTS UNDER THE CAT AND MOUSE ACT

Table with 4 columns: Name, Sentenced, Released, Re-arrested.

* Arrested on another charge. † Sentenced, on July 12, while out on licence, to three weeks.

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