

VOTES FOR WOMEN

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THE ENGLISHWOMAN'S HOME.



"It is a crime to break a stranger's windows without his permission; Mrs. Pankhurst is at present in prison for doing it. But whenever there is a fire in London the members of the Fire Brigade commit this unlawful act openly and impudently. They are not indicted for it, not through any sympathy on the part of the Government with window-breaking, but because it is certain that if a fireman were so indicted, the jury would first decide among themselves that he had committed the act, and then find him 'not guilty,' with, probably, a rider expressing high commendation. If they did anything else, they would be sent to a lunatic asylum."—Mr. Bernard Shaw in "The Daily News," March 25.

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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.

We are rejoiced to hear that Mrs. Pankhurst's solicitor, Mr. Marshall, has received a letter from the Secretary of State for Home Affairs, informing him that the remainder of her sentence of two months' imprisonment in the third division will be remitted after her formal

committal for trial at Bow Street, where, with the other leaders of the Women's Social and Political Union, she will appear after we go to press. It will then be open to Mr. Marshall to apply on her behalf for release on bail, an application that will no doubt be granted by the magistrate. It is a matter for real regret that Mrs. Pankhurst should have waited so long even for those facilities that are the right of every prisoner in custody who has to prepare a defence against a graver charge. Whether the blame lies with the Home Office method of issuing its orders, or with the prison method of interpreting those orders, the fact remains that Mrs. Pankhurst's word has been doubted when she denied the possession of proper facilities, that her health has been seriously impaired, and that for three weeks she has been unable to prepare for her forthcoming trial. It is probable that on this, as on other occasions, the Suffragettes have come up against a prison abuse, under which the ordinary prisoner who has to meet another charge after conviction already suffers, and which calls loudly for investigation and reform.

The Other Leaders.

There is great rejoicing also at the release on bail of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who received a magnificent ovation on their appearance at the Albert Hall meeting on March 28. It is iniquitous that they should have been held in custody so long. The refusal several times repeated to allow bail was an act of sheer vindictiveness on the part of the

authorities. Nothing could more hinder an accused person in the preparation of his defence than to be imprisoned; for the necessary access to documents and intercourse with legal advisers is thereby rendered exceedingly difficult, and, moreover, body and nerves are, owing to prison conditions, reduced to a state which unfits him to undergo the very serious strain of the impending trial.

Political Offenders.

We wish to draw attention to a discreditable piece of sharp practice on the part of the Government. When Mr. Winston Churchill was at the Home Office, Suffragist prisoners, by means of the hunger strike, and at the risk of their lives, won certain concessions, which made their prison treatment more suitable to their status as political offenders. The carrying out of these concessions puts some additional strain upon the prison organisation and ameliorates the conditions of women who are the Government's political opponents. Therefore the Government have sought and found what they think an excuse for breaking their bargain. Mr. Churchill's rule did not specifically state that prisoners sentenced to hard labour should have the advantage of the special concessions, therefore Mr. McKenna is refusing the concessions to such prisoners, and it is significant of the "sympathy" which exists between the Home Office and the law courts, that nowadays sentences of hard labour in the police courts have become very numerous indeed. The consequence is that the majority of the

Suffragists now in prison are denied the special privileges so hardly won by their predecessors. Do the Government want another hunger strike?

The Imprisoned Suffragists. With the exception of Miss M. E. Thompson, who is remanded till the next Sessions, and Miss Catherine Lane, who will come up for trial after we go to press, all the Suffragists charged in connection with the recent militant outbreak have now been sentenced. Twenty-five of those who were remanded to appear at the Sessions last week have been sentenced to six months, fifty-three to four months, seven to three months (these having already served one month in Holloway on remand), and twelve have been discharged. Some are in Aylesbury Prison, some at Winsor Green, Birmingham, and the rest at Holloway. As in the police court, means have been found to evade granting the women sentenced to these preposterously long terms of imprisonment the concessions due to them. Mr. Lawrie, when asked by one of those sentenced whether she would be entitled to the privileges under Rule 243a, replied, "I am afraid I cannot do anything. I might quote the Prime Minister's 'Wait and see.'" Mr. Wallace was more explicit. "It is not within my jurisdiction when I pass sentence," he said: "it lies within the jurisdiction of the Home Office." Thus, in the police courts the Home Secretary is sheltered by the magistrate; at the Sessions, the judge is sheltered by the Home Secretary. In both cases the woman suffers. Where does justice come in?

The Conciliation Bill. We have to repeat this week precisely what we said last week, namely, that the fate of the Conciliation Bill has no effect whatever upon the agitation of the Women's Social and Political Union for a Government measure of women's enfranchisement. The result of the division on the Conciliation Bill simply illustrates afresh the futility of the attempt to legislate on a matter of this importance without a lead from the Government and pressure by the Government. The House of Commons is totally unaccustomed to act without such guidance and pressure. The House has been so long kept in a state of tutelage that its sense of responsibility is in a state of arrested development, and it is therefore quite unable to act with the firmness and unity necessary to place a measure on the Statute Book. The political situation in its latest aspect is discussed in the leading article, and we may now proceed to a consideration of the recent Parliamentary debate.

Mr. Asquith's Speech. A significant sentence in Mr. Asquith's speech was that in which he said that the result of the division on the Conciliation Bill would provide a measure of the degree of advancement in public estimation which Woman Suffrage has made since it was last submitted to the House of Commons. We absolutely and totally deny that the state of public opinion can best be measured by a division in the House of Commons. The House of Commons is subject to waves of emotion (hysteria, we might term it, if we wished to borrow the polite phraseology of our opponents) that are experienced nowhere else. Many of the considerations which weigh so heavily with M.P.'s are regarded as utterly trivial by people outside. In dealing with a non-party question, the House of Commons is able with impunity to give free play to these not very dignified peculiarities of motive and conduct which do so much to lower the credit of the House in public estimation. However, the Prime Minister evidently has it in mind to add to his armoury of excuses another based on the division last Thursday. In this connection it would be interesting to know what the Liberal Whips were doing behind the scenes!

Sir Edward Grey. Sir Edward Grey's speech, admirable in its handling of the academic side of the subject, was sadly flat, stale, and unprofitable where it touched upon its practical aspect. More clearly and baldly than ever appeared the anomaly of the Suffragist majority in the Cabinet yielding in all essentials to the Anti-Suffragist minority. Sir Edward Grey's compliments to the Prime Minister upon his "fairness" do not mend matters in the least. What Mr. Asquith is in fact doing is to "save the face" of the Suffragist Ministers by allowing them to speak occasionally on Woman Suffrage, while all the time the Cabinet, as a Cabinet, pursues an Anti-Suffrage policy. The whole scheme is most injurious to the Suffrage cause, and most advantageous to the Prime Minister, because Suffragists (with the exception of the militants) are deterred, by the friendly words of Suffragist Ministers, from meeting out to the Cabinet the stern punishment it richly deserves.

"Feelings of Anger." How the Government bully and coerce the voteless, and how very humble they are in dealing with a body of men in possession of a million votes! We will compare, for example, the conspiracy proceedings against the W.S.P.U. leaders and the vindictive sentences imposed upon Suffragists who broke windows, with the Government's policy where stone-throwing miners are concerned. The Home Secretary was questioned in the House of Commons by Mr. Fred Hall concerning a disturbance at the Haydock Colliery,

when three policemen were stated to have been so injured as to necessitate their removal to hospital. Mr. McKenna admitted in his reply that the police were stoned (not windows, be it observed, but human beings), and that three of them were "slightly injured." Then asked Mr. Hall: "Will the right hon. gentleman tell the House if he has taken, and will continue to take, the necessary steps to bring the offenders to justice?" Let all women take notice of the Home Secretary's reply, and let them imagine what it would have been if Suffragist window-breakers instead of enfranchised miners had been concerned! The Home Secretary said: "I hope the hon. gentleman will not mind my saying that I deprecate very much questions which might arouse feelings of anger." Feelings of anger—the phrase is an interesting one. What sort of feelings do the Government imagine they are arousing amongst women by their unjust and repressive policy with regard to the Suffrage agitation!

Mr. Hobhouse Again. We will give another quotation from Mr. Hobhouse which shows that he and the Government have one policy for women and another for men. Speaking on the motion of a Unionist M.P. condemning Synderalism, Mr. Hobhouse said he also disliked that policy, but then went on to say that: "There were many causes of unrest, and it was their duty as a Government to try to remove those causes. They should try to give some opportunity to the working classes of this country to overcome those difficulties chiefly arising out of the new conditions of employment of labour. They could not accept this motion as it stood, but they were prepared to assent to an amendment which called for a wide-enquiry into the causes of the rise of the cost of living and of the industrial unrest." It is precisely the line of thought and action indicated in these words that we call upon the Government to pursue in dealing with the unrest amongst women. Mere condemnation and repression are wicked, futile, and unstatesmanlike.

The Albert Hall Meeting. The great meeting on March 28 struck a note of hope and confidence at a moment when the defeat of the Conciliation Bill in the House of Commons was testifying afresh to the political prescience of the leaders of the Women's Social and Political Union. Not only were the speeches of a very high order—we give them fully elsewhere—but the sum raised, £10,000, was an indication of a spirit in the audience that was spurred to fresh endeavour by the unexpected presence upon the platform of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. An audience more representative of men and women of every class and every temperament would be difficult to bring together under any other auspices. It is remarkable that a great paper like the Times, failing to see the journalistic possibilities of such an occasion, should have dismissed the whole matter in a few lines and omitted even the names of such world-famed personages as Miss Elizabeth Robins and Mr. Zangwill, whose fine speeches, had they been made on any other subject, would have been fully reported. Prejudice can surely go no further. But the Women's Social and Political Union survives!

Mrs. Besant's Protest. Mrs. Besant's fine protest against the savage punishment inflicted on Suffragist window-breakers will ring throughout the country, and will find its echo in the heart of every man and woman of public spirit. The comparison she made between the long sentences imposed on women political offenders against property, and the short sentences imposed upon men offenders against the persons of women, may well make us ashamed of the scandalous fashion in which the law is both made and administered under the present system of one-sex Government.

Mr. William Ball. In answer to the many inquiries we have received about the shameful prison treatment under which Mr. William Ball was driven temporarily insane, we can now report that he is slowly recovering health, but is still unable to give evidence. He is at present living quietly with his family at Littlehampton, and so soon as he is sufficiently restored, his friends will continue to press for the special investigation promised by the Home Secretary. It will be remembered that this investigation is to be conducted by an independent member of the Royal College of Physicians.

"The Spirit of Fire and Air." The hiding-places of Miss Christabel Pankhurst multiply as the days go on. Miss Elizabeth Robins wittily consigned her to Persia and China and every other place where women will be free; Miss Evelyn Sharp to the "back of beyond"; more than one enterprising Press-man to the back of the stalls at the Albert Hall. But a clue, a real clue, seems to lurk in the latest information that she is "staying at the home of a well-known actress Suffragette," and has been out every day, "so successfully has her theatrical friend attended her." We know of no well-known actress who is not a Suffragette, so this does

not help us much; but the further suggestion is worth consideration. Can it be she, our "spirit of fire and air," who comes daily into the offices at Clement's Inn under various disguises, and offers to tell us on what point of law the defendants in the conspiracy charge can easily win acquittal? Or is her theatrical friend's skill in "make-up" so great that when we go to the Kingsway on a Tuesday or Friday afternoon, it is really the elusive Christabel who appeals to the fanatical loyalty of her fellow-women in Iphigenia's fine words—

"Help me through This strait: keep hid the secret of our flight, And share our peril?"

This Week's Issue and Next. Owing to the great pressure of news, we have been obliged to hold over an account of the splendid meeting at the Pavilion last Monday, but our readers will be glad to know that our next number will contain the fine speech delivered by Mr. Baillio Weaver, and also a sketch by Mrs. Ayrlon Zangwill. Full reports are given in this issue of the great Albert Hall meeting, of the Conspiracy case, and of the Sessions cases, and we would draw special attention to the significant article by Mr. Laurence Houseman, to the letter of Prof. Oldham to Mr. Redmond on the action of the Nationalist party, and to the opinions quoted of eminent men and women.

"OUGHT NOT WOMEN TO BE ABOLISHED?" A correspondent, with the signature C. S. C. ("One of the Doomed"), writes in the Times of April 1:—

I have been much impressed by Sir Almoth Wright's disquisition, backed as it is by so much scientific and personal experience, that I have come to the conclusion that women should be put a stop to. We learn from him that in their youth they are unbalanced, that from time to time they suffer from unreasonable and hypersensitiveness, and that their presence is distracting and irritating to men in their daily lives and pursuits. If they take up a profession, the indecency of their minds makes them undesirable partners for their male colleagues. Later on in life they are subject to grave and long-continued mental disorders, and, if not quite insane, many of them have to be shut up. Now this being so, how much happier and better would the world not be if only it could be purged of women? It is here that we look to the great scientists. Is the case really hopeless? Women no doubt have had their uses in the past, else how could this detestable tribe have been tolerated till now? But is it quite certain that they will be indispensable in the future? Cannot science give us some assurance, or at least some ground of hope, that we are on the eve of the greatest discovery of all—i.e., how to maintain a race of males by purely scientific means? And may we not look to Sir Almoth Wright to crown his many achievements by delivering mankind from the parasitic, demented, and immoral species which has infested the world for so long!

A PUBLIC RECEPTION of a social and non-political character will be held in London during the third week in April, at which Mrs. Pankhurst, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and Mrs. Tuke will be the honoured guests. Particulars of time and place will be given next week.

Mrs. Besant's Protest. (Continued) Why is it that these women want the vote? It is because they believe that there are difficulties in woman's life, especially among working women, that cannot be remedied until they possess the power of the vote. Let me take one illustration, not important, which will show you exactly the value that the vote has when people are to be considered, when their welfare is at stake. An Insurance Bill has been passed; good or bad, I am not concerned; but I notice that all over the country men are going out to explain the Insurance Bill, in order that the voters may realise that they must not vote against the Liberal Government because they have passed an Insurance Bill. But they do not trouble to send out emissaries to the women, they do not trouble to explain to the working women the enormous advantages that will come to them from the working of this Bill! What do their opinions matter? Who cares how they feel, either helped or hindered? They are dumb in the councils of the nation, and none care for the dumb that has no power to speak. And so on many another point.

MRS. OLIVER, 115, New Bond St., W. HATS and GOWNS FOR ALL OCCASIONS. Speciality:—Tailor-made Coats and Skirts at Moderate prices.

CROWNED WITH HONOUR.

A Speech by Mrs. Annie Besant, at the Royal Albert Hall, March 28, 1912.

It is not for me—who take no part in political struggles, whose work lies in other paths than that of political strife—it is not for me to express either approval or disapproval of one type of policy rather than another, to urge any to take part in a danger that I do not share, or to say one word of criticism against those women who have brought back the heroic into political life, and who are showing to-day what so few in our luxury-loving civilisation are prepared to show—that a great cause is more precious than personal ease, and loyalty to principle greater than the applause of the newspapers and of the public. For me it is nothing whether or not windows have been broken, although I think it is on the whole better to break windows than to break heads; but what is important is that this cause for woman's enfranchisement has found devotion ready to go to martyrdom, has faced ignominy, shame, disgrace, as every great cause has faced them in the past on the way to victory. And to-day, as many a time before, force has set itself against justice, and power against suffering for principle.

There is not one nation in Europe, nor across the Atlantic, that is not to-day crying shame on the treatment which is being meted out to women. But the shame does not lie on the prisoners, but on those who are putting them into prison. And when I take up the Times, and read the disgraceful letter of Sir Almoth Wright, when I read about hysteria, when I read about women losing their self-control, I cannot but say to myself that the hysteria is on the bench rather than in the dock, and the loss of self-control is to be seen more in the magistrates than in the prisoners.

For let us see what is taking place. We know well enough the penalty for the breaking of windows; but these women, because they have not been violent save in the breaking of non-sentient glass, are being sent to hard labour for six months. Why, you do not punish wife-beaters as heavily as that! You reckon your glass windows more valuable than the limbs of the women of the poor. Where such sentences are given they dishonour the law, and they exalt the law-breaker. Now, I grant to the full that no Government, no police, can allow ladies to walk about with hammers in their muffs in order to break shop-windows. I grant that such action is against the law, and must be stopped; but I say that where such sentences are passed we shall forget the offence and speak for the offender. It is ill for a country, it is bad for law-abiding citizens, it means encouragement to despise the law, where revenge is sought instead of justice, and where panic inflicts sentences that are a scandal and a disgrace to civilisation.

Let me call your attention to another point, one of the most serious import in the future. We read in the papers that, while these sentences were going on, Mr. Asquith consulted the law officers of the Crown in order to see if the women's funds could not be seized and their leaders could not be captured. The reason why that could not be done was not publicly stated, but it was stated that it would be difficult to pass such legislation. We know where the difficulty lies; we know very well that any weapon brought against the Women's Social and Political Union along these lines would strike at every Trade Union in the country. Are we to respect government? Then let it show strength against the strong, and not only tyranny against the weak. I know that Trades Unions are protected against the action of the Law of Conspiracy. Special Acts of Parliament guard these associations of men-voters, and they can do what they will, because they have the vote. Oh, if anything be needed to strengthen the feelings of women, if anything be needed to inspire them to renewed and stronger exertion, it is when they see a Law of Conspiracy used against women that they dare not use against men, and when they are trying to create a crime at which everyone would revolt if men were similarly condemned.

Therefore it is friends, that I am here to-night in order to protest against a great wrong and a great injustice for I know nothing of the value of religious teaching nor of the right duty of the spiritual teacher, but to stand up when unrighteousness is done in the name of the law, and when principles are trampled on. I believe in the value of law; I believe that on justice alone a nation can stand secure; because of that I plead to those who to-day are strong that they will not use their strength for oppression, and drive to despair those who are only asking to be regarded as citizens in their native land.

Why is it that these women want the vote? It is because they believe that there are difficulties in woman's life, especially among working women, that cannot be remedied until they possess the power of the vote. Let me take one illustration, not important, which will show you exactly the value that the vote has when people are to be considered, when their welfare is at stake. An Insurance Bill has been passed; good or bad, I am not concerned; but I notice that all over the country men are going out to explain the Insurance Bill, in order that the voters may realise that they must not vote against the Liberal Government because they have passed an Insurance Bill. But they do not trouble to send out emissaries to the women, they do not trouble to explain to the working women the enormous advantages that will come to them from the working of this Bill! What do their opinions matter? Who cares how they feel, either helped or hindered? They are dumb in the councils of the nation, and none care for the dumb that has no power to speak. And so on many another point.

I would not ask for a Vote for women on the ground of equality of sex—it is difference of sex that makes the grant of the vote so necessary. To add millions more of ignorant male voters—a few millions more of ignorant female voters—that is not in itself a thing to rouse enthusiasm or to inspire much feeling. If they were only the same as men

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £250,000 FUND.

March 22 to March 25.

Table listing names and amounts contributed to the £250,000 fund. Includes categories like 'Already acknowledged', 'Fines in lieu of prison', 'Self-Denial', and 'Prisoners' Secretary'. Total amount listed as £117,657 7.

THE CONSPIRACY CHARGE.

To be Tried at the Central Criminal Court—Mrs. Tuke Acquitted.

In last week's VOTES FOR WOMEN we gave a summarised report of the case against Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Pankhurst, and Mrs. Tuke for conspiracy, up to Wednesday morning. The case was resumed in the afternoon.

Mr. Braddon, manager of Barclay's Bank in Fleet Street, gave evidence of the W.S.P.U. account at his bank. Each cheque had to be signed by two of the four defendants. On July 1 last year the balance was £3,300; at the end of the year the total credit was £23,102, while the credit balance was £10,528. On March 1 the credit balance was £7,362, a cheque having been paid out on March 5 to "somebody named Ayrton" for £5,000, leaving a balance of £2,362, which by March 20 was reduced to £276.

Further evidence was given as to the payment of cheques for the hire of various halls; also a cheque for £250 on four occasions to Votes for Women and payments to the Woman's Press. The cheques had to be signed by either Mr. or Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and by somebody else. There were other separate accounts, including a private account of Mrs. Lawrence's. On February 29 there was a cheque upon Mr. Lawrence's private account for £1,000, payable to Mrs. Sanders.

Miss Alice Harvey, of Finsbury Park, joint owner of 156, Charing Cross Road, stated that the premises were let by her mother to Mr. Pethick Lawrence at a rent of £250 a year.

Detective Constable Albert Canning deposed to having read through the paper, VOTES FOR WOMEN, from October, 1911, up to March 15. He had noticed various appeals and invitations for volunteers for active service or protests.

Chief Inspector McCarthy stated that he took away and classified a large number of papers and documents from 4, Clement's Inn. Among them was a book containing a list of arrests on November 21. It contained the names, dates, date of trial and charge, damage, sentence, date of release, and then a column for remarks, such as "acquitted," "released on bail," &c. Some were assumed names, and had real names written opposite them, and a third signed Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, which concluded: "I have a message from Mrs. Pankhurst to give you. She has just called: 'Protest imperative. Impatient to be with you. Courage and faith.'" There was another one signed Christabel Pankhurst, and another of instructions to members of the demonstration. There was a rough draft of the circular headed "Broken Windows," also a copy of telegraphic code and a letter to Dr. Ethel Smyth, speaking of "a sort of skirmish" on Friday, March 1, and signed "Em." There were a number of drafts of speeches, letters to the Union, and copies of replies. Among the letters was one from a lady at Croydon to Miss Pankhurst, dated March 5. It ran: "I am so distressed at the awful reports going about in the newspapers that the authorities mean to give very severe and heavy sentences, even mentioning years as being possible under the Act of 1861. I want you to tell me what you think, and when my girls' cases will come on."

Mrs. Pankhurst: If you please, may I ask that if assumed names are given the real names will not also be given? The Magistrate: I cannot lay down a rule like that. Counsel will not do it more than necessary. Mrs. Pankhurst: It involves sometimes suffering and danger to other people. Those names have been assumed to save old relations sometimes. Mr. Bodkin: The feelings of the relatives— Mrs. Pankhurst: It is not always their feelings; it is their lives, perhaps. Mr. Bodkin: That might have been previously considered. But I rather think

these must be assumed names—these two. Mrs. Pankhurst: If you will kindly give the assumed name and state that it is not the real name that will satisfy me. The letter went on:— "Could not you get Mr. Marshall to say it is the first offence? I had no idea that they were asked to do so much, or I would never have consented, although they, poor girls, feel they have cleared their conscience. The idea of a month's prison for them fills me with darkest forebodings. I hope you will be able to reassure me on this point. I cannot myself come up to the court. I dare not trust myself; and my husband and son have their business to attend to. Please do the best you can."

The case was resumed on Thursday, when a number of manuscripts found at 4, Clement's Inn, were put in by Inspector McCarthy. Some were letters from volunteers for militant protests; there was also complimentary news sent out to the King's speech, in which it was stated that the W.S.P.U. would proceed with their anti-Government campaign with increased vigour. Other papers were the messages sent from Bow Street by Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Tuke, and Mrs. Marshall.

Mrs. Lilian Ball. Mr. Levescor asked whether Inspector McCarthy and Inspector Powell took a statement from Lilian Ball in Holloway Prison. At this point Mrs. Pankhurst asked the witness: "Before taking Mrs. Ball's statement, did you tell her for what purpose it was?" "No, I did not tell her that she might be called as a witness."

Various witnesses gave evidence as to the breaking of windows. The court was adjourned till quarter to four, in order that Mr. Muir and Mr. Bodkin might be present.

Mr. Levescor further examined Chief-Inspector McCarthy, who stated that he had not told Lilian Ball that she might be called as a witness, but before she signed that statement he asked her whether she would be willing to repeat it on oath in the present prosecution against the leaders of the Union. She said, "Yes," and wrote a note at the foot of the statement that she was willing to do so. When she had made her statement, Inspector Powell, who was with him, suggested that she might like to see her little boy at Bow Street, and offered to arrange it if possible. Whether the statement had been actually signed or not when this was done he would not like to say for certain. It was at the conclusion, after they had done, he thought it was when they were about to leave, but would not like to be too sure. Mrs. Ball said she thought it would be better not, as it would upset the boy, but said she would like to see her brother and daughter.

Committal for Trial asked for. Further police evidence as to the breaking of windows having been taken, Mr. Bodkin said that was the evidence which he and his learned friend proposed to put before the magistrate as sufficient to prove the cases sufficiently for committal for trial. There might well be some further evidence, but of this the defendants, if committed for trial, would have ample notice. Subject to that he asked for a committal for trial in respect of the offences mentioned the other day, conspiracy to contravene in the various instances which had been proved in November of last year and in March of this year, Section 50 of the Malicious Injuries to Property Act, and inciting persons who were shown to have committed those offences and others to commit offences against that Section, and under Section 56 of the same Statute for counselling and procuring the commission of such offences, and therefore acting as principals under the provisions of that Section in the commission of those offences. He asked that all the necessary matters might be completed that day, and that a formal remand, when no witnesses need attend, might be made to some day convenient to the court. He asked that the commitment for trial should be at the Central Criminal Court next Sessions, which began on April 23.



Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence Leaving Bow Street on Thursday.

Mr. Muir, on behalf of Mrs. Tuke, asked to be allowed to make her position quite clear. If she consulted merely her own wishes and desires, she would prefer that he should not make the statement which he was about to make, namely, that she should not be committed for trial. Her own wish, if it were followed, would be that she should be committed for trial if her friends and colleagues were going to be so committed, and it was under his advice, with such persuasion as he could give her, aided by the persuasion of her co-defendants, that he was permitted by her to make this submission. His submission was that while there might be evidence technically sufficient to justify committal, viewed as a whole the evidence against Mrs. Tuke was so distinguishable from the evidence against her co-defendants (what he was saying with their entire consent and approval) that the magistrate might well refrain from committing Mrs. Tuke for trial. As he understood the charges preferred, they were charges of conspiracy to acts of violence, of incitement to acts of violence, and of being accessory to the commission of acts of violence. The evidence against Mrs. Tuke consisted, with one exception, of purely ministerial acts done by her as one of the Secretaries of the Association. No letter written by her contained any incitement to any individual to take part in any assembly which was followed by acts of violence; no speech spoken by her had been placed before them as evidence against her; no person to whom she had acted as secretary had been charged with any act of violence. The one exception was that she personally took part in one of those expeditions, in the course of which she did an act of violence, and it might be said that this would be a justification, if any, for a committal, that being a member of the Association, and knowing what was going on, she did this one act of violence, which would, in itself, constitute an overt act in the conspiracy alleged. But for that overt act of violence she had been dealt with, convicted and punished, and if she were sent again for trial, and again subjected to conviction and punishment, it would, in his submission, be doing an act contrary altogether to the spirit of English law, indeed, the letter of our English law, which would do no one should be twice vexed for one case. Upon this ground, the only one which he was entitled to advance, he submitted that it was not a necessary part of the prosecution, from any point of view, assuming the prosecution itself to be necessary and proper, that his client should be included in the committal for trial. He asked the magistrate not to commit her for trial upon this evidence in view of the facts he had stated, which he said with great confidence would almost certainly entitle her to an acquittal before a jury.

Mr. Bodkin said he could not agree that there was no evidence raising technically a prima facie case of being a party to an unlawful combination. Mrs. Tuke's action on March 1 in the "unannounced scolding" showed her character, and it must have been a pre-arranged arrangement. He hoped there would be nothing said by him in any way improperly to resist the view of the magistrate that she had formed in consequence of Mr. Muir's submission. The prosecution was ready frankly to admit that Mrs. Tuke's case was clearly distinguished from that of the other defendants. So far as the prosecution knew it was her first, and everybody would hope her very last, act of open violence. If the magistrate had formed a favourable view there would not be a word on his part in the slightest degree to combat it. There was no doubt that the lady was in a very serious condition of health, and therefore if the magistrate's view was a merciful one, he hoped it would be given effect to.

Mrs. Tuke Acquitted. The magistrate took Mrs. Tuke's case first, and said: "I am bound to say that I do feel there is a marked difference between the case of Mrs. Tuke and the case of the other three defendants. In the case of Mrs. Tuke, it has been rightly said by her counsel that most of the acts complained of are ministerial acts, where she has written letters in reply to letters in one or two cases addressed to herself, but very often addressed to others, from the office of the Women's Society. There has been but little evidence of her taking any prominent part, there are no speeches of hers which have been brought forward, there is no statement that she had herself done much beyond taking part in the management and signing. I think, a cheque or two she had the power of signing, and I think there was certainly one cheque (I am not sure) certain there were not more) which bore her signature as well as the signature of one of the others who had to sign. There has been evidence which would have been sufficient, I think, to send her for trial in this case had it not been for the distinction which has been made by Mr. Muir, and to which he has called attention, that as to part of the acts she has done she is entitled to punishment, and one cannot but think that there is another circumstance which a Court below and a Court above and a jury would feel they must attach importance to, and that is the state of health in which the person is who is charged. It is impossible for me, sitting here day after day as

What Americans Think. It is interesting to read in the Standard (Woman's Platform) a letter from Miss Jane Gray Perkins, in which she sets forth the general attitude of American suffragettes towards the last militant protest. The result of a canvass of various suffrage associations in almost universally expressed sympathy and confidence in the militant situation. The general opinion is that the Government are far more to blame than the women. Even if the suffragettes have shown too much zeal, a Government, says Miss Perkins, "must be extraordinarily stupid (to call it nothing else) who can find no other way of dealing with women of genius like Ethel Smyth, writers, painters, philanthropists, nurses, doctors, professional women, mothers of families, women with great souls, gentle hearts, and wise heads, than by treating them like common criminals and condemning them to prison and hard labour."

Mrs. Lilian Ball. We are asked to state that Mrs. Lilian Ball, who gave evidence at Bow Street, is not a relation of Mr. William Ball.

Mr. Herbert Samuel, M.P. B. F. sends the following:— On Sunday afternoon last Mr. Herbert Samuel, M.P., presided over a gymnastic display and prize distribution in connection with the Brady Street Club for Working Lads, held at the Pavilion Theatre, White-chapel Road. At the conclusion of the display Mr. Samuel made a few brief remarks exhorting the lads to cultivate a straightforward, manly character. Immediately he sat down a man stood up in the stalls and called out in a very clear voice: "Mr. Samuel, why is not Mrs. Pankhurst granted facilities for—?" But he got no further than this, as he was at once surrounded by a crowd of stewards and hustled out of the building. After the prizes had been distributed by Mrs. Samuel a gentleman on the platform rose to move a vote of thanks, but a man in the gallery rose at the same time, and pointing to Mr. Samuel, said: "What about the women in prison?" But his voice was promptly drowned in the uproar which came from the hundreds of youths surrounding him. The stewards hastened to eject him, and it was some time before the speaker could make himself heard. The proposal was seconded, and Mr. Samuel rose to reply, when, from the balcony came yet another cry, which was lost amid the yells of "Chuck him out," &c., which arose on all sides. Mr. Samuel endeavoured to make himself heard, but failed entirely, and sat down.

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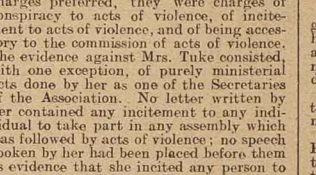
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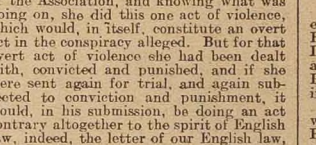
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VOTES FOR WOMEN

4, CLEMENT'S INN, STRAND.

FRIDAY, APRIL 5, 1912.

RIGHT AGAIN!

The futility of an unofficial solution having just been amply demonstrated by the division on the Conciliation Bill, it is actually proposed that we shall now depend upon the passage of a Woman Suffrage amendment to the Reform Bill. This is folly heaped on folly's head. The only sound and statesmanlike course for all Suffragists to pursue is to abandon once and for all attempts to carry Private Members' Bills and amendments, and to unite in fighting the Government until the Government shall be constrained to cry, "Hold! Enough!"

Before re-stating in the light of recent experience the reasons why both Bills and amendments promoted by Private Members are doomed to failure, we will ask, just for the sake of information, if anyone can tell us when the Reform Bill is going to be introduced. We have heard when the Home Rule Bill is to make its appearance, and preparations are afoot for the introduction of the Welsh Disestablishment Bill; but concerning the date on which the Reform Bill will be introduced we have heard never a word. But perhaps some people are less ignorant. Those in whose breasts springs eternal the hope that figs can one day be gathered from thistles, and that party politicians will play fair, have surely, before transferring their affections from the Conciliation Bill to the amendment, ascertained if and when the Reform Bill is really going to see the light of day.

According to the Daily Chronicle, the Plural Voting Bill will serve the purposes of the Liberal Government, and will therefore be carried into law, while the Reform Bill will be relegated to a dim and speculative future. The fact is that the amendment is useless for any purpose save that of an excuse for Suffragists who desire, while busying themselves with the movement, to refrain from making themselves unpleasant to anybody. Why cannot this amendment be carried? For the same reasons that prevented the Conciliation Bill passing its second reading on March 28. Now those reasons did not include militancy. This can be proved by the fact that the far more serious militancy of the miners, with all its attendant suffering and financial disaster, did not prevent but actually brought about the passing of the Minimum Wage Bill.

The circumstances that destroyed the Conciliation Bill and will destroy an amendment to the Reform Bill, were stated months ago by the Women's Social and Political Union.

- 1. The Coalition majority which would have been available to carry a Government measure is in the case of an unofficial measure of Woman Suffrage reduced by the defection of Anti-Suffragists. 2. The majority is further reduced by the fact that in the absence of Government pressure Liberal members who profess to be Suffragists are under no compulsion to be present to record their votes. 3. The Nationalist Party in the House of Commons are free in the alleged interests of Home Rule to oppose a Private Member's Bill for Woman Suffrage, whereas they would be compelled to vote for a Government Bill, in order to maintain the Government in office, and so preserve the Home Rule Bill from destruction.

One of the dominant factors in the situation is the hostility of the Nationalist Party to the passage of a Woman Suffrage measure. This declaration of war by the Nationalists comes as no surprise at all to the Women's Social and Political Union. For a long time the leaders of the Union have known that Mr. Redmond and his band intended to smash the Conciliation Bill and every other unofficial proposal for the enfranchisement of women. When they became aware of this fact, it was announced that the Government would be held responsible for the fate of

the Conciliation Bill, that the Union would not wait until the defeat of the Bill to resume hostilities, but would regard the nature of the Home Rule Bill as the crucial test. Thus, if the Home Rule Bill on its introduction contained a clause providing that women should vote for the Irish Parliament, the Union would regard this as a sign that the Government were prepared to let the Conciliation Bill go through. If, on the other hand, the Home Rule Bill applied only to men, it would be assumed that the Government intended and had planned the destruction of the Conciliation Bill. In that event the truce would be ended and militancy would be resumed. Some time after this decision had been formed and publicly announced by the Union, came the announcement of Manhood Suffrage and the intrigues by the Government to split up the Suffrage forces in the House of Commons. The evident bad faith of the Government, together with the enmity of the Nationalists, convinced the Women's Social and Political Union that any further dependence upon an unofficial measure would be reckless folly, and that it was necessary at once and strenuously to agitate for a Government measure.

The vote on the Conciliation Bill has absolutely confirmed the accuracy of the Union's prevision, and should cause all Suffragists to retreat from the blind alley of private members' proposals. Let us all unite in clamouring for a Government measure. No one asserts that to secure one will be an easy matter, but the difficulty of the task is the best of all reasons for immediate and united effort. That the rejection of the Conciliation Bill has come at this early stage is, after all, an advantage, because its enactment as a Private Member's Bill was literally impossible. Mr. Lloyd George was bent upon pressing his widening amendment. Anti-Suffragists had announced their intention of supporting it in Committee and of voting against the Bill at the third reading stage. That fact alone was the guarantee of defeat. The Nationalist members, too, were bent on the destruction of the Bill. Nothing could have saved it; yet if the second reading had been carried, a large section of the Suffrage movement, lulled by illusory hopes and expectations, would have been deterred from effective and rightly directed action. Thus the precious moments of this critical session would have gone by until all too late the shipwreck of the Conciliation Bill would have waked its supporters from their dream. But as it is, we know where we stand, and what is more, we know it in time.

Of course, the usual purveyors of good advice will say—they are saying it already—that we must now wait and see whether the amendment to the Reform Bill will be carried. A hint reaches the militants that if they will but cease their inconvenient opposition, the Government might perhaps be so very kind as to drop the prosecution for conspiracy, and to release those already undergoing sentences of imprisonment. This is an offer which the Union will gladly accept—when women have got the vote. There can, however, be no peace without honour, and militant Suffragists decline to buy their personal liberty at the price of betraying their cause. Would the leaders of the Union be on their trial, would scores of women be in prison under sentence of several months hard labour if the political interests of women were at the present time safe in the hands of the Government?

The suggestion that we shall wait for an amendment is made purely in the interests of the Government. It is made in the hope of distracting our attention and giving the Government a free and uninterrupted course until the end of the Session. This is no time for waiting and trusting. Again we say that the amendment scheme is a fraud and a delusion. Liberals will withhold their support from it because some of their number have plainly admitted they fear that this question is becoming a dangerous one for the Government, and they intend to leave it alone until the situation is altered. The way to bring these gentlemen into line is to prove to them that it is a question much more dangerous to the Government than they had supposed, and that instead of "leaving it alone" they must insist on the Government setting it at once.

As for the Nationalist members who have set themselves to prevent the enfranchisement of women, do they suppose that women will quietly accept such a position of affairs? No, if the Home Rulers are against the women, the women will be against the Home Rulers! We were ready for peace, but Mr. Redmond has declared for war. So be it. We shall not come the worst out of the encounter. In a conflict with the Irish Party, waged in defending their political liberty, women have nothing to lose. But the Nationalists stand to lose everything. They have already lost much. They have dishonoured their own flag. They have trodden underfoot the very principles on which they base their own demand. They have admitted that in asking for Home Rule they fight not for the nation of Ireland, but for the men of Ireland only. They have insulted the women who have from the earliest days until now toiled and suffered in the Nationalist cause. In a word, they, as men, have surrendered their own right to be free.

PROPER LESSONS.

By Laurence Housman.

March has been a militant month in the Women's Suffrage movement; and with its usual lack of insight, the Press has been busy explaining to itself and to its readers what militancy is, and how militancy must be put down. Those who really wish to know had better seek guidance of a less ephemeral kind.

On Sunday, March 31, throughout the Established Church in this country, the following words were read for the instruction of its congregations: "Then the Lord said unto Moses, Go in unto Pharaoh and tell him, Thus said the Lord God of the Hebrews. Let my people go, that they may serve me. For if thou refuse to let them go, and wilt hold them still, behold the hand of the Lord is upon thy cattle which is in the field, upon the horses, upon the asses, upon the camels, upon the oxen, and upon the sheep: there shall be a very grievous murrain. . . . And the Lord appointed a set time, saying, Tomorrow the Lord shall do this thing in the land. And the Lord did that thing on the morrow, and all the cattle of Egypt died."

These words form the opening passage of what the Church Calendar describes as "the Proper Lessons for the day"; and the particular lesson that it conveys is—in the course of the chapter—repeated three times over, each time in an intensified form.

Of the many thousands who heard that lesson read, how many had the honesty actually to apply it as the Church bids them to do, as "a lesson for the day"? It is a statement of the militant action taken by Heaven against an unjust government which continues to hold a people in bondage; and the blow falls in each of the three cases cited, not upon the head of the government itself, but upon the property of the whole community. In each case, after due warning, law-abiding people are made to suffer for the action, or rather the inaction, of a government.

If this lesson be a moral one, its moral lies in the assertion that the whole community stands responsible for the injustice of its accepted rulers, and that those who maintain injustice in high places must not expect their indifference to the establishment of justice to be without cost to themselves. Had the Egyptians taken any trouble in the matter, had they appealed to Pharaoh for the release of the Israelites from bondage, he would not so long have hardened his heart; the pressure of public opinion would have been too great for him to withstand. But not until the cost of holding the Israelites in bondage became too much for them did the Egyptians exert themselves in the cause of justice. Then only do we read that they became "urgent," actually forcing upon the Israelites that freedom which so long had been denied to them. And so, owing to this lack of political insight among a ruling race, we get, from Scripture (which the majority of the people in this country regard as sacred), that story of the Plagues of Egypt, which the Church, last Sunday, invited us to accept as a proper lesson for the day.

I am quite aware that we have in our midst a School of Theology which regards as blasphemous any attempt to apply the lessons of Scripture to matters of political controversy, and which would as sharply divide religion from politics, as it divides in its own practice the ethics of Sunday from the ethics of Monday. And by that School, no doubt, I shall be reproached for asserting that the militancy of Women Suffragists during the past month has been precisely on a par, in its moral application, with that militancy of a Higher Power which is still held up for our admiration by the Church Established by Law. The instrument employed in the more recent case was a different one; but "the hand of a woman" is not ruled out by Scripture from the weapons which may be raised up for the execution of justice when to the signs of the Heavens men remain obstinately blind.

The signs of the Heavens are mild in their operation, and judgment does not descend from them without warning. Readers will remember that Moses, in appealing to Pharaoh for justice, relied, in the first instance, on signs. He did not begin by working plagues, he began by working wonders, by demonstrations that did harm to none except to a few serpents, disguised as rods, which Pharaoh's ministers employed in their conjuring. Those did, indeed, lose something of their value; and no doubt that Cabinet of Egyptian magicians felt a certain grudge against Moses for having upset their conjuring tricks and despoiled them of their favourite stock-in-trade.

Then, further, it will be remembered that the earlier plagues took rather the form of a nuisance and a discomfort than of actual damage to property. First, the water-supply was interfered with; clean stomachs found it undrinkable, things would not wash in it, and much dirty linen was in consequence exhibited to the public gaze. This was followed by certain unwelcome intrusions into Kings' chambers of voices that croaked omens; and this, again, by parasitic attentions which produced intense per-

sonal irritation. After this came a swarm of flies, which the magicians simply could not stand; and only after this, at long last, came damage and destruction to property.

Sitting decorously attentive in our churches, we have all this read to us, year after year, as a lesson for the day; and we are taught to regard it as God's judgment on a nation which permitted a great wrong to continue, and refused enfranchisement to an unjustly subjected people. Yet of those very people we are told that some would not listen to the message of the Deliverer, did not want to be set free, their spirits being "shortened," or straightened, because of their bondage. Possibly a majority were so minded; but that fact did not deprive Moses of the countenance of Heaven in his war against oppression, nor did it make militancy any the less a moral emblem. The Spirit of Freedom had come to life among an oppressed people; and where that spirit is alive those who persist in holding it in subjection cannot avoid being "plagued." The fact that they are plagued is one of the signs of Heaven; and the plague, however unpleasant it may be, is itself a heavenly operation.

Let all Anti-Suffragists who are church-goers pay great attention to the proper lesson for Sunday, March 31; for it will help them perhaps to understand and appreciate what has been the moral of militancy in the past and what the immediate future may have to bring forth.

WEIGHTY OPINIONS.

SIR VICTOR HORSLEY, F.R.S., F.R.C.S., M.D.

A number of distinguished people have written to the Times criticising the letter of Sir Almoth Wright, published in that paper on March 28. Among those which we have not space to quote are letters from Lady Castlereagh, Dr. Agnes Savile, and Mrs. Francis Acland. In the Times of April 1, Sir Victor Horsley writes:—

The women medical practitioners have shown the world what is real modesty, and have always stood for a single code of moral conduct which should ennoble the lives of men and women alike. . . . Sir Almoth Wright's ideals of life and of womanhood are far too degraded for national progress. Those of us who are demanding equal civic rights for both sexes intend to secure for the welfare of the nation a co-operation by men and women both in public and private life of which no Anti-Suffragist has apparently yet formed any intelligent conception. Among the obstructions put in the path of this reform Sir Almoth Wright's outburst constitutes a trifling mudsplat, which time and truth will speedily clear away.

LADY EMILY LUTYENS.

In a letter to the Times of Friday, March 29, Lady Emily Lutyens writes:—

Sir Almoth Wright, in the very comprehensive list he gives in your issue of to-day of the types of women who figure prominently in the ranks of Suffragists, has omitted to mention one class who are very largely represented in this movement. I refer to the happy wives and mothers who, having everything that this world can give, have yet been willing to face insult, imprisonment, and even death if necessary, because by doing they hoped to bring a little nearer the day when their sisters would no longer toil in sweated industries or be driven on to the streets for a livelihood. I am surprised that Sir Almoth Wright did not refer to this large class of Suffragists, as they afford such an excellent example of the hysterical fanaticism which distinguishes the advocates of Woman Suffrage, and well show that this hysteria is not confined only to those women who have not yet found a man to be "kind to them." The letters of two such eminent physicians as Sir Almoth Wright and Dr. Leonard Williams are convincing examples of the statement, which has so often been made, that men (I use the word in the generic sense) can only look at the world through the narrow windows of their own profession. To these distinguished gentlemen all women are neurotic, all self-sacrifice is but a symptom of hysteria. How cordially would they have agreed with the Pharisees of old, who, when they heard it reported of a certain Teacher that He was proclaiming that a man must lose his life to find it, said, "He hath a devil and is mad!"

MRS. ALICE MEYNELL.

Mrs. Alice Meynell writes in the Times of April 1: Sir Almoth Wright avers that modesty is injured by consultation of a man doctor and a woman doctor. But what of the colloquy of a man doctor with a nurse? It is the nurse who has the most intimate and the most painful knowledge of her male patients' diseases, and must discuss them with the male physician. And what of the woman patient who is, or was until this more decent time, obliged to give every privacy of her nature into the medical hands of a man? It is her modesty that has brought the woman doctor into office, but this is a modesty which Sir Almoth Wright ignores. The different modesty assigned to the woman doctor who is to be condemned and to the nurse who is to be used must be explained by difference of social caste. Fastidiousness as to the modesty of a lady is not respect for purity, but respect for caste. As to Sir Almoth's estimate of the normal insanity of women, it is surely the disproportionate estimate of one who has to deal with the abnormal. Sick women gather—out of the innumerable multitude who are not sick—in the consulting

room. But we had hitherto believed that the physician has eyes and judgment for the outer world. It is a fact of human life that "sex" troubles man at least as much as it troubles woman, but it does not disfranchise man. The foolish habit of our speech almost confines the word to womanhood. But George Meredith was delighted when a woman who was his friend interrupted a remark about "the sex" by the question, "Which?"

SIR R. DOUGLAS POWELL, K.C.V.O., M.D., LL.D.

Sir R. Douglas Powell writes in the course of a letter published in the Times of April 1:— As a consistent opponent to the assumption by women of the duties of men, I may be allowed, perhaps without fear of accusation of bias, to express my sense, which I believe to be shared by many physicians, of the impropriety of deductions from experience of the medical consulting room being exploited in the public Press. Even when expressed with accuracy and reserve they are scarcely decorous, but when put forward in the form of exaggerated half-truths interspersed with unsavoury imaginings as a contribution to one side of a passionate controversy they are the more to be deplored. Letters of this kind can but serve to embitter the minds of those who regard the matter in question from another standpoint and with whom violence of language and deeds has hitherto mostly reined.

SIR EDWARD BUSK, M.A., LL.B.

In the Standard (Woman's Platform) of April 2, Sir Edward Busk writes:—

Moved by aspirations which men have considered in their own sex to be a noble characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race, many of the gentlest and most altruistic women of our time have defied the Government by breaking the law as a protest against their continued exclusion from that constitutional means of influencing the laws which men have in the franchise. They have received the punishment which they knew they would incur, and have succeeded in drawing public attention to their cause by their self-imposed suffering. They make no complaint; but is not the cause of penal reform seriously jeopardised by the vindictive nature of their sentences? . . . You cannot hope to reform prisoners who are actuated by conscientious motives, and have consciously invited whatever punishment you choose to inflict. You cannot deter persons who have repeatedly proved themselves ready to endure every kind of suffering until the question which they have at heart has so roused public opinion as to demand its settlement. The only punishment, therefore, available for such offenders is the preventive form.

What is appropriate must be left to the decision of the Prison Commissioners, but it is surely revolting to the ordinary mind to have fraudulent criminals put into the second division, whilst such prisoners as Dr. Ethel Smyth and Dr. L. Garrett Anderson are put into the third division, and awarded the benefit of all books and papers, and of all means of pursuing their work, which has ever been of an intellectual and beneficent character.

THE REV. W. F. COBB, D.D.

Vicar of the Church of St. Ethelburga the Virgin, E.C.

Under the heading, "Letters of a Commonwealth Man: Women and Brute Force," Dr. Cobb writes to his fellow citizens:—

No recent event has formed a shrewder test of character than the window-smashing. On one side were all the newspapers headed by the Times in hysterics; Mr. Curtis Bennett led out two months' hard labour as he might a favourite soup; Mr. Asquith chortled; false friends in and out of Parliament turned up the whites of their eyes and thanked God, &c. On the other side a few brave women like Annie Besant (see Times, March 12) and one or two others kept their heads and saw straight.

It is a matter of comparative unimportance whether the window-smashers chose the best moment for their protest or the best means. The critical thing is that in an age of ease, cowardice, and faithlessness, under a vote-catching, time-serving, place-hunting Government, one group, and they women (not men, mind you), have dared to undergo torture for conscience sake. . . . "Mulieres ad leones" is the cry to-day, and it comes from men who have grown rich by sweating women, by driving them into the streets; who love to have their wives as gaudy parasites, and have not sufficient imagination, or heart, or religion in them, to recognise that the cause for which they are torturing Mrs. Pankhurst is the same cause for which Jesus Christ died.

(The letter from which the above is an extract may be had as a leaflet from the Woman's Press, 166, Charing Cross Road, W.C., price 5d. per 100, 6s. per 1,000, post free.)

MRS. CECIL CHAPMAN.

I am profoundly indignant at the betrayal of our cause. I think the treachery displayed by members of the House of Commons, pledged to support us, is a disgrace. It is the Women's Social and Political Union who have no faith in a private member's Bill. Nothing but a Government measure can get rid of the danger of log-rolling. This is a melancholy instance of want of honour towards women and log-rolling in the House of Commons. I am not in the least discouraged—far from it. It is a more satisfactory that defeat should have come now than at a later stage. Now we know where we are and whom we have to fight. The Suffrage cause was never so strong as it is to-day. The wonderful Albert Hall meeting, at which £10,000 was collected, shows the great and very increasing vitality of the movement, and it is to be hoped that the justification for the distrust of women in the pledges and promises has been so amply justified that it will invite all Suffrage societies in demanding nothing short of a Government measure.

THE CONCILIATION BILL: A COMMENT.

The Prime Minister, in the course of his speech during the Second Reading Debate on Thursday, March 28, could not resist the opportunity of airing his antediluvian prejudices. After the usual preliminaries on the subject of the Cabinet's dissension on the subject, Mr. Asquith launched boldly forth with the statement that in his opinion, as a student of history and of our own public life, experience shows that the natural distinction of sex ought to continue to be recognised, as it has always been recognised, in the sphere of Parliamentary representation. That Mr. Asquith was here guilty of a terminological inexactitude can be shown by reference not only to certain facts in the history of this country, but to the existence of Woman Suffrage in certain American States, in our own Dominions of Australia and New Zealand, in Norway, Finland, and Portugal. As to Mr. Asquith's attempt to shift the blame for women's voteless condition from his own shoulders on to those of Nature, surely he cannot be ignorant of the fact that that device has been tried and tried in vain by every opponent of every extension of human liberty. "Natural distinctions" have been alleged as the basis of slavery; they have been made the excuse for resisting every previous widening of women's sphere; they have been used as an argument against the enfranchisement even of men. Why, in 1884, we had Lord Randolph Churchill arguing in opposition to Gladstone's Reform Bill that to concede the political position of the agricultural labourer and the town artisan was "to destroy a wise inequality which has been created by Nature, and reiferated from time to time in our history by custom, precedent and law." Almost the very words used on March 28, 1912, by Mr. Asquith himself! How easy it is to recognise the reactionary, whatever political disguise he may assume! Mr. Asquith omitted to explain why, having regard to his conviction that women are deficient in political capacity, he makes use of his daughters for the furtherance of his political objects, deputed them to journey to his somewhat remote constituency, there to undergo the ceremonies and celebrations incident to the twenty-fifth anniversary of his election. He did not explain why these young ladies (one of them of very tender years) are to be heard nowdays speaking in the interests of himself and his Government at that, and the other Liberal function.

Mr. Asquith then indulged in another argument very much beloved by all reactionaries—namely, that there is no demand for Woman Suffrage. What does he regard as evidence that a demand for this or any other measure exists? Are meetings, processions, resolutions, evidence? If so, such evidence that women want the vote exists in quantity. Or does Mr. Asquith, like his Ministerial colleague, Mr. Hobbouse, view with contempt all these peaceable methods of political action? Does he, like Mr. Hobbouse, assert that women are indifferent to enfranchisement because they have given no such sign of their desire for it as was given by the men who burnt down Nottingham Castle? We are entitled to Mr. Asquith's reply to this question. The parrot cry that there is no demand for Woman Suffrage must be silenced once and for all.

Women in Local Government.

Again we heard the usual charges that women are apathetic with regard to Local Government and neglectful of existing opportunities of service on elected bodies. Apart from the observation that men themselves are more deeply interested in national than in local affairs—unless there is some question at stake of rate-saving or enhancing the value of private property at public expense—we have three things to say on this point:—

Firstly, the best women are for the time being deeply engaged in fighting for the Parliamentary vote, which is needed if only to make their Local Government activities more effective.

Secondly, the Act passed by the Liberal Government makes married women ineligible for election to town and county councils, and thus seriously restricts the supply of women candidates.

Thirdly, it is virtually impossible for a woman, as for a man, to secure election except with the backing of one of the organised political parties, and as these parties, being run by men in the interests of men, are most reluctant to put women candidates in the field, this alone explains the scarcity of women councillors.

Dangers of a Private Measure.

In the course of the debate there was much of the inevitable wrangling about the terms and conditions on which women should have the franchise. Some objected to the Conciliation Bill on the ground that it gave a property franchise, others that it did not. Some opposed it because it would lead to universal Suffrage, and others opposed it because it would not. More than enough was said on these lines to show that an unofficial measure for Woman Suffrage, even if it passed the second reading, would come to grief in Committee. There will be no end to this bickering about terms and conditions, until the Government introduce and drive through a measure based on the

firm and logical principle that what qualifies a man to vote shall qualify a woman.

The Usual Pompous Statements.

There were the usual pompous statements about the basis of society being physical force, and about women's inability to fight. Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Murray Macdonald disposed completely of these fallacies. Again it was said that women labour under an incapacity to understand Foreign and Imperial affairs. The only women who have had a chance of handling these matters are Queens, and they, as it happens, have shown a perfect genius for the task. But perhaps the stress laid on this particular point is due to a desire on the part of Members of Parliament to make it appear that they themselves are deeply concerned with and responsible for the management of Foreign and Imperial business. As a matter of fact, they are not. The Government keep them in the completest possible ignorance with regard to these matters, and make hardly a pretence of asking their opinions. Foreign policy is, practically speaking, withdrawn from the control of the House of Commons; Imperial business hardly less so. The South African Constitution was stuffed ready-made down the throat of that House. The recent changes in the Government in India took Members of Parliament completely by surprise. Certainly it requires no great intelligence to understand everything connected with Foreign and Imperial affairs that comes within the province of the voter and the rank and file M.P.

Exploded Arguments.

The speeches of the mover and seconder and all the other unofficial supporters of the Bill reached a very high level, and by their dignity of style and soundness of argument destroyed once more the often exploded arguments of the Anti-Suffragists. Of course, there was criticism of the militants, but that, as always, we pass by as unimportant and beside the mark. Sir Alfred Mond and Mr. McCurdy, whose speeches in the House and outside are always among the best delivered on the Suffrage question, uttered some wise words on the subject of militant methods. "No great movement," said Sir Alfred Mond, "has succeeded without disorders. At the time of the Reform Bill we had a state of things with which the present movement does not compare." He then expressed stern condemnation of the speeches made on public platforms by Cabinet Ministers, in which they jeer at those who support this reform because they are not burning castles. Said Mr. McCurdy: "It has been suggested that there may be defections on this side of the House on account of the militant tactics. I cannot believe that the descendants of the militant reformers of 1832 are going to be influenced by window-smashing. I was looking at the King's Speech of 1832, and I found side by side two paragraphs, one deploring the terrible outrages then taking place in Bristol, and proclaiming the determination of the Executive to repress those disorders with a firm hand; and the other stating that measures for the immediate redress of the grievances in connection with the Parliamentary vote would be laid before the House. When our political ancestors were considering the redress of Parliamentary grievances they were not averted to the right or left by the fact that there were outbreaks of violence in all parts of the country upon a scale which makes the little matters which the London magistrates are now inquiring into seem almost too paltry to mention."

Militancy as an Excuse.

Shortly after Mr. Eugene Wason, one of the Suffragist M.P.'s who voted against the Bill, addressed the House in explanation of his action. He soon betrayed the fact that the militant protest was not the determining factor. At most it was an excuse, and in the absence of that excuse he would have found another. For the mischief was done before the protest took place. It was, he explained, the Prime Minister's statement that Woman Suffrage would be a national disaster that shook his faith in the cause, and Miss Violet Markham's speech at the Albert Hall completed his perversion. To bring in militancy was quite an afterthought on Mr. Wason's part. Sir William Byles filled in all the remaining blanks in our knowledge of the real reason why a good many Liberals are for the moment less favourable to Woman Suffrage than of yore. Just for appearance' sake and to be in the fashion, Sir William Byles had his fill at militancy, but his real point was this: "He feared the question was becoming a dangerous one for the Government of the day. If he found that the effect was to imperil the stability of the Government that he supported, he would leave this question severely alone until the danger was past." Precisely! So long as Woman Suffrage was a merely academic question, Liberals would vote for it. Now that owing to the Government's obstinacy it is a source of peril to the Government, the Liberal rank and file attempt to shelve it. When they finally discover that to leave it unsettled is far more dangerous still, then they will clamour for the introduction and passage of a Government Bill.

For a full and excellent report of the debate on the Conciliation Bill we refer our readers to the Standard (Woman's Platform) of Friday, March 29. An analysis of the voting will be found on the opposite page.

PROFESSOR OLDHAM ON MR. REDMOND

Professor G. H. Oldham, of University College, Dublin, has sent us the following letters for publication:—

To J. E. Redmond, Esq., M.P.

March 31, 1912.

Dear Mr. Redmond,—Would you do me the favour of reading copy (enclosed) of a letter, since it is touching on action taken by you as leader of Irish cause. I know you are a better judge of tactics than any of us; I know the responsible leader must decide. I am not questioning your authority. But I think there is more than tactics involved here. Our Irish cause is invincible—simply by its moral strength; it is a claim for Irish rights. Now, to throw our political organisation against similar movements on behalf of freedom against any people struggling for similar rights is moral suicide. From Daniel O'Connell all the way—down to Boer War and English labour movement—how clean was the record of Irish Nationalists! That is our moral strength. You are the first Irish leader to smirch our record: when you threw the party vote to kill the Women's Bill. It is not a case of your personal opinions. John Mitchell supported negro slavery as a private person: had he done it as Irish leader his action would have been suicidal to the movement for Irish liberty.

Of course, there may be explanations which I do not understand; I do not ask for any. But being one of your loyal supporters, I want you to judge from my letter how your action strikes a contemporary. If any be needed, you have many opportunities for public explanation.—With kind regards and best wishes for your renewed health, yours faithfully, G. H. OLDHAM.

Letter Enclosed.

To Mr. M. J. Dalton, Hon. Sec., National Students' Organising Committee, University College, Dublin.

Dear Mr. Dalton,—I am much obliged for your letter of yesterday expressing the wish of the National Students' Committee that I should speak from their platform on Sunday. Any Irish Nationalist ought to feel proud to take part in Sunday's proceedings, and I will be glad to march with the students to the meeting. But with very great regret I must decline to be a speaker on this occasion. The action of Mr. Redmond in using the collective vote of the Irish Party to kill the Women's Franchise Bill in the House of Commons was, no doubt, a question of Parliamentary tactics on which he, as our responsible leader, was entitled to decide. But, personally, I deplore the action. As an Irishman, I am shocked at the thought that our movement for Irish liberty has been stained by this foul blow against human freedom. I do not know how I am to go through the humiliating farce of speaking in defence of Irish rights at a moment when my conscience is guilty of the knowledge that my national leader, acting on my behalf, has done this shameful deed. As I am a loyal Irishman, anxious to support Mr. Redmond and our Party, I do not wish to strike a discordant note by speaking at this moment. It is my wish to say that I dissent from any decision to exclude the women of Ireland from this national demonstration. The women students and professors have exactly the same rights as other members of the University.—Yours faithfully, G. H. OLDHAM.

THE LIBERTY OF THE SUBJECT.

Great disquietude is being felt in labour circles at the recent action of the Government with regard to the Syndicalists. The Labour Leader asks why one law is applied to Mr. Tom Mann and another to Sir Edward Carson, K.C., and protests that "Treason is not treason until it is spoken in defence of the lives of underpaid workpeople"—and, we might add, of voteless women. Mr. Lansbury, M.P., addressing a mass meeting at Bristol last Sunday, said very truly that "To imagine in this twentieth century that you can wipe out any movement by locking up its leaders is too absurd for words." We heartily concur in this statement, and with the further one attributed to Mr. Lansbury in the Standard report of the meeting, that—

He looked with suspicion and disquietude on the criminal prosecution of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Pankhurst, and he would tell them why. The law of conspiracy was a very wide one indeed, and if organisations were going to be roped in, as apparently the Government were going to try to do, by the law of conspiracy, making organisations responsible for the actions of individual members, they had gone a long step towards roping in trade unions and Socialist organisations and making them responsible for what their members happened to do. He thought it was a very dangerous proceeding against the liberty of the subject.

We have pointed out in these columns more than once that proceedings against militant Suffragists are a threat to the liberty of the subject.

"THE SUBJECTION OF WOMEN."

Two cases in the Sessions have illustrated the real "Anti" position in regard to women. Mrs. Monk-Mason was charged before Mr. Justice Lawrie with doing damage to the value of £20. She pleaded guilty, and declined to be defended. She was told that she could not be defended without her consent; but nevertheless, the judge insisted on hearing what a barrister whom someone commissioned to defend her had to say. He pleaded that she was nearly seventy, that she was a lady by birth, and that her brother was Canon Woolley, who, in company with another gentleman, would go surety for her good behaviour for a year in £50 each. In spite of her protests against such treatment, Mrs. Monk-Mason was discharged. Similarly, Miss Olive Fergus was discharged against her will, because her father went surety for her. She is, of age, she is quite capable of acting for herself; yet, like Mrs. Monk-Mason, she was treated as a child or a lunatic. The negation of a woman's right to personality—that is the "Anti" position. If it is legal, the law is intolerable.

THE CONCILIATION BILL: ANALYSIS OF VOTING.

SOME PRESS VIEWS.

The House of Commons has followed Mr. Asquith in his arguments, which are admirable, and saved him from the effects of his promises.—The Times, March 29.

Its opponents in the House of Commons exhibited the calmness and balance and sobriety which are the prerogatives of the male sex in public affairs by an outburst of excitement which would have been called "hysterical" if displayed by women.—The Evening Standard, March 29.

HOW GOVERNMENT MEMBERS VOTED.

The following table shows how the members of the Government voted:—

Table with 3 columns: FOR THE BILL, AGAINST THE BILL, and Total. Lists names of government members and their votes.

HOW THE PARTIES VOTED ON MAY 5, 1911.

Table with 3 columns: FOR THE BILL, AGAINST THE BILL, and Total. Shows party totals for May 5, 1911.

Table with 3 columns: FOR THE BILL, AGAINST THE BILL, and Total. Shows party totals for March 28, 1912.

LIST OF PAIRS.

Table with 2 columns: FOR THE BILL and AGAINST. Lists names of members who paired off.

M.P.'s who Voted in Favour of the Second Reading (208).

Large table listing names of M.P.s who voted in favour of the second reading, organized by party affiliation.

M.P.'s who Voted Against the Second Reading (222).

Large table listing names of M.P.s who voted against the second reading, organized by party affiliation.

M.P.'s who were Absent Unpaired.

Table listing names of M.P.s who were absent unpaired during the vote.

NEWINGTON SESSIONS.

Conclusion of Trials—Speeches from the Dock.

In our last issue we could only give a bare summary of the cases heard at Newington Sessions on Wednesday, March 27. The following additional particulars will be of interest:—

Before Mr. Robert Wallace, K.C., the following cases were heard:—

Miss Annie Humphreys, charged with damaging two plate-glass windows value £20 each. Prisoner pleaded not guilty, as she disputed the evidence given at Bow Street. A constable gave evidence that he saw her break the window at 130, New Bond Street. She wore nursing uniform. Afterwards she broke a window at 47, New Bond Street. Several other witnesses gave evidence as to seeing her break windows. The prisoner said that most of the evidence given by the constable was untrue. It was absolutely false to say she broke a window of an A.B.C. shop. She was found guilty, and refused to give an undertaking to abstain from unlawful methods. She was sentenced to four months' imprisonment. She pointed out that men, for offences against the moral law, had been punished with far lighter sentences. The agitation would never be stopped by vindictive punishments or crushed by coercion. Even though it cost them their very lives, they would endeavour to secure just conditions. Women might suffer and disappear one by one, but the cause would go on. God was for the women, because their cause was just.

Miss Hope Jones pleaded "Not guilty" to breaking seven plate-glass windows. She was found guilty, and a previous conviction in November was proved against her. Miss Hope Jones said: "I accepted Mr. Hobhouse's challenge. I would like to say to Englishmen that you can give your women hard labour, fill your prisons with their bodies, but the spirit which encourages them will remain. The light will still burn, and will never be put out by the hand of man." She was sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

Miss Elsie Howe, charged with breaking windows to the amount of £20. The prisoner said she acted upon a challenge made by Mr. Hobhouse at Bristol. She therefore did not understand why she was in the dock. If his advice was legal, why was she punished? If it was illegal, why was he not also in the dock? Sentenced to four months' imprisonment.

Miss Catherine Swaine, charged with breaking windows to the amount of £25, was found guilty on one of the charges, and although there was no previous conviction, was sentenced to four months' imprisonment.

"Prepared to Die." Miss Edith Downing was charged with breaking windows to the value of £26. In a speech to the jury she said that she regretted that peaceable and law-abiding women should have been forced to do these things. She referred to the brutality of Black Friday when she almost lost her life, and to the various taunts of Cabinet Ministers as to the women's mild methods. The women were prepared to die in this agitation. A previous conviction was proved against her, and she was sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

Miss Ethel Lewis was charged with breaking a plate-glass window value £20. The chairman of Messrs. Liley and Skinner hoped the case would be dealt with leniently. She was sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

Miss Florence Macfarlane was charged with doing damage to the extent of £25. An expert proved that the damage was only £13. Prisoner said that all her life she had been something of a reformer. She was a nurse, and when she found nurses underfed and under-staffed, she always made her protest. She found that the only argument listened to by those in power was inconvenience. Asked to be bound over, she said: "I prefer to agitate in a way that will be successful. If it means six months or six years, I prefer to go on." She was sentenced to four months' imprisonment.

Miss Ethel Moorhead, charged with damaging two windows, respectively £40 and £15, was discharged, owing to failure of the evidence.

Miss Janie Allan. Miss Janie Allan was charged with damage to the amount of £105. She referred to the White Slave Traffic, to the small punishments of those who outraged young girls; about these there were no outcries; that was reserved for broken panes of glass. She concluded with the words of St. Paul: "For if that counsel of words which I will be overthrown; but if it is of God, ye will not be able to overthrow them, lest haply ye be found even to be fighting against God." Sentenced to four months' imprisonment.

Miss Lillias Mitchell, for £24 worth of damage, said that the situation was discreditable to British statesmen, but she would afterwards be proud that she had taken part in militant lectures. Sentenced to four months' imprisonment.

Miss Emily Fussell, for £12 worth of damage, which was afterwards reduced to £8, was found guilty and sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

Miss Edith Hudson, for £36 worth of damage, said that the time-honoured argu-

ment in this country was stone-throwing and window-smashing. She was sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

A Sentence of Eight Months.

Miss Ellison Gibb, charged with damage amounting to £90, had two previous convictions proved against her, and was sentenced to eight months' imprisonment (this was afterwards reduced to six months). Miss Gibb asked for treatment under Rule 243a, to which the chairman replied: "That is a matter which the Home Office deals with; they arrange all the work; the court has nothing to do with that, I am sorry to say."

Miss Violet Bland and Miss Ethel Baldock, charged with damage amounting to £10. One of the witnesses was wisely questioned about the price and the discount for plate glass, and Mr. Blanco White said that the damage was only £4 10s. This was disputed by the prosecuting counsel in a long speech. Both found guilty. Miss Bland was sentenced to four months' imprisonment, but Miss Baldock, who agreed to be bound over, was released.

Miss Fanny Parker pleaded not guilty to damage of £15 at the L. and N.W.R. Co. She said: "If I had thrown a stone as a striker, or even at a man who is intoxicated, I suppose I should have received a very light sentence; but I have noticed that men at Swansea, when they were held up for rioting, got fortnight's imprisonment and the ringleader of them got only six weeks' imprisonment. Of course, I admit that the whole difference is the difference of the motive, but I think the long sentences in our case prove that the motive is recognised, and I contend that if you recognise the motive you should also recognise the provocation." Four months' imprisonment.

Miss Maud Shipley, damage at Williams and Co. and Randall, Ltd., said: "More than half my life I have been doing what in my eyes to help the poor and unfortunate. As a member of a Vigilance Society, and as a worker in connection with other societies, I know the condition of our women and girls and the dangers that lie about them, and that they have no power to protect themselves; and that knowledge has made me take up the attitude I take up to-day. I feel our case is a most urgent one, and I feel that only a woman can understand a woman's needs, that women suffer for the want and care of men, and that their salvation lies in looking after their own needs and in demanding the vote." On refusing to abstain from unlawful methods, Miss Shipley was sentenced to four months' imprisonment.

Miss Callender was discharged, as the window she had broken was found to be under £5.

Mrs. Janet Augusta Boyd and Miss Florence Eliza Haig were indicted for breaking two windows each at the premises of Messrs. D. H. Evans and Co. damage £66. Miss Boyd, having been previously convicted, was sentenced to six months. Miss Haig, who said that if bound over she should feel like a soldier deserting in the middle of a battle, received a sentence of four months.

Had Only Seen Mrs. Pankhurst Once. Mrs. Cheffins (windows at Goringe's) said she acted quite independently. She had only seen Mrs. Pankhurst once, and Miss Pankhurst twice. She was a suffragist absolutely by conviction, because after living and working among the very poor for more than twenty years she had come to the conclusion that all efforts were absolutely futile without the benefit of the franchise. She was a militant because she was firmly convinced that the only way was by the methods of the W.S.P.U. She made her protest because of the sweated women and the women and children rained and broken every day of the year.—Four months.

Mrs. Bard (windows at Goringe's) said she had always been taught to thank God that she was a free British woman. When she found the terrible condition of things she felt that as the mother of daughters as well as sons, she could not sit at home; she must act for the sake of her little daughters, whom she wished to have an equal opportunity with her sons.—Four months.

Mrs. Mary Palethorpe and Miss Dorothy Abrahams were charged with damage to the extent of £25. No evidence being offered against Miss Abrahams, she was acquitted. She was then called as a witness by Mrs. Palethorpe, and admitted that she had broken windows, and stated that a hammer referred to was not in the possession of Mrs. Palethorpe. She had been in the police court and had heard the witnesses swear innumerable lies. Mrs. Palethorpe was sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

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The Fashionable PRETTY AFTERNOON DRESS In Silk Taffeta, trimmed Silk Pippings, with Yoke of Cream Lace. All newest Colours and Black. 42/- Ready to Wear. WHITELEYS QUEEN'S ROAD, LONDON, W

An Employer of Electors.

Mrs. Alice Green and Mrs. Evelyn Arton were charged with damage to the value of £80. Mrs. Arton refused to give an undertaking to abstain from unlawful acts in future. Her husband attended and stated that he was willing to enter into a bond for her. She had been in very bad health lately. Mrs. Arton said she wished to thank her husband publicly for endeavouring to get her off, but she could not give an undertaking. The Chairman suggested postponing the sentence till next Sessions in order to give her time to think over the matter, but she answered that that was no use. She had her own office; she employed men who had the vote, and she had none, although it was upon her intelligence that these men depended.

Mrs. Green, asked if she would be bound over, refused, saying, "Let me tell you what I have gone through lately on behalf of this cause. I have given up my home, my husband and my child, and I shall not go back until women get the vote." They were both sentenced to four months' imprisonment.

Mrs. Alice Davies and Dr. Alice Ker were charged with breaking windows to the value of £42. Miss Davis said that women were determined they would wrest the same human rights as men enjoyed. They were sick and tired of being treated as aliens, and they would persist in their efforts until they gained their object. Dr. Ker pointed out that the motive should be taken into account, and she quoted words from Cabinet Ministers advising women to use force. She was a healer, a doctor in practice, a lecturer on tuberculosis, and President of the Women's Society of Liverpool. She had been a householder and ratepayer since 1883. She was the mother of daughters, and she was ready to do all she could to get this reform. Morally, she was not guilty of any offence.

"Only One Way." The Chairman expressed regret that Dr. Ker should be prevented from going on with her splendid work, and asked both the prisoners to give an undertaking. Miss Davis refused, and Mrs. Ker said: "There is only one way to prevent lawlessness, and that is for you to act as a man, not as a judge, to force the Government to place our Bill on the Statute Book." In answer to her, Mrs. Ker said: "I have been in custody for four weeks, they were sentenced to three months' imprisonment."

Mrs. Alice Monck-Mason, indicted for breaking a window, damage £20, pleaded guilty. She refused to be bound over, but her brother, Canon Woolley, and her solicitor, stood surety for her good behaviour for twelve months. Mrs. Monck-Mason left the dock protesting that it was not fair, as other people had been sent to prison for four months for doing the same as she had done.

Miss Dorothy Evans, for breaking windows 50, 53 and 54, New Bond Street, valued by Mr. Beaton at £72 16s. in all, was sentenced to four months' imprisonment. In addressing the Jury she said that they had tried a number of cases and that they by this time were well acquainted with the agitation. She said that women were awake to the responsibility that was on

thorpe went into the witness box and stated that she never had a hammer. Her hand had been injured, and she had never touched the window in question, nor had she broken any window. The Chairman pointed out to the jury that whatever the faults of the defendants might be, they had not been in the habit of saying what was untrue, and that possibly there might be a mistake on the part of witnesses. Mrs. Palethorpe was then discharged.

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then for the condition of the country at the present day, and went on to point out a number of the evils existing, and said if the women who had not the power to remove them felt the responsibility, how much more was the responsibility upon those who refused to give the power to remedy them. The Leaders were on their trial for conspiracy and incitement, and she wanted to say that speaking for herself, but she was sure she could speak for hundreds more—the only power they had over her was to restrain her militancy. Supporting the law was such that it was possible to shut up those Leaders for a lengthy term, then when she was free she would have to take her own line; it had been her own line before, but it had been restrained. It could not be so moderate, and would not be so mild as the line she had taken. She urged the jury to include a rider calling upon the Government to remove the grievance which led to these disturbing antics. After being sentenced she asked if she could come under rule 243a, and the Judge replied he could make no difference in her case.

"Stop the Fight." Miss Hilda Burkitt was sentenced to four months' imprisonment for breaking windows at 102 and 103, New Bond Street. Mr. Beaton put the damage at £17 12s. and £18 respectively. In addressing the jury she pointed out that anything she had done was not malicious. She said she did not think it was much good saying anything in a court, for she knew her sentence was already decided, but it was time this fight was put a stop to, they did not want to spend their lives in prison, but they did want to remove the stain and stigma on women. She refused to be bound over, saying she would consider it a disgrace to womanhood to do so.

Miss Frances Williams was sentenced to four months' imprisonment for breaking a window at 211, Regent Street, valued at £8. She said it was a political protest against injustice, made in her old age, and not with any malice.

Judge Sorry for the Reason. Mrs. Sarah Crees was charged with breaking the window of 107, New Bond Street. She questioned a boy's evidence, because he had said she broke four windows, and had also said he heard breaking of glass, and afterwards had said he saw her do it. Mrs. Crees consented to an undertaking to keep the peace for twelve months, and said she did this only on account of her health. The Judge said he was sorry for the reason, as he would have preferred her doing so because she had preferred her action was wrong. She was bound over in the sum of £5 for twelve months.

"The Same Interpretation." Mrs. Vera Wentworth, for breaking windows in Regent Street, and doing damage to the extent of £70 15s., was sentenced to six months' imprisonment. She said smashing windows was very unpleasant, and they would not have done it unless they had been incited by Mr. Hobhouse, and as long as the Liberal Government behaved like this they would have to do it. She would have done a great deal more if she had not been restrained by the Leaders, and she would do the same thing again and possibly worse. The Prosecutor pointed out that she had been convicted in 1909, 1910 and 1911. The Judge said he was very sorry to have to send her back to prison again, but these offences could not be allowed.

Miss Wentworth; Mr. Hobhouse incited us to do it. I have nothing to do with it. I have read the speeches and they have put the same interpretation upon it. However, it is nothing to do with the case. Mrs. Traverso, for breaking four plate glass windows at Messrs. Stevens in Oxford Street, was sentenced to four months' imprisonment. Mr. Blanco White asked if the Judge would take into consideration that she had already been in prison for twenty-six days, but the Judge said she had desired she could have been bailed out. She asked if she could come under rule 243a. The Judge said he had nothing to do with that.

Miss Nellie Neave, for breaking windows of Messrs. Harries and Co., Oxford Street, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

"Would Bear any Amount of Suffering." The Misses Barbara and Emma Wylie, for breaking four plate glass windows the property of Messrs. Waring and Gillows, and valued at £130 in all, were sentenced to six months' imprisonment each. Miss Emma Wylie said if they were their Bibles they would remember that Solomon prayed for an understanding heart. There was no Solomon in the Cabinet. They had heard in vain for an understanding heart. She went on to say that Cabinet Ministers had taunted them and incited them. The other day a woman was sentenced to six months, who would die in prison; her injuries were received in that raid when police were turned upon them with savagery and violence.

Miss Barbara Wylie said she hoped this agitation had cleared the minds of the British people and that they would get justice and liberty. She had been working in Glasgow for two years, and she had pointed out to the children that she could have no idea of any life, and a medical officer had told her that he was sentenced to four months' imprisonment. In addressing the Jury she said that they had tried a number of cases and that they by this time were well acquainted with the agitation. She said that women were awake to the responsibility that was on

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want, and to bring about the reform we desire." She was then released.

Four Acquittals.

Miss Catherine Green, Mrs. Marie Brown, Miss Ivy Beach, and Miss Mabel North were charged with damage to post-office windows amounting to £125. Mrs. Brown denied that any stones were found on her. Miss North, in questioning the constable, said that when she got to the station, he was rather agitated. He cried, "The Suffragettes are out," whereupon all the policemen left the station. She was put near a window, which seemed to make the inspector nervous, so that he had her moved. Many things were faulty in the evidence. Mr. Blanco White questioned the value of the windows, and at the end of the case the Chairman said that there was not sufficient evidence of identity or of the defendants going in combination. Therefore they were acquitted.

Miss Kate Cecilia Conway was bound over. Miss Doreen Allen said she was incited by the speech of Mr. Hobbouse.—Four months.

Miss Elsie Gordon said there had been no pressure on the part of her Leaders. Her action was due to the abominable behaviour of the Government. Fifty years of constitutional work had been ignored, meetings all over the country were practically ignored by the Press. It appears to reason fairly that they must do something which touched people's pockets; anger was better than indifference. She reminded them how violent methods were used in the great Charter from King John; but for violence many of the great reforms would never have been won. There were worse things than broken glass, and it was of these that she was thinking when she went out to break windows; of broken hearts and broken lives; of outraged children so inadequately avenged; of the police on the streets of the white slave traffic, of those whose wages were so small that they were driven to the streets. She was very glad she had broken that window. Did they think the only place for Mrs. Pankhurst was Holloway? They were blind; they could not see things in their true light. She asked them to rouse up the country, to appeal to their members of Parliament, and to remember how women had helped them to win their own liberties. She agreed to be bound over for twelve months because her sister was seriously ill and she probably not live long. Nothing else would have persuaded her.

Mrs. Jessie Heward said it had always been one of the glories of the Union that no one was "expected" to take action; that was left to the individual. The only effect of punishing the Leaders would be to drive the more ardent followers to extremists. She had given her own name and not her husband's name, because she stood responsible for her own actions, and she thought that for a woman to shelter herself behind her male relatives was despicable. On March 3 she left the south of France to take part in that protest, because she had come slowly and very reluctantly to the conclusion that to break a window was far more dignified than to behave in a constitutional manner, and to allow the police and the mob to do personal violence. The Government was sending hundreds of women to prison, but the spirit of women was beyond their power to stifle, and for every woman imprisoned four or five would rise up. To a woman of her age, who had brought up a family, it was terrible to see all this unnecessary suffering and blindness of the Government in not turning this splendid enthusiasm into peaceful channels of social work. Voiceless women were an anomaly in a civilized country, and when the Government yielded, as yield it must, men would marvel that they could possibly have opposed this reform so long. If they knew as much as women did of the white slave traffic and of outraged children, those who had wives and daughters of their own, and who had the feelings of English gentlemen, would undergo any penalty sooner than declare these women guilty.—Four months.

Miss Louisa Field said: "What I did I did deliberately and entirely on my own responsibility."—Four months.

Miss Margaret Rowlett was given six months, having been previously convicted.

Miss Margaret Wallis, sentenced to four months on Wednesday, was bound over.

Miss Thompson's case was postponed to next sessions owing to a motor accident to her.

Several members of the Actresses' Franchise League (musical section) are arranging a reception and welcome breakfast at the Inns of Court Hotel to Dr. Ethel Smyth on her release from Holloway in about five weeks' time. Tickets, price 2s. 6d., may be had from the Hon. Sec., Beauchamp Lodge, Warwick Crescent, Maida Hill. The chair will be taken by Mrs. Ernest Porteus.

When we reported the cases of the Suffragists at Bow Street Police Court early in March, we accidentally omitted a reference to the speech made before the magistrate by Miss Olive Fargus. She said:—"I think it is scarcely necessary to draw attention to the fact that I do not belong to the hoodlum class. Any action which I took on Friday was carried out as a political protest against the great injustice which is being done to women in denying them the Parliamentary vote. I very much regret the necessity for a militant protest, but so few men help us constitutionally that I was forced to take action by these militant methods."

Miss Fargus was over at the Sessions last week, entirely against her will.

In an account of the proceedings on Tuesday last week at Newington Sessions we omitted the names of Miss Constance Broyer and Miss Adeline Kettner. Miss White, each of whom received a sentence of four months.

Miss Littlejohn gratefully acknowledges the following:—Miss Margaret Sadler, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Board, 1s.; Anon., 2s. 6d.; Miss Edith Williams, 2s. 6d.; Miss A. E. Brunker, 3s.; Mrs. Norris, 10s.; Anon., 10s.; "Concert," 2s.; Mrs. Armstrong, 2s.; Miss Joan Edgill, 1s.

SOME PRESS VIEWS.

With the country standing upon the edge of revolution, we cannot afford to seem to yield, even in the smallest degree, to the window-smashers and their friends.—The Globe, March 27.

With the removal from the Parliamentary arena of two such thorny questions as the coalminers' strike and Women's Suffrage, there was a marked sensation of relief to be observed in all quarters of the House of Commons to-day. These two problems—and the second hardly less than the first—have hung over Westminster like thunder clouds ever since the session began. Each has threatened in some degree the solidarity of the Government, and has strained to the uttermost the cohesion of the parties of the Coalition; but, questionable as are some of the means by which they have been conjured out of the minds of the Government, the fact is that they have been removed.—The Pall Mall Gazette (Political Notes).

We said yesterday, and we think strongly, that no convinced Suffragist ought to have been deterred from voting for the Bill because a small group of women had been guilty of outrages. But unfortunately a good many of those who had committed themselves to the support of the principle were not in this sense convinced adherents of the cause, and some who were "almost persuaded" last year had in the interval come to the conclusion that the militant demonstrations were not proof of women's unfitness for political enfranchisement. Still more, the atmosphere was unfavourable to any action which might have been construed by the unthinking public as yielding to pressure on the part of the House of Commons. As a man, it is proved once again, as is liable to be on particular sentiments as woman is to hers. He gives them grand masculine names and contrasts his firmness with her femininity, but sentiment it is none the less, and not reason or logic, which governs him in these emergencies.—The Westminster Gazette, March 29.

Let us not suppose for one moment that the militant suffragists occupy in truth the subordinate position in the women's army that the "Constitutionals" are so eager to assign them. Their mere numbers are probably far higher than any of the recent estimates that have been put forward to them admit.—Mrs. Humphry Ward in the Times, March 28.

In the House of Commons on Monday, April 1, Mr. King asked the total amount of damage done to the windows of private houses, shops, and offices in the course of the recent window-smashing raids in the West End of London; how much of the damage will fall on the owners of the windows and on insurance companies; and whether any sums towards repairing the damage have been obtained from persons charged as before. The sequel to my remonstration will probably be an action against me in the county court for damages for breach of agreement, as I left the premises before my tenancy had expired. Yours, &c., A. AYRES PURDIE, Hampden House, Kingsway, W.C., March 25.

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EDUCATION CREEPING UP. In an advertisement of Madame Tussaud's Exhibition appearing in the Standard the following two lines occur consecutively:—"Lifelike Portrait Models of Leading Suffragettes."

"An Educational and Enjoyable Treat for Children."

We look forward to seeing parties of little ones being conducted by their teachers round the waxen group of W.S.P.U. leaders to be instructed in the making of history up-to-date.

THE FABIAN SOCIETY. The following resolution was carried at a meeting on March 29:—"That this meeting of the Executive Committee of the Fabian Society protests against the unwise and unnecessary severity of the sentences recently passed on the militant suffragists."

NORTH KENSINGTON I.L.P. The following resolution was passed by the North Kensington Branch of the Independent Labour Party on March 25:—"That this organisation, realising that the only real remedy is to remove the cause of the present unrest among women, calls upon the Prime Minister in the interest of justice and sex equality to pass into law this session an Adult Suffrage Bill."

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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., CLEANERS, 14, HALLCROFT ROAD, RETFORD.

Mesdames Rowe & Keeble & CORSETTIERS. Latest Designs THESE are the most perfect in High Class degree of comfort. Made of the choicest Materials and Finest Ribbons. PRICES 21s., 42s., 63s. 31, Conduit Street, New Bond Street, W. Carriage to all parts of the Kingdom.

VOTES FOR WOMEN AND A GOOD LAUNDRY. Good Work and Good Wages. THE BEACONSFIELD LAUNDRY, 18, BEEHIVEN ST., KILBURN. HIGH CLASS WORK ONLY. SEND A POST CARD FOR PRICE LIST. NO HOSPITALS OR HOTEL CONTRACTS TAKEN.

CHIVERS' CARPET SOAP. It is the best carpet cleaner in the world. It removes ink, grease, and all dirt from carpets and woolen fabrics. A damp cloth—a little Chivers' Soap—a carpet like new without taking it up. Sample mail sent free, R. G. stamps. Chivers & Co., Albany Works, Bath.

A GOOD PROFESSION. Shop and Office—178, Finchley Road. Hon. Secs.—Mrs. Hicks and Miss C. Collier. The shop will re-open Thursday, April 11. A series of drawing-room meetings will be held on the first of the heavy sentences imposed on local resources. Mrs. Hicks has kindly undertaken to give the first, which will be held on Saturday, April 13, from 8 to 9 p.m. Members are requested to bring to the shop on Friday to attend the annual meeting. A splendid open-air meeting was held on Hampstead Heath last Sunday, when the speaker was Miss G. B. Ruckley and Mrs. Hicks. £105 was sent up to the number of new members joining the Union as the result of the recent protest increases daily.

Flako THE LAST WORD IN SOAP. Try FLAKO this week on your Woolens, Flannels, Laces, Silks, and Fine Fabrics. WON'T SHRINK FLANNELS. AN EXCELLENT HAIR WASH. From all Grocers, 1d. & 3d. Packets. JOHN KNIGHT, LTD. Soap Makers by Appointment to H. M. King George V. THE ROYAL PRIMROSE SOAP WORKS, LONDON.

CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

Owing to the Easter Holidays it has been impossible to publish all the reports received.

W.S.P.U. General Offices: 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C. BARNET.

Hon. Sec.—Miss She Watt, 13, Stratford Road. A splendid open-air meeting was held in the Market Place on Saturday, March 30, when Miss Bonwick spoke. Members please bring in "ladies' distribution" leaflets to be had at above address any hour. Please keep free April 19, when Mrs. Zangwill and Mr. Joseph Clayton will speak at 2, Athenaeum Road, Whitehorn, at 3.30 p.m. Gratefully received from Mrs. Westaby (collected), 6s.; Mrs. Paine, 2s. 6d.

CHELSEA AND KENSAL TOWN. Shop and Office—308, King's Road. Hon. Sec.—Miss King and Miss Blacklock. Tel. 2858 Kensington. Owing to the absence for a few months of the secretary, Mrs. Temple Bird has undertaken the duties. Help is much wanted for distributing "Broken Windows" leaflets to women householders. Please call at the shop, where convales are ready and waiting to be delivered. Many thanks to Miss Katharine Haig, who sent a donation of 2s as an appreciation of the militant action which she had seen. Miss Florence Haig. There was a good meeting at Sloane Square on Friday last, when Miss Misa Sheppard was the speaker. Mrs. Temple Bird in the chair. A good number of Votes for Women were sold.

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Single insertion, 24 words or less, 2s.; 1d. per word for every additional word.

All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS. (Priority found at W.S.P.U. meetings should be sent to Miss Kerr, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.)

GIVEN FOR SELF-DENIAL FUND.—We are anxious to sell the following articles in order to add the amount realized to the total of the Self-Denial Fund—

- Pearl double-heart brooch £1 1 0
Gold brooch, set turquoise 0 7 6
Long gold chain 1 5 0
Silver watch, nearly new 3 3 0
Gold bangle, set opal and diamond heart 3 3 0
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Gold bangle, set pearls and turquoise 10 6 0
Gold bangle, set pearls and turquoise 15 0 0
Foreign wood bangle, gold mounts 0 15 0
Curb chain bracelet, with amethyst and pearl 2 2 0
Gold necklace, with amethyst and pearl pendant 0 15 0
Ring, set pearls and sapphires 10 6 0
Red coral necklace (3 rows) 1 1 0
String of amber beads 0 5 0
Hair ornament, moonstones and silver 1 1 0
Gold chain bracelet (basket pattern) 0 5 0
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