

VOTES FOR WOMEN

VOL. V. (New Series), No. 221.

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THE JOURNEYS OF CHRISTABEL.



(We are indebted to Scotland Yard and the Press for the details in the above map. The photograph of the Missing Leader is from the portrait by "Spy" in "Vanity Fair.")

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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.

Further reflection does but strengthen the opinion that the Conspiracy Trial has resulted in a great victory for the Women's Social and Political Union and the cause of Votes for Women. Won at a great cost, which includes the withdrawal of the Leaders from the work of the Union, it is nevertheless a victory in which they and we rejoice with all our heart. The verdict of the jury amounts to an acquittal in everything but a technical sense. It is

said by many that if the jury had been called upon to give their verdict immediately after the speeches for the defence, it would have been a verdict of Not Guilty. But the judge's summing-up completely overstepped the bounds of a judicial statement, and was equivalent to another speech for the prosecution and a peremptory order to convict. Very significant was it that under these circumstances the jury should take the almost unprecedented course of claiming for the prisoners the utmost clemency and leniency of the Court, and of testifying to the undoubted purity of the motives underlying the militant agitation.

The Jury's Verdict.

It has been said that the recent protest by members of the W.S.P.U. has alienated public opinion and damaged the Suffrage cause. The jury's verdict gives the lie to that assertion. Here were twelve men, without any special previous knowledge of the defendants or of the Union, twelve men taken by chance, as the judge reminded them, from the vast body of citizens to pronounce upon the militant W.S.P.U. protests of November and March. And

what they say is in effect this. The protests took place. They took place with the encouragement and at the instigation of the three prisoners in the dock. Yet, nevertheless, we declare that such is the purity of the motives underlying this defiance of the law, that we ask that the utmost clemency and leniency be shown to them. Again we hail this verdict as a triumph, and we say that the opinion of the jury represents the opinion of all intelligent citizens who have had the truth about the militant agitation brought home to their minds in the way that it was brought home to the minds of the jury in the Conspiracy Trial.

The Sentence.

Nine months' imprisonment in the second division, the costs of the prosecution to be paid by the defendants! In this fashion did the judge flout the jury's plea for clemency and leniency. Wife-beaters, violators of little children, blackguards of all kinds have often had shorter sentences than this. But, as we know, a harsher standard of punishment is in vogue where political offences are concerned. Let us therefore compare the punishment given to Mr. Tom Mann, who has incited to mutiny, with that inflicted upon those who have only incited to window-breaking. That of those two offences incitement to mutiny is by far the more serious is shown by the Attorney-General's own statement:—

The offence of inciting to mutiny is [he says] a very grave one, rendering a person convicted of it liable to a very serious punishment, and if any soldier, inflamed by this incitement, should refuse to obey the orders of his officer, he would be liable to suffer the death penalty itself.

MASS MEETING,
ROYAL ALBERT HALL,
SATURDAY, JUNE 15, 8 p.m.
 SPEAKERS:
Mr. Healy, K.C., M.P. Miss Elizabeth Robins.
 Chair:—Mrs. Tuke.

Now, as we know, the response to the incitement to window-breaking has resulted in two, four, or six months' imprisonment—penalties in our opinion very excessive, yet obviously not to be compared to the penalty of death.

"These Sentences Cannot Stand!"

Moreover, the respective effects on the community of the two offences in question are not to be compared, mutiny being so much more of a catastrophe than window-breaking. Therefore we should expect that Mr. Tom Mann's punishment would be very much more severe than the punishment meted out to the W.S.P.U. Leaders. Astounding to relate, the very contrary has happened. Mr. Tom Mann receives a sentence of six months' imprisonment, now reduced to two months. The W.S.P.U. Leaders receive a sentence of nine months' imprisonment. According to the standard of punishment erected in Mr. Tom Mann's case, they ought to have been immediately discharged and set at liberty upon the conclusion of the trial, especially as each one of them had already suffered at least three weeks' imprisonment, not to speak of additional weeks of severe inconvenience in connection with the trial and the preparation of it. These sentences cannot stand.

In the House of Commons.

Great and widespread indignation has been expressed at the judge's decision. Instantly a discussion was raised in the House of Commons, and in very powerful speeches Mr. Keir Hardie and Mr. Lansbury demanded a drastic revision of the sentences and a transference of the three prisoners to the first division until such time as the Home Secretary should order their release. When some Members expressed exultation at the judge's decision, Mr. Keir Hardie rebuked them, saying:—

It is worse to rejoice in women being sentenced to prison for doing these things than the doing of them, because it does not require the same amount of courage. My ancestors went to the scaffold for this same offence, and I am proud of it.

He then proceeded to show that in spite of all denials by Ministers and others, the law does recognise political offences. He based this assertion partly on the provision of extradition law, according to which fugitives charged with political offences, however serious, are not surrendered, and upon the definition of a political offence laid down by the English Courts. "Surely," he added, "if the ruling is acceptable with regard to an alien, it should be equally acceptable with regard to British subjects."

"A Man Named Cromwell."

Mr. Hardie pointed out the contrast between the punishment meted out to the Suffragist Leaders for their comparatively small offence and to Mr. Tom Mann for "calling upon soldiers to disobey their officers, to disobey the oath they have taken, and to endanger the peace and property of the realm." How could the two sentences be justified? he asked. "Either Mr. Tom Mann got too little or the others got too much." Mr. Lansbury declared that it was very doubtful if the House of Commons would exist if people had not broken the law in the past. "On a memorable occasion," said he, "a man named Cromwell marched up to this place, or the building that preceded it, and broke the law, and the whole of English liberties have been won by people who broke the law." Then came a challenge to the Members present to say whether any of them had ever suffered one minute for any cause in the world. Answer came there none!

Mr. McKenna's Reply.

The public sympathy and admiration excited by the Leaders' conduct of the trial, and by the facts elicited in evidence, had evidently become known to the Home Secretary. His reply was therefore very guarded and very diplomatic. He felt it to be his duty to examine the circumstances of the case without delay. He sympathised with the view that motive must be a strong element in forming a moral judgment upon the crime, and should be taken into account by those who have the duty of advising as to the exercise of the prerogative of mercy. He could not promise to come to a speedy conclusion, but already he felt it his duty "to form an opinion as to whether the cases were such as could properly be applied to rule 243a." Pressed for a more definite statement, Mr. McKenna gave an assurance "to give his most sympathetic consideration generally, and to consider favourably as to the application of rule 243a." He indignantly declared that "in no case have any of these prisoners been asked to put on prison dress." The house adjourned for the holidays, and Mr. Keir Hardie and Mr. Lansbury and others felt assured that on the reassembling of the House an announcement of the Government's final decision might be expected, and that in the meantime the prisoners would have at least the limited amenities and advantages of rule 243a.

The Home Secretary's Bad Faith.

These expectations were speedily disappointed. Mr. McKenna's sympathetic remarks were apparently made for the exclusive purpose of silencing Parliamentary criticism. Once the House of Commons had dispersed for the holidays, Mr. McKenna's sympathy also disappeared. Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, on arriving at Holloway,

where certain traditions and methods have, by long years of hard fighting, been established, had comparatively little difficulty in securing certain concessions which they have accepted pending the re-assembling of Parliament. The treatment of Mr. Pethick Lawrence was entirely disgraceful. Either by Mr. McKenna's orders, or as a consequence of that gentleman's wanton breach of his pledge to give his consideration to the matter, Mr. Pethick Lawrence was taken to Wormwood Scrubbs Prison.

Treatment of Mr. Lawrence.

This prison is reserved for the lowest class of criminal. According to the Governor, there is no possibility, in view of the rules applying to the prison, of carrying out rule 243a. It was only because the Governor exercised his personal discretion, having in vain tried to get instructions from the Home Office, that Mr. Pethick Lawrence was allowed to retain his own clothes. Indeed, he was told that if he remained at Wormwood Scrubbs he would be compelled to wear prison clothes. So much for Mr. McKenna's denial that any of the prisoners would be expected to put on prison dress. The news of the indignities and hardships to which Mr. Lawrence was being subjected roused all at Clement's Inn to vigorous action, and in a few hours Mr. Lawrence was transferred to Brixton Gaol, and was in the enjoyment of some, at any rate, of the privileges provided for by rule 243a. Subsequently it was announced that the Home Office had given orders that all three prisoners were to be treated according to rule 243a. They will, however, be content with nothing less than transference to the first division.

Who Shall Pay?

The Government will also be called upon to cancel the order of the judge that Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. Pethick Lawrence shall pay the costs of the prosecution. If these must be borne by any individual, then we suggest that Mr. Hobhouse, to whose inflammatory speech recent militancy is so largely due, shall be called upon to pay. Again, Sir Rufus Isaacs, who believes that rioting, bloodshed, and violence are a substitute for the franchise, will naturally decline to take any fee for prosecuting persons who have simply carried his own theories into practice, and have done so in a very mild and moderate fashion. This order to pay costs is, of course, a measure of pure vindictiveness. The authorities, not daring to impose a sentence of imprisonment longer than nine months, are attempting to increase the penalty by imposing a heavy fine. We challenge the Government to show a precedent for this malicious proceeding. Were the Jameson Raiders made to pay the costs of the legal proceedings taken against them? Are Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Sydney Euxton, two successive Presidents of the Board of Trade, to be called upon to pay the huge money loss arising from the wreck of the Titanic—a loss which many people think was largely caused by their neglect of official duty? It is for all who believe in fair play to insist that the Government remit this iniquitous money penalty. Taking the judge's decision as a whole, the long sentence of imprisonment, the refusal of first division treatment, the heavy fine, we ask, in the words of the *Daily News*, "Would the jury have convicted if it had known in advance what Mr. Justice Coleridge understood by the utmost clemency?"

"A Liberal" Judge.

A few years ago Lord Coleridge was a Liberal Member of Parliament. That might easily have been guessed from his summing-up in the Conspiracy Trial. His mind is still strongly tainted by party prejudice. During the early stages of the trial he made a fine show of impartiality, but in his summing-up he completely threw aside the mask. He delivered, as we say above, a speech for the prosecution. He displayed all the eagerness to secure a conviction, all the determination to close every loophole of escape to the prisoner, all the disregard of the old principle that the accused person is innocent until found guilty; in short, all the "questionable tendencies" which, as the legal correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* recently pointed out, are in these days to be noticed in our criminal procedure.

Party Bias.

In addition to all this, Lord Coleridge displayed the strong party bias we have referred to. Thus, he entered upon a defence of the Government's policy with regard to Woman Suffrage, such a defence as would be offered by any political hack anxious to win the favour of the Party Whip. He argued, in flat disregard of facts that had been brought before the Court, that Mr. Lloyd George is ardently in favour of the Suffrage cause. Referring to the Prime Minister's refusal to receive a deputation on the Referendum, he, again in defiance of fact, tried to make it appear to the jury that this matter had been raised at the interview with the Prime Minister on November 17. He presumed so far as to criticise the words and demeanour of the W.S.P.U. representatives at that interview. He further defended with vigour the Prime Minister's refusal to receive the Referendum deputation. In fact, he spoke as one who had thoroughly marked, learned, and digested his brief! His resuscitation of evidence

against the defendants which had been entirely discredited in the course of the trial has not gone unnoticed. In fact, Mr. Justice Coleridge has won for himself a place in history beside the judges in Hampden's trial.

The Government's Responsibility.

The Attorney-General's lame attempt to prove that the Government were not behind the prosecution has deceived no one. After all, it was the Prime Minister himself who first gave a hint, in answer to a question in the House of Commons, that the Government were contemplating a prosecution for conspiracy. Moreover, the act of one Member of the Government is, according to our Constitution, the act of the Government as a whole, and we are surprised that the Attorney-General should have made his preposterous assertion that he and he alone is responsible for the prosecution of the W.S.P.U. Leaders. Equally preposterous was his argument that this was not a political trial. The justification he offered for instituting the prosecution was that it was the duty of the authorities "to stop the destruction of property of persons who were taking no part in this political movement, and had nothing whatever to do with it." "Give the women the Vote," interposed Mrs. Pankhurst, "and it will stop!" This argument Sir Rufus Isaacs expressed some unwillingness to accept. Yet it is an argument which Governments have over and over again been obliged to accept. Considering that the "non-offending tradesmen" to whom he referred in sympathetic tones are among the Government's electoral masters, we challenge Sir Rufus Isaacs' statement that they have nothing to do with the movement—or, to view the matter from another standpoint, it is because they had "nothing to do with the movement," and did not compel the Government to give Votes to Women that they are to-day lamenting the loss of their shop windows.

"Free Speech."

Most unreserved and generous was Sir Rufus Isaacs, as was the Judge, in assuring the defendants that the mere academic expression of opinion was perfectly free to all. We know that it is perfectly free, but we also know that it is perfectly futile where those are concerned who do not possess the weapon of the Vote. Very imprudently the Attorney-General ventured upon a defence of the Government's treacherous conduct with regard to the Conciliation Bill. Mrs. Pankhurst was lying in wait for him, and swiftly brought him to confusion. In two sentences she made her case against the Govern-

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ment. She said, "Mr. Asquith gave a pledge, and the pledge was that the Conciliation Bill should have fair play. Then the Manhood Suffrage Bill was announced, and according to Mr. Lloyd George, the Manhood Suffrage Bill had torpedoed the Conciliation Bill, and therefore destroyed the pledge." But Sir Rufus Isaacs' crowning discomfiture was yet to arrive. He was in the full tide of his peroration, and was assuring the jury in sentimental strain that not always was woman oppressed, that when there is only limited safety to be secured in moments of grave peril, the order given is "Women and children first." Sharp and clear came Mrs. Pankhurst's question, "What about the women on the streets?" Well might she ask it! England, besides having a thriving native trade in women's souls and bodies, is the "clearing house" for the international traffic in White Slaves. This is due to the iniquitous state of English law, which Sir Rufus Isaacs and his Government refuse to alter.

Speeches for the Defence.

In no political trial have there been speeches more eloquent and moving than those delivered by the three defendants in this case. Mr. Pethick Lawrence twice addressed the Court. He began by giving the jury an account of the history of the Suffrage movement, and of the circumstances under which he and his co-defendants had entered it; then stated in very impressive fashion the reasons why the enfranchisement of women appears to him and others a question so grave as to warrant strong measures in its pursuit. Would it not have been well, he asked, if before the loss of the Titanic someone had roused the Government to action by breaking the windows of the Board of Trade, and had thus secured the passing of new regulations for the safety of those at sea? Yet on the Titanic there were only two thousand souls, whereas the lives which might be saved, and are lost for want of women's help in governing the country, are thousands every year. All the more urgent therefore is it, he contended, to give warning to the Government that they have a duty to perform.

Mr. Lawrence's Fine Speech.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence's words concerning his own relation to the women's movement ought to be brought home to the mind of every man in the country. Said he, "I am a man, and being a man, I am not a part of this woman's agitation, but I intended, and I still intend, to stand by the women who are fighting in this agitation, and using methods which I know have succeeded in history, and departing from methods which I know have proved to be a mistake. . . . When I have seen men stand out of this agitation, and when I have seen men endeavouring, by trickery and humbug, to put this agitation off, I have been all the more determined to stand in with it. . . . I say to the Government that I am not ashamed of the part that I have taken in the agitation, but I am ashamed of the part that they have taken in it."

This is a manly declaration, and we say further that those who will not echo it are false to their manhood. Mr. Pethick Lawrence has led the way in aiding women in the struggle for freedom, and others of his sex have followed in no small numbers. We look to men in general to ascend to the same level of thought and conduct. Had they done so earlier, women would by now have had the Vote.

The Heart of the Matter.

Mrs. Pankhurst's speech was reported in our last issue. It is perhaps the finest and most complete vindication of women's claim to the Vote and of the militant methods that she has ever made. We suggest that no one should be regarded as either an irreclaimable Anti-Suffragist or an irreclaimable anti-militant until he or she has read this speech. The pamphlet, "Suffrage Speeches from the Dock," which is shortly to be issued, will, we are sure, be widely circulated. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence was represented by counsel, and therefore was silent until the end, when she addressed the Judge in support of the claim for first division treatment. Her speech made a very deep impression on all in Court, and it is inconceivable that the Judge, if he had had an open mind, and we are almost tempted to add, a free hand, could have resisted her plea for the honourable treatment due to those taken captive in an honourable fight. Mrs. Lawrence got to the very heart of the matter when she urged that privileges should not be denied to political prisoners which are accorded to depraved men who have done women and even children an injury worse than death.

"A Flat and Sullen Negative."

We would add that Mr. Healy's speech was entirely worthy of the speeches made from the dock, and that he showed far more than the mere legal advocate's interest in the case. He spoke of the "flat and sullen negative" with which the demand for Woman Suffrage has been met, and insisted that due responsibility for militancy should be borne by Ministerial shoulders. He laid open to the view of the jury the trickery to which the Government have descended. Referring to Mr. Hobhouse's famous speech, he asked what would be said of a detective policeman who should confide to a meeting of Suffragists, that "until you have a sentimental uprising like the burning of Nottingham Castle, meetings like

these are mere vanity and vexation of spirit." "If such words would be thought unsuitable and dangerous in the mouth of a detective policeman, what," asked Mr. Healy, "are you to say of a Cabinet Minister who adopts that mode of speech?"

Secret Police Methods.

The cross-examination by the defendants and by Mr. Healy was extremely damaging to the other side. Perhaps the most startling fact elicited from witnesses for the prosecution was the existence in London of a special band of detectives engaged entirely in political work. This political branch of the Criminal Investigation Department consists of some seventy-five detectives, who go about in disguise. These detectives are employed in shadowing Suffragists and other political workers. They follow them from their homes, to business, to the offices of their political Association, and to meetings. They sit beside them in trains and omnibuses, they follow them into tea-shops, and pursue them in taxi-cabs; they take down dangerously inaccurate reports of their speeches. In fact, we now have a police system which is alarmingly similar to that which exists in Russia. Evil communications have, it appears, had their usual effect, and the Liberal Government is more and more in the habit of borrowing its methods of administration from Russia. We say the Liberal Government advisedly, for there is little doubt that it is since the Liberal Party took office that the political activities of the London police have reached the present pitch. A prime cause of this very disquieting development, so alien to British institutions, is presumably the militant Suffragist agitation. The illegitimate exercise of power, and the refusal to trust the people inevitably leads in this country, as in Russia and elsewhere, to the use of a secret political police.

Militancy Wins in Buda Pesth.

Our Liberal Government must feel thankful for stone-throwing when they read the accounts of the franchise riots in Buda Pesth. In order to mark the contrast between the militant Suffrage agitation among women in this country, and the methods which men will resort to in order to get the vote, we give a catalogue of some of the acts committed at Buda Pesth. The insurgents indulged freely in window-breaking, but they did not stop at that. They set fire to a factory, they tried to demolish a church, they destroyed street lamps and telephone wires, they set two great metal works on fire, they plundered a monastery, they burnt some hundreds of trams. They freely used revolvers. Some persons were killed, and several more were injured. The Hungarian Socialists say that the result is worth the sacrifices made. An English Liberal newspaper, which condemns the mild militancy of the members of the W.S.P.U., says that the one solution of the difficulty is for the Hungarian Government to introduce the franchise measure which the Buda Pesth rioters demand!

Two Questions for the Government.

Of course, far greater damage to the material interests of the country has been done by recent English

strikes than by the fierce rioting in Buda Pesth, and infinitely more than by the window-breaking of the Suffragettes. When one compares the paltry sum of £5,000 required to replace the broken windows with the millions lost in the coal strike, and to be lost in consequence of the present industrial difficulty, one realises how ridiculous and unjust it is that scores of women, including the Suffragist leaders themselves, should be imprisoned while employers and workmen, joint authors of the Labour troubles, should go scot free. We would ask the Government if they propose to make the organisation of strikes punishable by law? We would also ask whether, when the police and the military are put at the service of employers for the conduct of their business, these employers are to be made to pay the consequent expense? It is not for us to take sides in these matters, but we do protest against pains and penalties being inflicted only upon Suffragists in these times of political and industrial unrest.

The Missing Leader.

We publish a map this week showing the recent travels of the fourth and missing defendant in the trial of the W.S.P.U. Leaders. As everyone must have felt, at the close of the proceedings at the Old Bailey, that there are more ways than one of being a missing leader. This expression may mean the leader that the Government cannot find, or it may mean the leader that the printers would not print. (See VOTES FOR WOMEN, March 8, 1912.) In any case, we are sure our readers will like to be informed of the route said to have been taken by Miss Christabel Pankhurst during the eleven weeks in which she has eluded her pursuers; and if we do not add a diary of events, it is only because we cannot surmount the difficulty of explaining how she managed on so many occasions to be in several places at once. Lest it should be thought that we are assisting the police by printing this chart of her movements, we hasten to add that it is the police who have assisted us. Had it not been for their painstaking efforts to follow up every possible clue as to her whereabouts, we should not have been able to compile the map.

The Albert Hall Meeting.

An old English motto runs thus: "Do ye nexte Thing." It is a good motto for the Women's Social and Political Union, whose members, however busy, have always their eyes fixed on the next thing. Just now, this happens to be the Albert Hall meeting, on Saturday evening, June 15; and now that it is known that Mr. Healy, K.C., M.P., will be one of the speakers, members would be well advised to secure tickets at once for themselves and their friends. Everyone who reads our report (page 558) of Mr. Healy's brilliant speech for the defence, a speech that turned the Council's bench at the Old Bailey temporarily into a W.S.P.U. platform, will wish to hear him at the Albert Hall. We are equally delighted to be able to announce that Miss Elizabeth Robins, so well-known in a circle that is limitless because hers is a reputation that is world-wide, will be another of the speakers on that occasion. In the chair will be Mrs. Tuke, to whom a very special welcome will be given, as this will be her first appearance on the platform since her imprisonment last March.



John Bull: "I call it disgraceful! The women ought to be ashamed of themselves!"
Uncle Sam: "Ya-as. Mehby so. But how about you, John? Who drove 'em to it?"

—Reproduced from "The Woman's Journal" (Boston).

POLITICAL PRISONERS: A REPLY TO MR. MCKENNA.

"In no period of our history not absolutely barbarous have persons been so treated for political offences. The imprisonment of such persons is only for the safety of the State—not for the infliction of punishment."

The Home Secretary has given his explanation of the Government's policy regarding the treatment of political prisoners, and has thereby delivered himself into our hands. We make hold to say that that policy is rooted in ignorance and misunderstanding of law, history, and principle.

Mr. McKenna declares himself to be fully conscious as the members of the deputation of the fact that the primary motive of the offences in question is not a criminal motive, and he denies that he is actuated by peculiar feelings of hostility to this class of prisoners compared with any other class of prisoners.

Mr. McKenna is not to be so easily pinned down. He admits, indeed, even he cannot deny, that Dr. Jameson and his followers received the privileges sought on behalf of imprisoned Suffragists. He declares, however, that he is convinced that these privileges were not accorded on the ground of their being political offenders.

Yes, Mr. McKenna, such is indeed the claim which is put forward by the most enlightened people in all countries and in all times. The distinction between political offences and ordinary offences is very plainly laid down for purposes of Extradition law.

But a political offence it was, and that is what reformed it from the character of sordid and brutal crime which otherwise it would have assumed. In the same way, but in far greater measure, Suffragist window-breaking is redeemed and ennobled because of the political and unselfish motives with which it is committed.

Mr. McKenna is still convinced that the privileges accorded to Dr. Jameson and the rest had nothing to do with the political character of their offences, then again we challenge him to show what other reasons existed to justify their treatment as first-class misdemeanants.

Mr. Keir Hardie's Bill would transform the Government's obligation thus to deal with all political offenders from a simply moral to a legal obligation. Virtually every Liberal politician of any account whatever has upheld the principle that political offenders are entitled to treatment entirely different from that accorded to ordinary criminals.

Mr. Balfour in Sir William Harcourt denounced Mr. Balfour in the most unmeasured language for what he described as "an attempt to degrade political prisoners," and vaunting the Liberal Party's success in compelling a Commission of Enquiry, he said, "The poisoned weapons of the coward are dashed out of his hand, and nothing but brute force is left him."

In discussing this question, Mr. McKenna is not satisfied to rely solely on principle. He has, he informs us, delved deeply into precedent. We cannot congratulate him on the result of his enquiry, for he has contrived to overlook almost every precedent material to the issue.

records of Hansard he would have learnt more. The Irish Office has, it is reported, given the most complete and garbled statement of the case. We are, of course, quite aware that in past times Irish political prisoners have been subjected to great hardships and indignities, and that in consequence a very angry protest has been made by Liberals from Mr. Gladstone downwards.

In the course of Mr. McKenna's search of the English prison records he has lighted upon the case of the Jameson Raiders. To every ordinary mind this precedent bears out the Suffragist prisoners' claim for political treatment. But the resourceful Mr. McKenna is not to be so easily pinned down.

But it was not the real reason for placing them in the first division, we challenge Mr. McKenna to tell us what that reason was. It was not certainly that their offence was less serious than that of window-breaking.

But a political offence it was, and that is what reformed it from the character of sordid and brutal crime which otherwise it would have assumed. In the same way, but in far greater measure, Suffragist window-breaking is redeemed and ennobled because of the political and unselfish motives with which it is committed.

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £250,000 FUND.

April 10 to April 17.

Table listing names and contribution amounts to the £250,000 fund. Includes names like Miss L. L. Dock, Miss M. H. Crawford, Miss M. E. Andrews, etc.

Total £121,642 10 5. In issue of April 26, item of Mrs. Blundell, S.D. coll. 5s. 10d. should be added.

MR. PETHICK LAWRENCE'S DEFENCE.

Speech to the Jury at the Old Bailey, May 21, 1912.

Addressing the jury for his defence, Mr. Pethick Lawrence said: It will be your duty at the close of the hearing of this case to give your verdict upon what you have heard.

It will be your duty at the close of the hearing of this case to give your verdict upon what you have heard. I ask you to show by that verdict that you understand that this is a political fight, I ask you to show, by your verdict, your appreciation of the political position in which we are placed. Now, gentlemen, the prosecution in their evidence with regard to my relationship to this trial, have not forward several grounds in order to implicate me.

The Police Reporters. It is a very difficult thing to report speeches accurately. It is a very important thing, when you are dealing with the actual words which people have spoken, to get the precise words, and not some different form of words.

It is a very important thing, when you are dealing with the actual words which people have spoken, to get the precise words, and not some different form of words. I put it to you that the great majority of the witnesses for the prosecution have failed to give evidence that they did report the actual words used.

The question is, what are you to do? How are you to deal with shufflers and wrigglers, how are you to deal with their plea? Someone in the end says, Wait and see. It will be too late then. You want to deal with them now, and the only thing is to be straight on for your principle.

Now, gentlemen, I do protest most strongly against a man being sent to report a speech and reporting it like this. We must go forward with the fight, even if we have to use violence. Then what I have read to you is what was actually said, and nothing of the kind that he gave was ever said.

And I put it to you in the first place that every single report that this witness has given is absolutely and totally incorrect. And I think that every one of you who has heard a very scoundrelous thing that men should profess to report meetings and should so absolutely distort the meaning of speeches in this way.

been able to employ our own stenographers; and suppose we had been hailed up for some statement which was alleged we had made and we had been unable to prove that we had not made it. You will see that it is of the utmost importance that only a correct report should be given; in this case it was totally incorrect.

What is Militancy? Now I want to say something to you on the question of militancy. I referred to it in my opening speech, but I am afraid that what I said then may not have been perfectly understood. Militancy has been used as a method of the Women's Social and Political Union long before any question of stone-throwing ever arose.

On November 19, 1910, when I went in a perfectly peaceful way to the House of Commons to present a petition to Mr. Asquith, I was obstructed by the police. One policeman took hold of my hand and forced it into my pocket, and quite suddenly I was arrested and twisted. I was kicked until I became unconscious.

She is giving there the reason why she threw stones on the occasion in November, 1911. The Attorney-General put this to you that if you failed to bring in a verdict of guilty against us, if a stop was not put to this form of agitation, if we were not punished, and punished severely—I don't know that he said punished severely—I want to be quite fair to him—that there would be nothing to prevent his doing so.

The question of infantile mortality is a thing which we men naturally feel very strongly. But you must remember this, that women feel this question much more strongly than we men do. They pay the price of life, and when you have to pay for a thing you place a far higher value upon it. If you buy a very expensive picture, or some other thing, you have your receipt, you get the receipt, and in future you will deal elsewhere.

I lay down this proposition—democracy has never been a menace to property. I will tell you what has been a menace to property. When power was withheld from the democracy, when they had no voice in the Government, when they were oppressed, and when they had no means of securing redress except by violence—then property has many times been swept away.

Further, history teaches you that in the demand for the franchise people have gone far beyond the methods used in all the ordinary dealings of life. They have gone far beyond what the women have done on this occasion. Take the South African War. That was a fight to obtain the franchise for a comparatively small number of people in South Africa.

Woman Suffrage and the Race. In addition to this, there is this peculiarity in the demand for the franchise as compared with individual grievances. To these women who have broken windows, the situation in their opinion must be very grave indeed, and I think you will see that these women would never have acted so cowardly if they had not had a very ordinary attitude towards life unless they had felt the matter was of the utmost gravity indeed.

not going to give you a lecture on Women's Suffrage, that is the last thing I would do here, but I do want to convince you that the women who have taken part in this struggle, and Mrs. Pankhurst, my wife, and I, do not stand in a more exalted position of academic interest only. It is a question which in our opinion is fundamental, not only for women but for the whole race. My training as a political economist has taught me that serious evils, such as the sweating of women—and you know that there are women who are earning 1s., 6s., and 7s. per week for eleven or twelve hours' work a day, and who have to keep a whole family on this pittance—that this is intimately bound up with this question of the franchise.

Now you know that in this country an enormous number of children die in the first year of their life—their life—as many as 110 out of every 1,000 born. Roughly speaking about one million children are born every year, and over 100,000 of that number die in the first year of their life—and doctors tell us that very few are born in such a condition that they could not live, if properly cared for. Doctors tell you that this appalling death rate is almost entirely due to causes which are preventable.

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think that would have been better than doing nothing and allowing those 1,000 people to lose their lives on the Titanic? Let me put it in another way. There was another ship close by. She had a wireless installation, but the operator was asleep. If she had received a message the lives of the people on the Titanic would have been saved. Suppose someone had wakened up that operator and told him that he had been necessary to break a few windows, don't you think it would have been worth while? I think you would. Now what you have to deal with in this case is not a single circumstance. It is not even a case of saving one thousand lives. It is a case of saving a thousand lives this week and next week and every week of every year. That is why the women are waging this fight. That is what has driven them to do illegal things. They think it is worth while to take steps which under ordinary circumstances they would never dream of taking, and they do it in order to waken people up, to draw people's attention to what is urgently necessary. Now women say that all the resources of civilization in this time are controlled by men, and they say that if they had power to look into these things as they have done in South Australia they could save the lives of thousands of little children, and that is why they have gone to the lengths they have already gone. They feel it is absolutely necessary to take that course.

What History Teaches.

Some of my speeches have been put before you by the prosecution, but I do not think if you look carefully at the speeches I have made, and which have been put before you, that you will find a single case of incitement in any of them. I do not think any of the speeches I have made are in the form of incitement to women to take part in any violence. I do not think it is my place to incite women to do violent actions. As a man and voter, possessing the franchise, it is not my place to do violent actions, but if you say I am not to speak in approval of what women have done, or to speak on a public platform, that I am not to tell them that the method they are adopting to win the vote is the method that has been adopted in history, then you are asking me either not to think at all to speak with my tongue in my cheek and not to tell them the whole truth, because in history, when it has been a question of franchise reform, men have always resorted to methods of this kind in order to win their rights. It is not what I say, it is what many of the men of the past have said, and what the statesmen of to-day are saying upon this question of franchise. Read what Mr. W. E. Gladstone said, "I am persuaded," he said, "that there is nothing so demoralising to a community as a passive acquiescence in unmerited oppression."

Sir Edward Carson said the other day with regard to the position in Ireland:

"There was a point at which resentment became so acute that they were entitled to assert any method to prevent their liberty of discussion being taken away."

And he told Mr. Asquith that before he entered on a campaign of that kind in which the vital issues involved were the sovereignty of his country and his

(the speaker's) own, he had better count the cost. Mr. John Bright, in a passage I have read, said he was prepared to lead a hundred thousand people to Parliament Square in order to enforce a demand. Mr. Bright, as you know, was actually a Quaker. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who is the leader of the Labour Party in the House of Commons, went so far as to write in the Daily Chronicle of February 12, 1912, "It is necessary to break a few windows, don't you think it would have been worth while? I think you would. Now what you have to deal with in this case is not a single circumstance. It is not even a case of saving one thousand lives. It is a case of saving a thousand lives this week and next week and every week of every year. That is why the women are waging this fight. That is what has driven them to do illegal things. They think it is worth while to take steps which under ordinary circumstances they would never dream of taking, and they do it in order to waken people up, to draw people's attention to what is urgently necessary. Now women say that all the resources of civilization in this time are controlled by men, and they say that if they had power to look into these things as they have done in South Australia they could save the lives of thousands of little children, and that is why they have gone to the lengths they have already gone. They feel it is absolutely necessary to take that course."

Violence is always deplorable. So is bloodshed. Yet violence and bloodshed in Ulster would be an incomparably smaller misfortune than cowardly acquiescence in a revolution which, if consummated, would assuredly plunge the whole country in civil war."

Lord Selborne, in writing in the Oxford and Cambridge Review, said:

"As regards this Bill which is promised by the Prime Minister—the Bill which was to have met all parties, be they Conservative or Liberal, who are interested in the measure—they ran the Conciliation Bill. Why are they angry now? They ran the Conciliation Bill, a measure of limited suffrage which in my judgment would have been grossly unfair to Liberalism. Now, that Bill has been torpedoed."

The Editorship of the Paper.

Then the prosecution do not rely considerably for their case on the paper, Votes for Women, of which, until the date of my arrest on March 3, I was, with my wife, one of the editors. Now, with regard to this paper, there are just three distinct points that I want to put to you. In the first place, there are the unsigned articles in the paper. Of course, you have not had the paper before you—it would have been impossible, and I don't want to go through it in any detail—but you must have noticed that of the unsigned articles, and practically all "The Outlook," which week by week has set out the political situation. I do not think a single word of those articles has been put in by the prosecution as being an incitement to violence. Then there are the signed articles. Some of them have been put in, and the reports of speeches, and also of institutions, to take part in the protests. With regard to the signed articles I maintain it is the duty of a newspaper to give to its contributors a free hand, in order to state their view of the position of affairs. With regard to the reports, the business of the newspaper is to give a faithful and accurate report—many do not do so, I know, but that is their business—and we have set ourselves to give a faithful and accurate report of the meetings, and proof that we have succeeded—at any rate so

far as this case is concerned—is that witness after witness has gone into the box and has sworn to being at the meetings and reading the report, which is an essentially accurate and faithful report.

Finally, with regard to the invitation to take part in the protests, I say that when I and my wife started this paper four or five years ago, we devoted the whole of the paper to the cause of the women of the Women's Social and Political Union, and when the Women's Social and Political Union has found it necessary to make protests in order to demonstrate their refusal to accept the present situation, so far as Votes for Women is concerned, I have never hesitated to open our columns to their rescue. You see, my position is this: I am a man, because I am a man, but I intend, I have intended, and I intend, to stand by the women who are fighting in this agitation. Knowing what methods have succeeded in this history, I am not going to say that these methods are wrong. You should have gone out and had the same place it is not merely that it is a woman's battle, it is not merely a battle for women—I think it is a battle for the good of the people of this country. And when I see other men standing out against this agitation, I feel this further, that but for some of those who have stood in with this agitation there might be a danger of this agitation becoming a sex war. I think a battle of political and social justice, an ugly thing—a thing to be deplored, and I say it is because of the men who have stood in the battle that a sex war has been prevented. I say that children are dying because women's points of view are not understood, and I say, "How long are women to have no say in the government of the country?" I say, "How much longer is it to go on?" You cannot say to the women, "You are not to go out and buy bodies broken, your persons assaulted, and yourselves arrested for doing nothing at all." I say to you that you and I as men who have not got to face these things have no right to say that to the women. I take my stand with you—the greatest statement that this country has ever had, and I do not think the Attorney-General, who is prosecuting us in this case, will deny the statement that one of the greatest men was Mr. Gladstone. I will read what Mr. Gladstone said:

"Do you think, sir, that under these circumstances it is the duty of Ministers, or of anybody else, to go to the people of this country, and say to them, 'Love order and hate violence'?" It is certainly not my duty to advise people to do nothing, unless I have never to remind them of the dignity and force that attach to the will. Consideration of a great nation is to cast aside the natural, legitimate, and powerful weapons of our warfare? I would go as long as I can to give them the same. My duty is to the people of this country, and I think that they should derive some encouragement from the recollections of former struggles, from the recollection of the great qualities of their forefathers, and from the fact that they have done so much for the world. I say that if no considerations had ever been addressed in political violence and people in this country could not be persuaded to vote and love order and exercise patience, the liberties of this country would never have been obtained."

"A GREAT STATE TRIAL."

Mr. Healy's Brilliant Address to the Jury, May 21, 1912.

My Lord, gentlemen of the jury, I now wish to address you on behalf of my client, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. It is not part of my duty to attempt to address you in the same moving strain, which perhaps affects you who have heard it. My task is a more prosaic one, and at the outset I would say that I was much struck by a remark made by his lordship from the bench when we were discussing the legal point, a remark which, I think, bears closely on your jurisdiction. He said the indictment was the last thing one thinks of looking at. And it is true, because it is the duty of counsel to the accused persons to call attention to the framework upon which his clients are being arraigned, and to see if there is any point in it to submit to the judicial mind of the Court. And I have, therefore, on the first place, to call your attention to the fact that you are calling my client and her associates to answer on no less than fifty-four counts. I have relieved the admirable officer here to-day of the task of reading them out when you were being empanelled; but at the close of the case, when you have a duty to perform, I would ask you to remember that you have sworn to pass judgment between our Sovereign Lord the King and the prisoners at the bar, on each one of these fifty-four counts, which will take you at least half an hour to read and many hours to understand. That is your duty. And I now put it to you that your function, your jurisdiction, is derived solely from the commission which that indictment gives you to send my client to prison. Hence, gentlemen of the jury, the duty on your part is not to treat this case in the lump, as it has hitherto to some extent been treated, but to analyse it in your consciences, and believing your consciences, to say in your box, Count 1, where is the evidence? Count 2, where is the evidence? and so on, so as, at the end of the weary hours in which I ask you in duty and justice to my client, to go through these counts count by count, not as a matter of form but as a matter of substance, to enable you to say: Can you upon your oath as between your Sovereign Lord the King and the prisoners at the bar, can you say, laying your hand upon your heart, can you say guilty to all these counts?

A Convenient Charge.

Yes, gentlemen of the jury, and the reason I make those observations is, that nothing is more convenient for a prosecution than a charge of conspiracy. The mesh is flung so wide. No man can say what act may not be an overt act in connection with such a charge, and you are allowed to join in this long litany, no less than fifty-four counts. No man can say, nor skilled lawyer can say—I could almost challenge the Judge upon the Bench to say—to what particular act in the indictment can a particular act be alleged. And that is a framed indictment. It has been said, I suppose, that when I put the question to each constable who proved the breaking of glass, when I put my question how much was the sentence—two months, four months, six months—it was supposed that I was asking the question in order to elicit your compassion. I do not think, the kind. I had no such device. What I wanted you to understand was that, for every pane broken, for every vessel smashed, for every person who was injured, for every act that has been charged against us, punishment has already been decreed, and has either been suffered in fact or is

being drearily suffered in some of our gaols at present. So that when you are asked to vindicate the law and are appealed to in the interests of private property, I beg of you to remember that there is not one broken pane of glass which there is not a broken heart suffering for it. Accordingly, I suggest that the law has been vindicated; property has been protected, and we are engaged now in what is not a trial but a political duel as between His Majesty's Government and the organisation which has been opposed to them.

A Political Revenge.

It is because of that that the Attorney-General has been despatched here to-day, for what is an odious task to him in view of his great responsibility and the great inquiry which he is elsewhere conducting. The odious task has been cast upon him in trying to prevent any further inconvenience to the sacred persons of the present Government. Gentlemen of the jury, in the past, when wild or reckless or criminal speeches were delivered against the offices or the majesty of the Government, the prisoners were arraigned for sedition. We have not been arraigned for sedition; we have been arraigned as conspirators. What is the chief ingredient in our conspiracy? It is the beginning of civic reform the present Government took office, no single Cabinet Minister has been allowed to address a public meeting without being inconvenienced with the inquiry as to why women should not get the vote. That is our offence. You have been told more. You have been told, and you were told by my learned friend that a great deal would be said about politics, and that you would have nothing to do with politics—that you would only have to consider the injury inflicted, which I deplore, on unforgiving shopkeepers; therefore, I venture to remind you that these breakers of glass have been punished, and the law has taken its course.

I now, then, come to consider what has occurred to compel the present indictment. It is no doubt a very useful thing, when you have political opponents to be able to set the law in motion against them. I have not the smallest doubt that it would be a very convenient thing if they had the courage to do it, to shut up the whole of His Majesty's Opposition and the present Government is in office—to lock up all the men of lustre and distinction in our public forum and so on. It would be a most convenient thing to end the whole of the things which we see in women's agitation in the form of the indictment. Gentlemen of the jury, whatever words have been spoken by mutual opponents, whatever instructions have been addressed, not to form whistles, but to men who boast of drilling and of arms, they have not had the courage to persecute anybody, except women, by means of an indictment. After every woman proved guilty has been sent to prison, to take a newspaper and take the editor to the office—to lock up the prisoners at the bar, and to say that without rhyme or reason, they have taken the course suggested without provocation—these responsible, well-bred, educated, University-wedged and well-versed, in the words of the indictment, wretchedly and with malice aforethought engaged in these criminal designs.

so far as he was concerned, no trick was imagined or intended, or devised.

The Trick.

His protest was that, if they would only have patience, as I understand it, they should have every opportunity for dealing with this Conciliation Bill in the next sitting of Parliament, which they demanded. I pass on, and I come to the next act in the drama. You have a pledge, remember, by the King's right-hand man, the head of a great Government, that no trick was intended. I turn to almost the next issue of the paper—the words were hardly cold on the wind—I turn to the issue of December 1, and what do I find? The colleague next in rank in power and dignity to himself, with the words that no trick was intended ringing in his ears, makes this boast with regard to the measure which the Prime Minister had declared was to receive the respectful attention of Parliament, and that an opportunity should be afforded which should satisfy the desires of these Suffrage ladies. Mr. Lloyd George said:

"As regards this Bill which is promised by the Prime Minister—the Bill which was to have met all parties, be they Conservative or Liberal, who are interested in the measure—they ran the Conciliation Bill. Why are they angry now? They ran the Conciliation Bill, a measure of limited suffrage which in my judgment would have been grossly unfair to Liberalism. Now, that Bill has been torpedoed."

Healy.

"Any way is clear for a broad, a democratic amendment, giving the Suffrage to women." Gentlemen of the jury, the Prime Minister had promised that this Bill should get the fair attention of Parliament in the next session of Parliament. His colleague, his right hand man, within a fortnight of that uttering, boasts that the Bill about which there was to be no trick, which was to be the essence of fair play, he boasts that the Bill had been torpedoed. What have you to think when you are dealing with the question of incitement, when you are dealing with a question whether women have used language a little perhaps more or less above the level of what men have pronounced in those agitations, when you find the Prime Minister of England receiving these ladies and telling them that their measure will get fair attention in the next Session, and that no trick is intended, and then out of the same Cabinet, out of the same dwelling practically in Downing Street, there issues the Chancellor of the Exchequer with the boast that what had been promised by the Prime Minister had already been torpedoed. But let me give the defence which my learned friend asked me to read, the next sentence, and I gladly do so. I had intended to do so at a later stage:

"Where is your grievance? Why should the promise of a more liberal grant of franchise have angered or excited or incited you?"

Gentlemen of the jury, the case is as plain as the shining of the sun. This Bill had been promoted by those who had watched the gradual growth of this movement for the women. They had considered how far it was possible to get a woman's measure through Parliament. They had considered what should be the result, and which it might have to pass, and they, the leaders of the movement, had decided that the only prospect of getting the Bill through Parliament was by a Bill which the Prime Minister had promised should not be made the subject of a trick. It was no party measure. Why did not the Prime Minister say when he received these ladies, "I will give you no chance unless it will help the Liberal Party?" This Bill had been supported in the Commons by what I may call brigades of men, drawn equally from both sides, and none of them cared which party it would help or hurt.

The Claims of Party.

They had started it as a measure which, whatever its effect might be, was one which to the body politic was a reasonable relief. But that did not suit Mr. Lloyd George. It was not the claims of Women's Suffrage he was thinking of; it was the claims of party, and accordingly he said, "We have torpedoed the Bill"—the only Bill which was vital, the only Bill which had a chance of relieving, and which had a chance of passing. We have scuttled the ship, we have torpedoed the vessel which had the only chance of crossing the reef of politics, and now we have linked this question of female suffrage to the fortunes of Liberalism, and we have alienated every Tory in the land, because what we did, we did not do for the sake of women, not for the sake of children, not for the sake of decent homes, we are doing it in the interests of our party and of our partisans. Now, can these facts be denied? Then, coming like Pelion upon Ossa, you have the speeches of other Ministers delivered just before this occasion of March 4. Gentlemen of the jury, let me put this to you. Supposing some of these most intelligent officers—and in my profession certainly I am struck beyond measure at times with the intelligence of that great organisation of the police of Notting-ham Castle, who so much surpassing one of these intelligent officers had said, when it was his duty to follow these female processes and to attend these women's meetings, supposing he had got on to the platform instead of doing his duty in the hall, and had said, "I want, on behalf of the Government, in whose pay I am, to make a confidential statement to the ladies here present, and on behalf of the Government I desire to tell you that until you have sentimental updoings like the police of Notting-ham Castle, and the pulling down of Hyde Park railings, meetings like these are mere vanity and vexation of spirit." And if he had poured those words upon the meeting just after it had been addressed by some of these alleged hysterical women, would you have considered that a prudent or a wise thing for a police officer to do? And if you would not tolerate it on the part of a detective policeman, what are you to say of its effect when spoken by a member of the Cabinet, whose case it is that no trick is intended, and who then to one of his colleagues saying the Bill had been torpedoed after the trick had been disclaimed, and who then says to these women, "No, until we have something in the nature of the disorders of '82, of the uprisings of '67, we shall never be convinced." Gentlemen of the jury, remember the times we are living in. Remember the men who uttered these words. They indict the women, but your

cities may be seething with strikers. Your docks may be thronged with strikers. Men may be shot down owing to the violence of strikers, and all we will do for them is to let them pass a law to put Trades Unions above the law, and make them like the King that can do no wrong. And if my friends were only members of a trades union the law could not indict them, provide the act they did was done as a trades union, be a trades union, and all the virtues of the law are done. Every man of you in jail there is some means of getting you out. I don't know how these things are managed, I am sure, but I point out to you that my learned friend, the Attorney-General, who is prosecuting here, is the man who represents the authors of those speeches, and how can he—with what face can he—forget all these incitements which have been delivered, and with what face can he attack these people in the dock when he himself does not hesitate to speak and say that there is no longer any necessity when you want to attack the House of Lords, there is no longer any necessity for violence and disorder—you can exercise your franchise and pull down the other assembly if you please, and to use a vulgarism, we will wink the other eye. Gentlemen of the jury, I insist upon it that it is politics we are trying. We are not trying incitements to violence on the part of the criminal class, we are trying in substance and in fact to get a measure of franchise through one set of politicians by another set of politicians. The machinery, the solemn machinery of the law, has been set in motion, and to that solemn machinery we are bound to pay respect. But you, gentlemen of the jury, are interposed here between these two sets of politicians. You are interposed here as the sovereigns of public opinion. And it is for you to say whether my learned friend has fitted in his proofs into the fifty-four counts of his indictment. And I ask you that, unless you are satisfied, not by any bulk or lumped attempt at proof, but by a seriatim application of fact to law, to say of my client, at least—though she does not desire to dissociate herself from these people—whether she is not guilty of the charges that have been brought against her.

The Evidence.

Now, let me run through, in a few words, what I think are the principal points and the principal pieces of evidence in this charge. Gentlemen of the jury, no doubt things are done in the course of every agitation which leave cause for regret. Our liberties have been won by these regrettable incidents. When Miss Pankhurst mentioned Mr. Ernest Jones, the Chartist, being in the dock, I could not help reflecting that every point in the Charter—I think the last, the payment of members of Parliament—is now the law of the land. The criminals of one day are the Cabinet Ministers of the next, and accordingly it is my duty to submit to you that, as regards Mrs. Lawrence, the only evidence connecting her with this alleged conspiracy is that of the papers and public speeches that she has made on platforms. There is nothing else. From a technical point of view this newspaper is not evidence against her. There is a means—and I respectfully call my Lord's attention to this—there is a means of proving the proprietorship of a newspaper under an Act of 1882. My learned friend, the Attorney-General, had deliberately abstained from putting in any record under that Statute. He has preferred to rely upon the fact that there is no printed or written evidence, and say that their policies were as unselfish and as self-sacrificing.

A Vindictive Political Act.

I question whether in the future to which we all appeal all the measures of the Government who are prosecuting my client will stand upon a higher pedestal; I question whether the incense of history will be as fragrant in the nostrils when their names are mentioned as even when the humble name of Emmeline Pankhurst, or Christabel Pankhurst and Mrs. Lawrence are brought up in future times. The Government have undertaken this prosecution to seal for a considerable period their chief opponents. They hope there will be at public meetings which they attend no more inconvenient cries of "Vote for Women." I cannot conceive any other object which they could have in bringing the prosecution. I have expressed my regret at the loss which the shopkeepers, tradesmen, and others have suffered. I regret it deeply. I regret that any person should bring less or suffering upon innocent people. But I ask you to say that the law has already been sufficiently vindicated by the punishment of the immediate authors of the deed. What can be gained? Does justice gain? I almost hesitate to treat this as a legal inquiry. I regard it as a vindictive political act. On all the astounding facts that have ever been brought into a public court against a prisoner I cannot help feeling the charge against Mr. Pethick Lawrence is the most astonishing. He ventured to attend at some police courts and gave bail for women who had been arrested in endeavouring, as I understand, to present petitions to Parliament or to have resort to violence. I do not complain of the way in which my learned friend has conducted the prosecution, but I do complain of the police methods—inquiring into the homes and the domestic circumstances of the prisoners, obtaining their papers, taking their newspaper, going into their banking account, bringing up their bankers here to say what is their balance, and I do say that in none of the prosecutions of the past have smaller methods belittled a great State trial, because, look at it as you will, you cannot get away from it that this is a great State trial. It is not the women who are on trial. It is the men. It is the system of Government which is upon its trial. It is this method of rolling the dice by fifty-four counts in an indictment without allowing what any bit of evidence is fairly attributable; the system is on its trial—a system whereby every innocent act in public life is sought to be enmeshed in a conspiracy. That system is upon its trial. But there is more. There is a question whether the Government in bringing this prosecution themselves come into Court with clean hands. Don't you think that the Government might have fairly rested satisfied with the punishment already meted out, not to dozens but to the hundreds of new ones? And if you come to the conclusion that the Government has already done its duty, and that no harm to the peace and order of your great Metropolis is likely to ensue because you give a clement and merciful verdict, I appeal to you to say that, as regards the lady for whom I appear in this case, if you are to judge by the scales by which you have weighed and measured the speeches and acts of men in their time and in similar agitations, then, gentlemen of the jury, my client, if you do not acquit her, you are in fact charging her from the dock to pursue those activities which she has hitherto followed.

The Defendant's Career.

Take some of them. I was interested to hear in Mr. Pethick Lawrence's speech the reference to the career of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence; and is it not rather saddening, when you think of what the lives of these defendants have been in the past? My client, as we heard, engaged in the club, trying to restore the games and recreation, the dances and singing, which in olden times enlivened the country-side; engaged in a movement of this sort, using as she does, no doubt, that measure of legitimate opportunity which men assert for themselves in civic agitation, suddenly finds herself, because she has followed, in an example set her in distinguished quarters—finds herself in the dock; and every word that she says, that she has written, pounced upon and made the subject of a public indictment. I do not think, gentlemen of the jury, that this is fair. I do not think it is fair to Mrs. Lawrence to say, "You live at 4, Clement's Inn; you have a large flat there; other persons carry on an agitation in the same building; and then, when they have arranged that building from top to bottom, and are unable to produce, after all their searches and researches, a single titlle of evidence pointing to a criminal work, a criminal endeavour, they are driven to rely upon the newspaper to which her name is appended, and to public speeches made in the hearing of the police and of every reporter in London and in some of the largest halls. Suddenly, by means of a political transformation, the good, quiet, and useful life of this lady is turned into a conspiracy of this vague and varied class.

An Unselfish Cause.

I do not intend at this hour, having regard to the speeches which have been delivered by the other defendants, I do not intend to do more than ask you to insist upon this case being proved. I do not intend to do more than that, except to say this: does anybody who has watched in the past these political movements, does anybody think that your verdict—if you feel constrained to give it—will suppress this movement, or—this should be your chief object—will it make for peace and law and order? Gentlemen of the jury, any man watching the toiling, patient fight of the workers in this great time must feel that the mere agglomeration of human atoms in this city presents new problems, presents new issues and new crises for women, peculiar, I might almost say, to London alone. You might almost justify this woman's agitation, apart from England or Scotland or Ireland, by the condition of affairs in this metropolis, where we have four millions of human beings, and the need, to which the necessity for work and labour condemns so many women, exposed as they are to the temptations and to the evils which necessarily spring from poverty. London alone is a city of misery. It is not likely that it is likely—that these ladies whose lives have been ransacked, whose papers have been pulled about and examined by detectives, upon whose whole career the limelight of fierce inquiry has been turned, who have borne jail and prison, and who have been disgraced in the dock with cheerfulness and equanimity—is it likely that conviction by you will end this movement, or that it will destroy the sense of wrong which burns in their hearts, as you know it does by the fact that we have just listened to—is it not more likely that a conviction, which I submit would be wrong, would but add fresh fuel to the flame? My learned friend professes anxiety only for the peace and order and good government of this Metropolis, I wish that all his colleagues had in all their political acts contributed to that peace, and that they could examine their consciences—as they have applied the searchlight to the case of these three defendants—and say that their political actions have been as unselfish and as self-sacrificing.

CHILD SLAVES.

By a Woman Doctor.

A number of wise and useful regulations have been drafted dealing with work done by children out of school, and limiting the hours for milk-boys, paper-boys, errand-boys, and others who thus seek to earn a few pence.

The object of such legislation is to secure for the child a proper amount of play-time and rest: it would probably surprise education authorities to learn, that there are numbers of children who look upon school as rest from hard and unending labour.

In his report for 1911, the Medical Officer (Education) of the London County Council has called attention to the work done by little girls in the homes of the poor.

After referring to the way in which unemployment among men drives the women out to work, the report says: "The maintenance of the home, the cooking, and catering is done by an elder girl, who sometimes is not more than ten years of age."

The girls work beyond their strength at domestic work, step-cleaning, baby-minding, carrying laundry bundles, and running errands.

In some districts the schools are full of little girls, aged from nine to thirteen years, who get up early to make the mother's breakfast and see her off to work, then dress and feed the younger ones, despatching them to school, and in the intervals of clearing up breakfast, sweeping, and bed-making, snatch a few mouthfuls of bread and tea, and find time to deliver the baby into the care of "some lady" who will keep it for the day.

After this, the wooden seat and comparative peace of the school routine must be rest indeed.

The dinner-hour sees them back in the home hard at work, and once school is over for the day, from five in the afternoon till ten or eleven at night, they are expected to cook, wash, and mangle, and to run here, there, and everywhere for halfpennyworths of tea or jam, and pennyworths of fish.

For this labour," says the report, "they receive no remuneration, since it is done for the family."

It is rare to find the boys from similar homes doing work outside school hours: the regulations are strict where they are concerned, and work is hard to get, so that the number who sell papers or sweep out shops is small.

The boy is paid for his work, and sometimes fed, a factor which greatly influences his nutrition. Further, his evenings are his own for recreation, while Saturday and Sunday, which bring an increase of toil to his little sister, bring him freedom and rest.

The girl of twelve, who is doing the work of a woman outside the school, is not in a condition to study. She is often too weary to keep awake, too inert to be interested, too overburdened even to join in the games.

Her physical conditions is frequently deplorable—ill-clad, unwashed, half-starved; she is generally anæmic and liable to develop other complaints.

These children are brought up to be "the slaves of their mothers and grandmothers"; they drudge uncomplainingly from morning till night. One little girl of eleven goes daily, at dinner-time and after school, to a married sister, where she remains till late and all day on Saturday.

dinner and tea and a penny a week. Another, in addition to housework, has charge of the baby and two younger children, whom she puts to bed unaided. A very undersized child of eleven, without a mother, does all the housework for four people, nurses a crippled sister, carries coals and water and cleans the area steps. The work is aggravated by the bad housing conditions. When water is only to be had in the basement, she must carry it upstairs; when refuse and ashes and dirty water can only be disposed of in the backyard, they must be carried down by the little slave. When the family lives in the area there are stone steps and passages to scrub and a yard to sweep, work which is beyond the strength of a child.

Much of the ill-feeding and malnutrition among children, is directly attributable to the want of kitchen accommodation, in houses let out in floors and rooms. It is not possible to cook over a small open bedroom grate, with no sink or water on the floor. A woman living with three children in a back-bedroom cannot boil the baby's milk, or make a milk pudding; she is practically forced to buy ready-cooked or preserved foods.

The question of housing reform has been before the public for many years; it is one which vitally affects the health of the rising generation. Yet year after year measures which have not been asked for are forced upon the community, and the demand for a practical health-creating reform of this kind, is disregarded.

In houses of this sort personal cleanliness is almost an impossibility. To quote from the report: "Dirt is one of the most potent factors in the production of malnutrition; large numbers of children are verminous, and many more show evidence of the infested state of the houses and bedding. Infants are often drowsy and inclined to sleep all day, because they have no proper quiet sleep at night."

The lack of coals, or of utensils in which to heat water, contribute to this want of cleanliness; but doubtless overcrowding is the direct cause of it. An area will frequently accommodate from nine to eleven people; such dwellings mean, a want of light and air, proximity to drains, and an abundance of street-dust whenever the window is opened.

A limited enquiry recently made in this district revealed the fact that 33 families, comprising 172 persons, were living in one room; 40 families, comprising 305 persons, were living in two rooms, while 68 families, or 436 persons, were occupying areas.

There is very little chance for the girl who grows up in such a home, combining the life of the school-girl with that of the woman, and bearing burdens which stunt her in body and mind. When we read that "approximately one-third of the children in this neighbourhood are supported by female labour," and that "the underpayment of female labour has its effect upon the nutrition of the family," we are faced with one of the reasons why women want the Vote.

Such a state of affairs is a disgrace to our civilisation; the callous indifference which permits it to continue is both cruel and shameful. In proportion as the welfare of the children is involved to-day, so the welfare of the whole nation will be involved to-morrow. To people of energy and practical ability the waste and the suffering are becoming intolerable. The procrastinating politician's cry that there is no time to deal with it is a farce; there is always time to deal with things that must be dealt with. The truth is that this is another of those reforms which has no pressure behind it, and never will have, till women are enfranchised. When that happens, it will suddenly become one of those things which must be dealt with.

THE SUBJECTION OF M.P.'S.

The Women's Social and Political Union maintain that if women are to win the Vote it must be by means of a Government measure, and that there is no hope of the passage of any private Member's Bill for Woman Suffrage. The reason for this is that private Members are no longer free agents, and that the Government can therefore, by secret pressure and intrigue, defeat any unofficial measure.

Sir Robert Perks, himself an ex-Member of Parliament, has just made a remarkable revelation of the subject-state to which the House of Commons has been reduced. He says:

The high organisation of the machine of party Government has taken away the power of governing the country from the representatives of the people, and has placed it in the hands of a small executive clique. The ordinary member of Parliament is an automaton.

Sir Robert Perks goes on to describe the means by which the Party Whip has reduced the ordinary M.P. to this condition of nonentity. He points out that "a large percentage of Members are under obligation to the Government and their Party," as under:

1. The Ministers, their Parliamentary private secretaries, and members who expect to enter one of these classes.

2. Members who are employed by Government. (a) By being briefed as barristers by Government departments; (b) By being subsidised for political lecturing by the Whips.

3. Members whose election expenses have been paid out of party funds.

4. Members who are owners of provincial journals, subsidised by the party.

5. Manufacturers whose limited liability companies are indebted to the Government for business.

Sir Robert Perks argues that the number of free agents outside these categories is comparatively small. If his contentions be sound, it is obvious that the "feeling of the House," of which we have heard so much, is no spontaneous thing, but is party machine made, and that "to convert" the House of Commons to act counter to the will of the Government is an impossibility. It is upon coercing the Government that Suffragists should concentrate their efforts.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

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

Prisoners' Secretary.

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

Royal Albert Hall, Saturday, June 15.

Tickets for the great Albert Hall meeting on Saturday, June 15, at 8 p.m., can be had by members from Miss Cooke, Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn. Prices: Amphitheatre stalls, 2s. 6d.; arena, 1s.; balcony, first four rows, 1s., remainder, 6d.; upper orchestra, 6d. (all numbered and reserved). Boxes, to hold ten, £1 10s.; to hold eight, £1 1s.; to hold five, 12s. 6d. For speakers, see "The Outlook."

Open-air Demonstrations.

A series of great Demonstrations will be held by London local unions on Saturday and Sunday afternoons throughout the summer, to demand Votes for Women in 1912. The first of these will be on Ealing Common on Saturday, June 1, when several platforms will be erected. On June 2 the Demonstration will be on Wimbledon Common. This meeting is being advertised by poster and cycle parades, and by women carrying umbrellas decorated with purple, white, and green. The June 9th Demonstration will be in Regent's Park. Speakers at these Demonstrations will include Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Mrs. Drummond, Miss Marie Brackenbury, and Mrs. Jennie Baince.

London Meetings.

The meetings at the London Pavilion will be resumed on Monday next, June 3, at 3.15 p.m., when Miss Horniman, so well known for her pioneer work in establishing the first successful Repertory Theatre in England, has kindly consented to speak. Mrs. Massy will also speak, and the chair will be taken by Miss Annie Kenney. The meeting at the Steinway Hall, on Thursday, June 6, at 8 p.m., will be addressed by Miss Rachel Barrett, B.Sc., and others. These meetings are held weekly, and admission is free. Similar meetings are held in all centres where the Union is represented.

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"THE WOMAN WITH THE PACK."

Who is there to show us beauty in this smoking, sweating, blasphemous present of ours? John Masefield and Arnold Bennett, surely; and to how many of us has not the poetry of the one and the true prose of the other come as a revelation, even as a condemnation? That there can be romance in the Five Towns, and enough of the stuff that dreams are made of, to fill a half-dozen wonderfully fat volumes, this is news to us. That there can be light in the soul of a drunken sot, and enough light to illumine such a poem as the "Everlasting Mercy" is something more than news, the re-knowing of an eternal truth that we have forgotten in our business over Licensing Bills and Temperance Reform.

It seems terrible to me that, always, a struggle should appear ugly on the surface. And of all ugly struggles that of the Suffragists against the Government is one of the most self-misrepresenting at first sight. We, the outsiders, see a crowd of women in Parliament Square, torn and battered by a crowd of men. We see hats awry and hair dishevelled and garments torn; and we feel, however we may want not to feel it, that the sight is horrible. We see again women tramping the prison yard at Holloway, doggedly cheerful with a courage that makes us turn sick when we get home to our comfortable firesides. And we resent it all fiercely, because of the contrasting beauty of our own quietness that we do not want invaded.

Who, indeed, I have asked, since that quiet of mine was invaded once and for all, will show us the beauty in this woman's struggle? At last I have found one who has done this. Do you know the picture of "The Heavy Cross"? And do you know the little play by Miss Gertrude Vaughan, called "The Woman with the Pack"?

"The Woman with the Pack" is the incarnation of the woman's movement, and pointedly enough she is the woman of sorrow, of labour, and of quietness. She comes out of the night and the storm with a lantern in her hand and a child on her arm, and quietly she lays the child to sleep. Someone says:—"How cold and tired you must be, my Mother!" "Woman: "Yes, but it is a beautiful storm."

I am grateful to Miss Vaughan for those two simple little lines, because they seem to me the heart of her play, and the heart of this real drama in which we are engaged. She has done an almost impossible thing; and perhaps from a literary standpoint her work has suffered just because she tried hard to explain all the different sides of the struggle to us. However that may be, she has struck a deep note, and I would that we could hear it always sounding above the clamour of our everyday affairs.

Indeed, I am so impressed with the pure poetry of the note she strikes for us that I resent, quite as though it belonged to me, the evidences of hurried and rather amateurish work. The feeling of the play is so much better than the control of the material, that one wishes she could have held its publication back a little longer and worked it into a more unified and complete whole. It is so slight now, and yet suggests so much, and it is so crowded with half-suggested characters, that the result is rather scrappy, and one wonders if there is enough for each person to say and do, and whether they will really make themselves felt across the footlights. I am sorry, too, that most space is given to the least dramatic persons, i.e., to the Tempests, and least space to Fanchette and Breimann.

Nevertheless, Miss Vaughan is a poet, and what I want to call your attention to is that she is just an example of what I mean. Our enemies and our exigencies turn us into many things that we are not. We are poets, and they force us to be journalists. We are artists, and they make us into sign-painters. We are gentle little Victorian ladies, and they make us into stone-throwing rioters. We are the petted wives of our husbands, and they make us into determined gaol-birds. And how can we make them see what we really are? Perhaps we cannot. In any case, that is not so important. The important thing is that we see it ourselves. We can only last out that way, holding close to our hearts wherever we may be—under horses' heads, in a policeman's custody, or a warden's power—the dignity and beauty of our womanhood.

MARY BORDEN TURNER.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Whose Children Are These?" By Ethel M. Naish. (Birmingham: Cornish Bros., Ltd. Price 2d.) "Association Notes." (Association of Women Clerks. Price 1d.) "The Fruits of Our Russian Alliance." By H. N. Brailsford. (London: The Anglo-Russian Committee. Price 1d.) "Amid the Strife." By Albert E. Hookham. (Peterborough: Wisbech Local Peace Association. Price 1s. 6d.) "A Plea for the National Support of Mural Art." By Reginald Hallwood. (Gravesend: The Woodlands Press. Price 3d.) "The Woman with the Pack." By Gertrude Vaughan. (London: W. J. Haas-Smith. Price 1s. 6d. net. On sale at the Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C.)

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THE CONSPIRACY TRIAL AT THE OLD BAILEY.

Speech of the Attorney-General Close of Trial.

Upon the resumption of the proceedings on Wednesday, the Attorney-General addressed the jury on behalf of the Crown. He said: My lord, and gentlemen of the jury—After a somewhat lengthy and undoubtedly patient enquiry we are approaching now the final stages in this case, and at the outset I desire to say to the defendants in this case have had extended to them the greatest possible latitude which has ever been allowed in any Court and in any defence which has been set up by defendants. I make no complaint about it—quite to the contrary. If I may be permitted to say so, I am very glad that my lord has taken that view and is following the practice which is very usual in these Courts, and has allowed the defendants to make statements as to matters which are not perhaps strictly relevant or material to the case. It will be my duty to bring to your minds what are the facts upon which the verdict must rely, and call your attention to the evidence, because during the speeches—highly interesting and powerful speeches—which we have listened to yesterday, one striking feature of them was that they did not attempt to deal with the real facts which have been proved to you. Mrs. Pankhurst, perhaps not unnaturally, dealt at length with the wrongs of women as she conceived them, the rights of women to Parliamentary suffrage that she has advocated, and that she has urged upon me to indicate to you at the opening of the case, whatever views you may take of them it cannot affect the decision in this case. What we are trying is whether or not these defendants brought about by a preconcerted movement the attacks which were made upon the windows of the various persons whose names have been given in evidence before you. Gentlemen, that in substance is the sole matter which is in issue before you.

The Political Motive.

Of course, you have heard a great deal about politics in this case. I feared that you would, I had to some extent to explain the political situation to you in opening, so that you might follow what it was that led these defendants to the course of attack which was actually conducted and which I shall indicate to you directly, they have admitted by the defence they have adopted. That may be putting it further than I can say, but I will say this for the defence, that they have not attempted to controvert the facts which have been put in evidence before you. And if these facts are established, as you will remember, in the opening of this case, if we have proved substantially what I have stated to you in opening, then there is no defence at all as I understand the law. You will take the law, of course, from my lord, who presides over this trial and who will direct you upon it. Really and truly what we are dealing with here as I understand it, is a question of whether or not the defendants were induced by the intention of inducing other persons to volunteer to come forward and join a protest which was to take the form of stone-throwing against the windows of the public and the person that, as stated in very plain, simple language, devoid of any legal formula, is the question which you are trying in this case. I have no doubt that you have been struck by the fact that so little evidence has been called before you by the defendants. I am going to call your attention to the fact, and that is the evidence of Mr. Pethick Lawrence called before you, and I shall show you that that evidence, as called by him, admitted every count in the indictment which has been presented against them. In substance the evidence called by them admitted the case. I will refer to that a little more in detail in a moment, but gentlemen, let me, if I may, impress this upon you: the evidence which I have called in this case, and upon which I relied to some extent in opening the case, consisted of two parts, the one of speeches made by one or other of the defendants, or by Miss Christabel Pankhurst in their presence; of circulars issued by them, or by one of them, from the association for which they were working together in order to carry out a preconcerted plan; of evidence of documents which could not be disputed—and the hire of various halls, the Gardonia Restaurant, for the purpose of holding meetings with the object of inciting women to take what is more euphemistically described as more militant action. And that evidence has been called before you. Every word I and the other witnesses who were called to open to you (with one exception of a criticism by Mr. Healy which I will deal with in a moment), every word which I opened to you has been established in evidence, and more than that, a great deal has been put in evidence, necessarily for the case, with which I did not trouble you in opening, as I was anxious for you to understand the framework upon which the

case rested. The second part of the evidence consisted of proof before you of a number of persons who at a given moment, at a given place, at a given date, with the use of weapons or weapons, and travelling alone in pairs, concealing badges if they had any, so that they might not be recognised, or not wearing them as the orders were attended on these dates, November 21 and March 1 and 4, and indulged in an orgy of window-breaking by stone-throwing. The case we presented to you was that of these various women—there were only a number of them referred to in the indictment, only a number with whom you have to deal. Their names are given, and their names have been called before you in this Court has been known to the defendants, and has been called in the police court months ago. Everything I have said and established to you is evidence which has already been given in the police court before we came here.

"Justifiable Pride."

We pride ourselves in our criminal courts on the fairness with which defendants are treated. We think we are justified in the pride. We give them an opportunity to hear all the evidence that is to be called against them in the police court, where there is a preliminary inquiry in order to determine whether there is a sufficient case to go to trial; and they have the advantage of all the documents that have been referred to—all the exhibits, as we call them, are before them, as they are before us. They know all the witnesses who are going to call; they know what the witnesses are going to say by the depositions which are made at the police-court. This is in accordance with the spirit and the practice of this Court; and if it ever happens, as it does sometimes, that some fresh evidence is to be given in this Court which has never been given before, then it is the practice of the Court to give notice to the defendants that further evidence will be called, giving the names of the witnesses, and stating what it is that those witnesses are called to prove. I only mention that so that you may understand the practice and so that its object is that no defendant shall be taken by surprise in the evidence that is going to be given against him in a criminal court, so that he may have an opportunity not only of sifting the case before the magistrate, but should have an opportunity of persuading the magistrate if he can, that no case has been made out against him; but if the magistrate holds that there is a case made out, and that it must go before the jury for trial, then the defendants and their legal advisers may know at the earliest opportunity what it is that the prosecution is going to rely upon when they come into Court. The reason why I am making these observations to you in connection with this case is for this purpose. I want to draw your attention to this that it was open to the defendants to have called before you every one of these women who, we say, were incited by the course of conduct taken by these defendants to throw these stones, and consequently, unfortunately for these women, who were incited, to be sentenced to terms of imprisonment. It was open for the defendants to call every one of them before us. If you have any doubt whether it is possible, or even by straining the truth, any one of these women—

Mrs. Pankhurst indignantly objected to the suggestion which she understood to be implied, adding: We leave it to politicians to strain the truth.

The Attorney-General: If these women could have been called before you to have stated that no observation of Mrs. Pankhurst's or of those who are charged with her had affected their minds and had induced them to volunteer to come forward to join in this protest, then I say there is not the faintest doubt that they would have been present and they would have been called before you. The reason they are not called before you is because they could not go into the witness-box to give their evidence, and they could not state that they had not been incited or induced by these speeches to take the course of action they did take. And when you come to consider what has been done, what has been said, what the defendants themselves have said, you will see that it would be impossible for any one of them to have come forward, and that is the reason why they are not called. One witness was called, so far as I know the only witness who could speak to having followed the speech—that was Mrs. Esmond, known as Miss Eva Moore, and she, when she gave evidence as to the particular passages which are relied on as evidence of incitement, said she did not hear, that she was some distance away and she could not say, so that it does not help us one way or the other. There was another lady called Mrs. Dockrell, who had never heard one of the speeches, but who had had a circular sent to her, and she was asked to give evidence as to the instructions which were given to speak for themselves, which, of course, are for your consideration, and which make quite plain what the intention was.

"A Very Eloquent Speech."

There was one other witness called, who is of some importance, that was Sir Edward Busk, and you may remember the evidence

that he gave. I put to him the "Argument of the Broken Pane," that is the speech which Mrs. Pankhurst made at the Convention Rooms, and which was reported in *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, from which I read passages to you. You will remember what his evidence was upon that. He was a thoroughly honest witness to them. He has admitted to you that while I am referring to this, and I cannot but think that at the time he made his observation he must have forgotten what had actually happened. I am referring to the passages in which he commented upon my having opened with the statement which was made by somebody in the audience when Miss Christabel Pankhurst was making a speech, which I pointed out was not made by her at all, but by someone in the audience—words to the effect that "We will shoot next time." I pointed out to you that that was no one who suggested or was I, that any one of the defendants had said that. It was one of the audience who said that, and my observation upon that is that that was the kind of thing which, after all, responsible people ought to expect when they incite persons to commit acts of violence. However much they might desire to restrain them, there are people who are excitable and who go further than those who make speeches to them, and it becomes very serious if you only just condescend to them. It was that woman, Mrs. Pankhurst herself. In a speech she said that "Some people would use other weapons of persuasion, but she would content herself with the stone-throwing." The comment I made upon that is now in the same comment I made then, that if you show this seed you cannot always control what is to be the result. My lord drew attention to the fact that this particular passage had not been proved, and made some observations which, as I say, must have been made under a misapprehension in regard to it. We said we shrank from proving it. He said he had nothing to complain of in the conduct of this case, only he said someone had misinstructed me, someone placing in my hands some had led me to make that statement which we had shrank from proving, and the suggestion was that we knew in opening the case that no such statement had been made. It is of such importance to me that I wish to point out to you that it was not given actually in evidence before you was because when the particular witness who was dealing with the subject was in the Court and gave evidence, that Thomas Cox—and was giving us his notes from long-hand, which he had written after the speech had been made, it was suggested by my lord that it was not given. My lord, Mr. Graham Campbell, accepted that view from the Court, and read the report from *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, and my friend criticised him for that witness in particular, referring to some statement with regard to Mr. Lloyd George. You may remember it because it brought in an observation which his lordship made about King Charles's head, and my friend replied that it was the wrong way in this case. My lord thought it would be best if he would confine himself to the passages referring to Mr. Lloyd George, and my lord's objection to the particular passage was not read. It is immaterial for the purpose of the case, and I only mention it because I cannot help thinking that that is what my lord has done. I have pointed out, that not only is the responsibility mine in the administration of my office, but further, I just want you to consider the manner in which this statement is justified. So far as my lord is concerned, that is not the defence put forward in that way by the other defendants. They have relied upon another form of defence. Mr. Healy said that this action was taken because Cabinet Ministers were interrupted at their meetings. The able defence put forward is to this effect, that questions to Ministers had gone on for years, and had produced no effect upon the public mind.

Mrs. Pankhurst: Upon the Government and upon the public mind, and in order that the public mind should be roused about it—to use the words of either a speech or article, that "the public should be disturbed" is my aim. The result of it was that you had to have window-breaking by stones. A good deal has been said, both by Mrs. Pankhurst and the other defendants, with reference to the militancy of their movement, and a good deal of time—I am not complaining of—has been taken up to show that militancy does not necessarily mean acts of violence like stone-throwing. I agree, of course, that it is not, but I do think that Women's Social and Political Union existed for militant purposes, as it was called, for some long time, for some years, as we know, before November 21. I have never made one single complaint, as you will remember, in this case with reference to anything that happened before November 21, and I am sure that the acts of Ministers are matters which are allowed to go untouched by the prosecution. They had nothing whatever to do with the prosecution. But not only that, it is said that this was a violation of the peace. On November 21 there were, as you know, 219 women arrested for the breaking of windows.

of Government action. Of course, it is always a difficult matter in a Court of Law to discuss politics, more particularly perhaps, to those who are engaged in them. All I desire to say—and I shall content myself with it—is that you have heard attacks made upon the Government and I, Well, gentlemen; that, of course, is not a novelty for the Government; whether the Government belong to one party or another these are always plenty of people—and I hope always will be—ready to attack Governments. In this particular case I cannot help thinking that it has been thought very useful to turn the attack upon the Government, and to make it into a political trial. My learned friend, Mr. Healy, called attention to one point yesterday, and I will deal with it while I am referring to this, and I cannot but think that at the time he made his observation he must have forgotten what had actually happened. I am referring to the passages in which he commented upon my having opened with the statement which was made by somebody in the audience when Miss Christabel Pankhurst was making a speech, which I pointed out was not made by her at all, but by someone in the audience—words to the effect that "We will shoot next time." I pointed out to you that that was no one who suggested or was I, that any one of the defendants had said that. It was one of the audience who said that, and my observation upon that is that that was the kind of thing which, after all, responsible people ought to expect when they incite persons to commit acts of violence. However much they might desire to restrain them, there are people who are excitable and who go further than those who make speeches to them, and it becomes very serious if you only just condescend to them. It was that woman, Mrs. Pankhurst herself. In a speech she said that "Some people would use other weapons of persuasion, but she would content herself with the stone-throwing." The comment I made upon that is now in the same comment I made then, that if you show this seed you cannot always control what is to be the result. My lord drew attention to the fact that this particular passage had not been proved, and made some observations which, as I say, must have been made under a misapprehension in regard to it. We said we shrank from proving it. He said he had nothing to complain of in the conduct of this case, only he said someone had misinstructed me, someone placing in my hands some had led me to make that statement which we had shrank from proving, and the suggestion was that we knew in opening the case that no such statement had been made. It is of such importance to me that I wish to point out to you that it was not given actually in evidence before you was because when the particular witness who was dealing with the subject was in the Court and gave evidence, that Thomas Cox—and was giving us his notes from long-hand, which he had written after the speech had been made, it was suggested by my lord that it was not given. My lord, Mr. Graham Campbell, accepted that view from the Court, and read the report from *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, and my friend criticised him for that witness in particular, referring to some statement with regard to Mr. Lloyd George. You may remember it because it brought in an observation which his lordship made about King Charles's head, and my friend replied that it was the wrong way in this case. My lord thought it would be best if he would confine himself to the passages referring to Mr. Lloyd George, and my lord's objection to the particular passage was not read. It is immaterial for the purpose of the case, and I only mention it because I cannot help thinking that that is what my lord has done. I have pointed out, that not only is the responsibility mine in the administration of my office, but further, I just want you to consider the manner in which this statement is justified. So far as my lord is concerned, that is not the defence put forward in that way by the other defendants. They have relied upon another form of defence. Mr. Healy said that this action was taken because Cabinet Ministers were interrupted at their meetings. The able defence put forward is to this effect, that questions to Ministers had gone on for years, and had produced no effect upon the public mind.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence: Perhaps the Attorney-General would make it clear that it was not proved because we could have contradicted the statement.

The Attorney-General: I thought I had said it. It was not proved. Mr. Pethick Lawrence still thinks he is still affected by it. The passage was not read in the view which my lord took of the particular report. He suggested that we should leave it where it was, and we did, and did not read the last part of it. As I have indicated to you it is quite right, and if any impression was made on my mind by that passage against the defendants you will dismiss it, but I am pointing out to you that I make the same criticism now upon the speech.

How the Matter Stands Politically.

I now pass to the defence, so far as I understand it, which is raised in this case. I want you just to bear in mind how the matter stands politically. I am not going to travel into any observation as to whether the Government is right, or whether Mrs. Pankhurst is right, or whether other persons are right in the view they take of the women's suffrage question. There have been, and there are, various schools of thought upon this fact, that Mrs. Pankhurst and her friends and her union, are not the only suffrage society that has done excellent work in connection with women's suffrage. There are other societies, distinguished ladies who have done admirable work, and who are proceeding to do admirable work for the purpose of getting the parliamentary franchise granted to women. Statements have been made as justifying what happened in consequence

of Government action. Of course, it is always a difficult matter in a Court of Law to discuss politics, more particularly perhaps, to those who are engaged in them. All I desire to say—and I shall content myself with it—is that you have heard attacks made upon the Government and I, Well, gentlemen; that, of course, is not a novelty for the Government; whether the Government belong to one party or another these are always plenty of people—and I hope always will be—ready to attack Governments. In this particular case I cannot help thinking that it has been thought very useful to turn the attack upon the Government, and to make it into a political trial. My learned friend, Mr. Healy, called attention to one point yesterday, and I will deal with it while I am referring to this, and I cannot but think that at the time he made his observation he must have forgotten what had actually happened. I am referring to the passages in which he commented upon my having opened with the statement which was made by somebody in the audience when Miss Christabel Pankhurst was making a speech, which I pointed out was not made by her at all, but by someone in the audience—words to the effect that "We will shoot next time." I pointed out to you that that was no one who suggested or was I, that any one of the defendants had said that. It was one of the audience who said that, and my observation upon that is that that was the kind of thing which, after all, responsible people ought to expect when they incite persons to commit acts of violence. However much they might desire to restrain them, there are people who are excitable and who go further than those who make speeches to them, and it becomes very serious if you only just condescend to them. It was that woman, Mrs. Pankhurst herself. In a speech she said that "Some people would use other weapons of persuasion, but she would content herself with the stone-throwing." The comment I made upon that is now in the same comment I made then, that if you show this seed you cannot always control what is to be the result. My lord drew attention to the fact that this particular passage had not been proved, and made some observations which, as I say, must have been made under a misapprehension in regard to it. We said we shrank from proving it. He said he had nothing to complain of in the conduct of this case, only he said someone had misinstructed me, someone placing in my hands some had led me to make that statement which we had shrank from proving, and the suggestion was that we knew in opening the case that no such statement had been made. It is of such importance to me that I wish to point out to you that it was not given actually in evidence before you was because when the particular witness who was dealing with the subject was in the Court and gave evidence, that Thomas Cox—and was giving us his notes from long-hand, which he had written after the speech had been made, it was suggested by my lord that it was not given. My lord, Mr. Graham Campbell, accepted that view from the Court, and read the report from *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, and my friend criticised him for that witness in particular, referring to some statement with regard to Mr. Lloyd George. You may remember it because it brought in an observation which his lordship made about King Charles's head, and my friend replied that it was the wrong way in this case. My lord thought it would be best if he would confine himself to the passages referring to Mr. Lloyd George, and my lord's objection to the particular passage was not read. It is immaterial for the purpose of the case, and I only mention it because I cannot help thinking that that is what my lord has done. I have pointed out, that not only is the responsibility mine in the administration of my office, but further, I just want you to consider the manner in which this statement is justified. So far as my lord is concerned, that is not the defence put forward in that way by the other defendants. They have relied upon another form of defence. Mr. Healy said that this action was taken because Cabinet Ministers were interrupted at their meetings. The able defence put forward is to this effect, that questions to Ministers had gone on for years, and had produced no effect upon the public mind.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence: In point of fact, that is not correct. It was only eighty or ninety were charged with breaking windows, the others for other forms of disorder. That does not matter; the matter is one of militancy. The point of an making to you is that that happened on November 21. No action was taken. There was no prosecution upon it. I will refer to it.

Mrs. Pankhurst: Because you wanted to keep it in the police-courts.

The Judge: You must not interrupt, Mrs. Pankhurst. No one interrupted me.

Mrs. Pankhurst: I am interrupting because I had been twice imprisoned before that date.

The Attorney-General: Because on November 21 there had been these acts and no prosecution. The only materiality of it is that it is suggested that there was some reason or some desire to take the form of action or prosecution which I am pointing out to you that it was only when it had become so active a movement, when it is repeated within a very few days—on the 21st and the 22nd, and the 23rd, and there naturally comes from the public a demand—and the public should have a right to demand—that something should be done to stop the destruction of property of persons who had taken no part in a political movement.

Mrs. Pankhurst: Give us the vote and stop it.

"That is the Answer."

The Attorney-General: That is the answer, and if you will not give them the vote you must submit apparently to have your windows broken. That is the position which we are in, and it is the position which, at any rate, I, for my part, in the discharge of my duty, have taken the view that the public is entitled to such protection of a kind which I do not think is not instituted. I am the person who has to determine whether or not it should be instituted, and because I am that person, and because I have taken the responsibility, I am here conducting this case, when I undoubtedly have matters of far greater public importance than this. "No, no," interposed Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. "Silence," demanded the usher.

The Attorney-General: I have taken the responsibility, and I need scarcely say to you that I do not assume any responsibility in the forefront as the person upon whom all blame should rest, and it is not one of the pleasant duties of an Attorney-General. In these cases where the movement, according to the evidence which we have seen, was taken. Now that is really the whole of the material upon which I need say anything with reference to the vindictive prosecution. And I cannot help saying also, in regard to an observation made by my learned friend, that there had been a deputation to the Prime Minister which we know took place on November 17, and that as the result of that deputation the Prime Minister made a plain and explicit statement in regard to the Manhood Suffrage Bill, at any rate to the ladies who attended, but, after all, that we cannot help. There are other ladies who would not be satisfied if the Suffrage Bill were granted. There are some women—I am not going to discuss whether they are in the majority or not—but at least there are a considerable number who do not wish the vote granted. I must point out to you further, as I have pointed out, that not only is the responsibility mine in the administration of my office, but further, I just want you to consider the manner in which this statement is justified. So far as my lord is concerned, that is not the defence put forward in that way by the other defendants. They have relied upon another form of defence. Mr. Healy said that this action was taken because Cabinet Ministers were interrupted at their meetings. The able defence put forward is to this effect, that questions to Ministers had gone on for years, and had produced no effect upon the public mind.

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Mr. Pethick Lawrence: Very well; 219 were arrested, of whom he says eighty or ninety were charged with breaking windows, the others for other forms of disorder. That does not matter; the matter is one of militancy. The point of an making to you is that that happened on November 21. No action was taken. There was no prosecution upon it. I will refer to it.

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took the view that by extending the franchise the Conciliation Bill, which he said gave them a limited franchise, was torpedoed. I am not going to call you to the register of those who had volunteered to come forward on November 21. What explanation is there to you of how it was that Lillian Ball came ready to take her part in this more militant protest with a bag tied around her with the stones in, with directions to go to the back of the House of Commons, where, as I gather, she appears to have passed up and down for some time with the stones in the bag, hidden, of course, in her pouch or whatever she wore, and never summoning up quite sufficient courage to break a window? How was it that Lillian Ball came there? By whose invitation, and on whose plan, and on whose scheme? Can you have any doubt after the evidence which you have heard? With regard to Mrs. Pankhurst, you will remember that I called attention to this, that Mrs. Pankhurst was absent in America during this period, and that so far as I was concerned I did not make the charge against her of inciting or soliciting during this period. That she was a party to the agreement that this form of protest should be made I do say, and I wish to show you, how that was to be done. That she approved of it was beyond doubt. Telegrams were sent from America; one of them which was signed by her, and which was a message from her: "Protest imperative. Impatient to be with you. Courage and faith."

"Arguments."

Still, that does not show that she incited or solicited, and at any rate, I have purposely said I do not rely upon that charge against her. But what is Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's part, or Mr. Pethick Lawrence's part? I will proceed to deal with the March incidents, because the observations I am going to make with regard to these are observations which would be equally applicable to the latter incidents as to those of November 21. On March 1 and 4, when again the very same thing took place, except, of course, that here you have Mrs. Pankhurst taking a very active part in it, and making a speech to which attention has been so much directed, and other speeches, beginning almost from the moment when she came home in January, 1912, when she said that she would be the first stone-thrower—the same thing carried on by an agreement, as I will indicate to you from correspondence: an agreement that the Gardonia Restaurant should be taken, and you know what happened at the Gardonia Restaurant, both from the cards that were issued and from Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's evidence. You have Lillian Ball being asked whether she wanted or whether she was ready for a long or for a short sentence; meeting there for the purpose of going out to commit a breach of the law on unoffending persons, or, at least, on buildings that had done nothing to them, as part of the plan that had been arranged for the purpose of making a protest and stirring people from their calm. That was the argument. There you get all these instances—the bag of stones and the hammer. Do you believe it for a minute when it is said that there was no arming, no incitement, and I suppose it must be, no preconcerted attempt? What were these hammers doing from the time they were bought from Mr. Mellish, of whom you have heard? There they were, bought on February 22, what for? Where were they lying? Without a doubt they were bought for the purpose of carrying out these preconcerted plans of arming themselves. That was the argument. There you get all these instances—the bag of stones and the hammer. 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VOTES FOR WOMEN 4, CLEMENT'S INN, STRAND.

FRIDAY, MAY 31, 1912

MILITANCY.

At a time when so many of our comrades are serving long terms of imprisonment, it behoves us to remind ourselves and to tell the world what imprisonment means. Imprisonment is living death. It is the sacrifice of a part of one's life. It means dropping out of existence for weeks, months, or years, as the case may be. Not hardship nor indignity, but the mere sheer deprivation of liberty it is that makes imprisonment amount to a temporary loss of life. In fact, to be imprisoned for a cause and to die for it are sacrifices alike in kind, and different only in degree.

This yielding up of life is the highest and most transcendent proof of their love for others that human beings have it in their power to give. However great the soul, it can command no language more eloquent than this wherewith to tell its passion. Christ Himself could do no more than die to express His love for mankind. He had only His life to give for the life of the world. The ordinary man and woman must be ready if need be to express their smaller love for humanity in the same way. That is what militant Suffragists are humbly ready to do. It is the spirit of renunciation that creates the militant movement.

But those who would redeem the souls and bodies of men must be prepared to do more than renounce their liberty and their life. They must challenge, and they must fight, the powers arrayed against them. Militancy and renunciation must go together. We have spoken of the Great Redeemer, Whose life and death stand as an inspiration and as a practical example to those who seek to change the face of the world. In His words and deeds can be found no encouragement to rely on the mere course of time and exercise of patience to bring about a result which it is our duty by vigorous action to achieve.

There can be found no encouragement to rely only on methods which are acceptable to those in authority, or, as some call them, constitutional methods. "Think not that I am come to bring peace on earth. I came not to bring peace but a sword. Suppose ye that I come to give peace on earth? I tell you nay, but rather division." Christ was engaged in a spiritual battle, and therefore He needed only weapons that were spiritual, but those who are attacking evil political institutions are fighting a battle which, though it is partly spiritual, is also largely material. For that reason militancy on the material plane is an absolute necessity in order to win political reform.

Plain and visible as it is, this truth is often overlooked. Thus we have "constitutional" Suffragists arguing that spiritual force will avail to gain the Vote for women, and that any resort to physical force is immoral. In other words, their contention is that the spiritual force which is behind the Woman Suffrage movement must have no physical expression. This same queer reasoning was used in order to confound Joan of Arc when she begged the king to lend her an army that she might win for him his crown and kingdom. Greatly doubting, he caused her to be questioned by the dignitaries of the Church. When she maintained that she had a divine mission they taunted her and said: "But God has no need of soldiers to deliver France." She cried out in answer: "The soldiers will do the fighting, God will give the victory." So might the militant Suffragists say: "We ourselves must do the fighting, God will give the victory."

It is surely a sign of national decadence that either men or women of British birth and ancestry should hold militancy in vindication of citizen rights to be morally wrong. Perhaps the truth is that non-militants resent militancy because they feel it to be a reproach to themselves.

The reason why so many Suffragists have refrained from militancy is that they have not the faith that would be needed to sustain them. It is because of her faith that every militant has been strong to play her part. Intellectual conviction as to the need of militancy there has been also—that we cannot dispense with in these modern days. But behind intellectual conviction, confirming it, and far more compelling has been faith or vision—Joan of Arc would have said voices; therefore it is that the militants have been able to withstand the criticism and condemnation of the world.

The militants have been accused of arrogance both by friends and enemies because, in spite of all advice and every remonstrance, they pursue an undeviating way.

They are not arrogant, but they see what others do not see. A great task has been entrusted to them, but they are not so presumptuous as to think that it is by their own strength and their own wisdom alone that they perform it.

The militants have been given a knowledge of what their duty is, and that is why they cannot by legal decrees or by any human appeals be turned aside from it.

The women in this militant army, cheerful, practical, and daring though they are, are yet as deeply convinced as any saint and visionary could be that the Power that is behind the world, leads and strengthens and works its will through them.

LIBERTY, HOW GLORIOUS ART THOU!

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's Appeal to the Judge at the Old Bailey, May 21, 1912.

My lord, May I add one word to that of my husband. I endorse what he has said, but it is another point of view which I want to lay before you—the woman's point of view. My husband has mentioned cases where those connected with political agitation and those who have been actuated by pure motives have received imprisonment in the First Division. I want to call to your lordship's memory the cases of men who have been found guilty, and have been sentenced to imprisonment in the First Division. In particular, I want to call the attention of your lordship to the case of a member of the City Council of Bradford, who, on September 30, 1909, was convicted of having been guilty of a criminal assault upon his little servant girl, aged fifteen. The magistrate decided to convict, and said this kind of offence was serious—too serious to be met by a fine, and that the defendant must go to prison for fourteen days in the First Division. I also want to direct your lordship's attention to another case—the case of Colonel Valentine Baker—who was charged and found guilty of having committed a criminal assault upon a lady in a railway train. He was sentenced to one year's imprisonment in the First Division, and his treatment was described in Hansard in this way:—"He has a right to amuse himself, to receive his friends and entertain them, and leave to have what food he pleases; and is subject to no restraint whatever."

My lord, I want to use this case as an illustration of how very widely the point of view differs between men and women. If I were to tell you how women regard this particular crime you might think I was speaking with exaggeration; you might think, even if I spoke quite simply and sincerely, that I was speaking under the stress of emotion. I will only remind your lordship that there are stories in history and literature where women, rather than be the victims of this particular crime of assault, have chosen death. Now, there are in the minds of men some special considerations which enable them to be lenient with cases of this kind, and I venture to suggest that if those two men had been tried by a jury composed entirely of women—if they had been sentenced by a woman judge—then I think they would never have had a fair sentence. I do not think they would have had a fair trial.

My lord, let me put to you the situation. Supposing the daily life of every man was ordered by laws that were made by women! Supposing that when he broke one of those laws he had to come up for judgment before a jury of women and be tried by a woman judge. I think a man in those circumstances would wish to address a word to his judge, and appeal, not for leniency, not for indulgence, but for imagination and for understanding. In this case I appeal to you. I ask you, what will the women of this country think if men who have committed a crime which, from the woman's point of view, is so very serious—if those men are treated with imprisonment in the First Division, and a man is to be put into the Second or Third Division who has had an almost quixotic standard of honour to men and the same standard of honour to women, a man who is not even accused directly of destroying private property, a man whose crime is that he has devoted his life, his efforts, his intellect and his genius for organisation, to the woman's cause, a cause which is really primarily and fundamentally an effort to put right those terrible evils and grievances under which women suffer—that will the women of the country feel if we, who are the leaders of a great political movement, are treated as ordinary criminals in the Second or Third Division, while men who committed such outrages as I have quoted are sentenced to the First Division? Do you not think, my lord, that it will leave a permanent sense of outrage in the minds of the women of the country which will be fraught with disastrous results to the community?

Not to Escape Punishment.

We do not seek to escape punishment, though I would point out to you, my lord, that I myself have been twice arrested in regard to these very offences that have come before us in this Court. I was sentenced to two months' imprisonment in November, and on the night of March 4, this year, I was suddenly arrested in my home, was taken suddenly to Bow Street, and had to spend a night in the police station, and was then remanded in prison. And though this charge of which we are accused is a misdemeanour—is not a felony—we were kept in prison between three and four weeks, we were kept in prison by a particular device, by being remanded from eight days to eight days. And twice for taking a petition to the House of Commons, for being concerned in an agitation in which no one did any violence to any other private individual, or property—twice before I have suffered imprisonment.

Mrs. Pankhurst also has suffered imprisonment for these offences with which we are now charged, and as the result of her imprisonment she is still suffering very serious ill-health. It is not prison that we mind, though that is bad enough—bad enough to be shut out from the glory of the sun and the beauty of the earth at a time of the year like this; and to be cut off from one's friends. Think of the separation between husband and wife, my lord, and the separation between parent and child; it is of the very essence of bitterness. But of that we do not com-

plain, for this is part of the price that has to be paid for the emancipation of women. But the question of our status is another matter altogether. The question whether we are to be imprisoned in the First Division with the rights of political prisoners, or whether we are to be imprisoned in the Second or Third Division with, it may be, privileges under conditions, but no rights, that is the serious question to us. I want to explain, because it is a question which touches our honour; and not only our honour, but also the honour of this great movement of which we are representatives, and we must maintain our honour with the last breath in our body. Men and women have suffered in their attempts to maintain their honour in this particular connection. We have heard in this Court how one man has been driven to the verge of insanity; one woman is in a nursing home to-day at the very point of death, and another is very dangerously ill as the result of the treatment which she has received in prison.

Justice.

I do appeal to you, my lord, to restore to women something of our old faith in the justice of men; something of our belief in the spirit of fair play which actuates men in their dealings with women. I do ask you to allow, as far as it is in your power to do so, the bitterness of this struggle. I ask you, whatever sentence you may give us, to give us a sentence of imprisonment in the First Division. I will put it to you in a different way. This movement cannot be crushed by severity. Experience has

shown that, and history has shown it. There have been over a thousand imprisonments of women already. We sometimes speak of the dogged tenacity of the men who have conquered land and sea for our country's glory. There is an undaunted spirit in the mothers of the race also, or it would not be made manifest in the land; there is a bit of the bull-dog breed in the women of our country as well as in the men. We have been bruised and battered by Government spleen; we have been pursued by the Government's prosecution. But the spirit of liberty has grown apace, and the women of the country will hold on to the idea of liberty like grim death. I use these words advisedly—Grim death! We shall win in the end; though we ourselves may be crushed, because we all know how very narrow are the limits of human vitality and human strength. One by one the women have died. One by one they have fallen out of the ranks. But the cause has gone on.

We feel liberty to be a very precious thing. "O Liberty, how glorious art thou!" We know it has to be bought with a great price.

My lord, if you send us to prison, we shall go to prison with a firm and steadfast faith that our imprisonment, whether it be long or whether it be short, will be accepted as part of the great price that has to be exacted for the civic and legal liberty of women, which is the safeguard of the moral and spiritual liberty of the women of our country; and of our race. May God defend us, as our cause is just!

THE GREAT TRIAL—ONE OF THE SCENES.

By Henry W. Nevinson.

I have been present at many tragic and moving scenes both of peace and war; but at none more tragic and moving than the Old Bailey trial, and at none more glorious. It was tragic because the clashing forces that met in that Court are of universal interest, and, as always happens in great tragedy, the forces of inert custom, of commonplace, and mortal statutes appeared to prevail over the finer nature and the higher appeal to "those unwritten and unshaken laws of heaven, which are not of to-day or yesterday, but endure for ever, and of their revelation knoweth no man." It was moving because the personality of the three chief characters in the scene is recognised as noble above suspicion, and is singularly capable of inspiring affection, confidence, and respect. But above all, it is glorious when in any tragedy or trial apparent defeat is felt by the audience to be victory, when seeming victims are known to triumph, and it is the established force of Courts and insensitive society that is seen standing in the dock, awaiting the ultimate sentence!

In all that drama, so far-reaching in consequence, so touched with personal emotion, and full of encouragement to our cause, one scene remains most prominent in my memory. It was a quarter to two on Tuesday, after the interval for luncheon. The jury had been called, the Sheriffs had entered, carrying the funny little bouquets, screwed up in white paper frills, which it is their peculiar and masculine privilege to bring into Court. The judge had taken his seat, bewigged and scarlet-robed—a thin, refined-looking person, courteous in manner, and anxious to be fair in hearing, but uninspired, pale in eye, and acid with the law. Under the glass dome which lighted the new oak and plaster decorations of the Court, stood the solicitors' table, and on the Counsel's bench beside it sat Sir Rufus Isaacs, his clear-cut face and deep brown eyes, like a hawk's, a little worn, unhappy, and anxious. With him was Mr. Bodkin, probably a merry man in congenial company. At two o'clock Mr. Healy, pale and grave, grey-bearded, massive in look and mind, but gleaming suddenly with satire like the flash of swords, and bearing on him the marks of old contests for liberty. With him was Mr. Muir, and behind sat barristers in rows. Behind them, again, and above them in a gallery, and on hidden benches at the back of the Court, "the public" sat crowded, enthusiastic for the cause. One little compartment was set aside for "Press," but was mainly filled with detectives. Opposite the Counsel's bench was ranged the jury in a raised box—twelve average citizens of London, with a dignified foreman. Almost in the centre of the Court, raised like a family pew with high sides above the solicitors' table, rose the dock. In it sat two wardresses in uniform, a warder, and the three people to whom more passionate devotion is given than to anyone else in this kingdom.

There was silence, and Mrs. Pankhurst rose. She was in black, in mourning for the sister who fell in the cause, but the black was just broken by a thread of gold and a touch of pale blue. That face, so familiar to us all, looked strangely young, as it always does in moments of intensity. One could plainly see, looking through it, the face it had been when she entered upon this struggle as the young wife of the man who was the friend of Ernest Jones and John Stuart Mill. But on it had gathered that mingled look of pathos, appeal, the sorrow of the world, a courteous refinement, and an indomitable resolve—so rare and powerful a combination. I have sometimes spoken of that look as one I should

not like to see on the face of my enemy, and I can only say that once more.

She began the speech in her own defence. It was the same voice we all know—the most moving voice I have ever heard—low-pitched, sounding many chords, rich in variety of statement, appeal, and indignation. Sometimes it trembled a little, at some personal memory or from mere physical strain. But at once the will recovered its control, and we heard only that note of strong emotion strongly dominated, which is the main source of great personality. Beginning quietly with definitions of "conspiracy," of "political offence," and "militancy," she passed suddenly to such a passage of deserved praise of Mr. Lawrence as it would be worth any man's lifetime to win, and after that she entered upon the main substance of her defence. She laid it, as it was right she should, not in any attempt to evade the letter of the law, or to escape upon legal irregularity, but on the broad basis of the history of her life and her cause.

First she spoke of the momentous case which, forty-two years ago, decided that women are "persons" for the burdens of State and obedience to laws, but not "persons" for the rights of citizenship or of the making of laws. By one of those coincidences that attend our cause, her husband and the Judge's father had stood together as barristers pleading for the right of women in that famous trial. Passing from point to point, she reviewed the long history of barren hopes and disappointing struggles, of vast meetings and monstrous petitions, of ridicule of broken pledges, and all the trickery of politicians, down to the present Government's latest and meanest act of malignant treachery in conspiring to "torpedo" the Conciliation Bill. She told of her early work for the Liberal party, of her long public service as Law Guardian of the Conciliation Bill, of her years ago that the old methods were useless, of her resolve two years later to break down the political and Press boycott by resistance to force. She told how it was that Miss Christabel Pankhurst had inspired her with courage to do this; and, disregarding all thought of poverty or livelihood, to transfer the centre of the Women's Social and Political Union from Manchester to London. Then came the salient points in the history of recent years: the meetings, processions, the legal petitions, the violence of the police under Government orders, "Black Friday," and the incitement by Cabinet Ministers to violence of a serious kind, involving arson and death.

But all readers have had the words of that great address already before them. They will never hear or read a greater speech, or one more moving. For an hour and three-quarters it lasted, without pause and without flagging. No one spoke, no one ceased to listen; at intense passages no one even stirred. And when the end came, and that wonderful voice was silent, we all drew breath, as at the end of a great act, regretting it was over, regretting our sharp return to the lower level of ordinary life, but rejoiced that we were alive on the same earth with a spirit so fine, so flame-like, and so persistent in courage and in righteousness.

The Daily News of Thursday, May 23, in a leading article that every honourable man and woman should learn by heart, concluded its protest against the sentence with these words:—

In any event, the thought of these three devoted persons imprisoned in felon's cells is a torture and an outrage to every sensitive mind, that sees a world so plentifully lacking in nobility of spirit and so bitterly in need of it. Probably the jury intended to avoid that torture by an outrage in any case. Had they given their verdict just after the speech, I believe they would have avoided the risk of it altogether. Nor do I think the Judge himself would have incurred so heavy a responsibility, even though he had been driven by the Government's utmost vindictiveness.

SOME PRESS VIEWS.

The jury yesterday convicted Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Pankhurst. They seem to have had considerable difficulty in agreeing upon their verdict, for they were absent an hour, and they supplemented their finding with an urgent recommendation to the Judge to exercise the utmost clemency and leniency on the ground of the purity of the motives of the accused.

The Attorney-General asked the jury to ignore the suggestion that the trial was anything in the nature of a political trial, and to treat it as a simple case of conspiracy for damage to property. The law allows itself the luxury of this sort of simplicity, and if it is technically correct it is satisfied. But plain men feel, as the jury obviously felt, that the central reality is that these men and women of noble spirit and pure motive have been tried as prisoners because of their devotion, unimpaired devotion though it be, to a cause. They feel that, and they feel the tragedy of the waste of human faculty.

In any case, do we not know, one and all of us, that sooner or later the cause of woman suffrage must triumph, and can we find any comfort in lining the road to its triumph with martyrs? It may be true that the blood of martyrs is the seed of all churches. That is the boast of the martyrs, but the condemnation of those who shed their blood. There is no more ruinous waste than to blast good men and women as part of the price of a step in advance which we know to be inevitable. That is the social sin which the whole militant movement and its culmination in

yesterday's conviction stand for. In that sin we are all partakers not less than the convicted; we are responsible for the society which compels progress along such miserable and devious roads.

This prosecution can have been pleasing to no person of liberal understanding, and we cannot see what large purpose it will serve. It will not check the suffrage movement. Will it even check the militant suffrage movement? If the history of political repression is any guide, even that is unlikely. But whatever the effect of this trial upon the future, the sentences themselves cannot be allowed to stand. Nobody who compares the punishments inflicted after the recent militant outbreak with those imposed for precisely similar offences in earlier outbreaks, but sees that the Judges were infected by a passing gust of public passion. It is not good for justice that the spirit of the mob should take lodgment in the seat of judgment; and if the courts are to retain their waning hold on the esteem of the understanding, then it is for the Executive to make good the error. But in any event the thought of these three devoted persons imprisoned in felons' cells is a torture and an outrage to every sensitive mind, and sees a world so plentifully lacking in nobility of spirit and so bitterly in need of it.—The Daily News and Leader.

Still, those women who are so foolish as to desire a vote have a grievance against Liberalism and the present Government, for upon every canon of the Liberal Party they ought to be given the franchise. If Liberals had any real affection for their professed principles women would have been enfranchised long ago, for according to Liberalism, the "voice of the people" is the great end in politics—whether the people are wise or capable of forming a judgment does not matter. And let us add that the offence of which the Syndicalist Mann was convicted is, in our judgment, very much more serious than that for which these erring Suffragists are to be punished.—The Morning Post.

that they should be treated with "the utmost clemency and leniency." Lord Coleridge appeared to disregard this finding on the ground that the defendants had expressed no "contrition" for their acts, and had given no pledge to avoid repeating them, and, therefore, that to make them first-class misdemeanants would be to show them with fresh capacity to break the law. If this means that they would continue to conduct the agitation from prison, we do not think this is possible, nor do we see how the agitation can be stopped by degrading its leaders. On Wednesday Mr. McKenna foreshadowed some modification of the sentence, but no early action. But a change in its character, if not in its fact, should surely be made at once.—The Nation (Editorial Note).

The conviction of the leaders of the Women's Social and Political Union differs somewhat from that of the Syndicalists and of Malatesta, though all these cases present a warning to the Government of the disabling effect of their decision to pass over the deliberate and open organisation of sedition, accompanied by the importation of arms, in Ulster. Beside that offence the widow-breaking raid of the suffragettes is as a skirmish of outposts to and from the deliberate and open organisation of sedition, accompanied by the importation of arms, in Ulster. Beside that offence the widow-breaking raid of the suffragettes is as a skirmish of outposts to and from the deliberate and open organisation of sedition, accompanied by the importation of arms, in Ulster. Beside that offence the widow-breaking raid of the suffragettes is as a skirmish of outposts to and from the deliberate and open organisation of sedition, accompanied by the importation of arms, in Ulster.

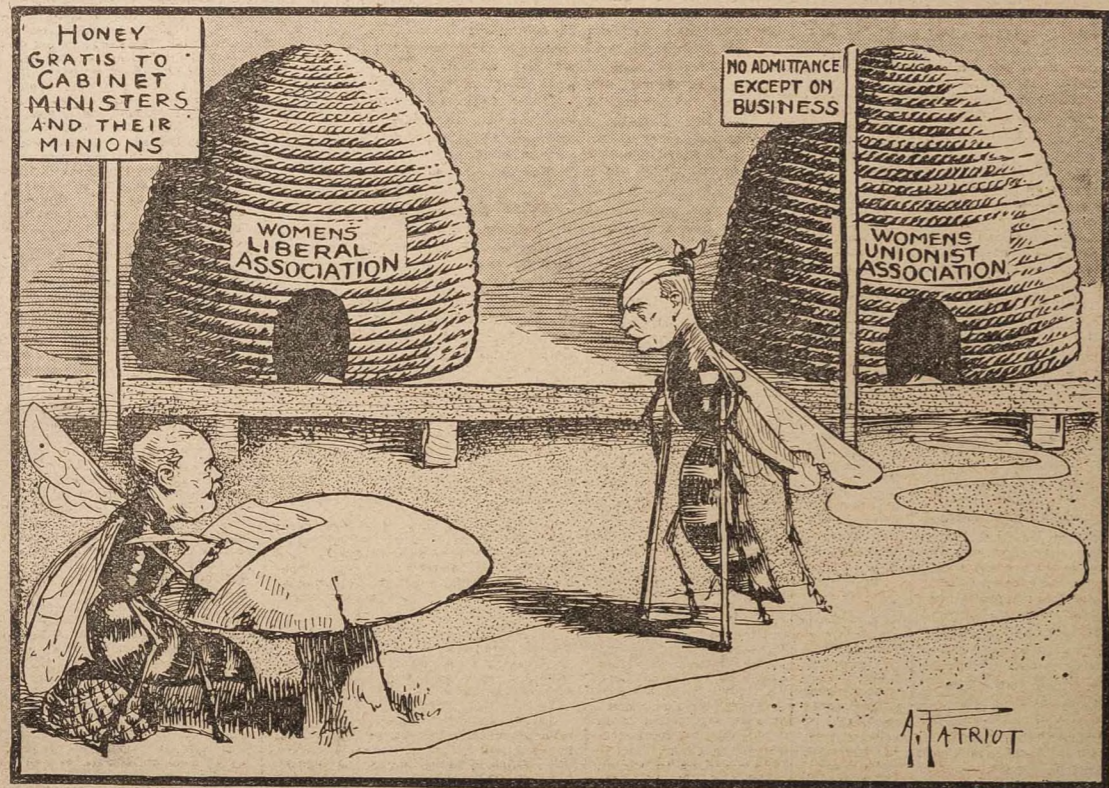
The three leaders of the Women's Social and Political Union were sentenced to nine months' imprisonment in the second division. Their offence was certainly more substantial than in the case of Mr. Tom Mann and Miss Malocha, but the real offenders are the Government who have driven the women to adopt extreme measures. In any case, nine months' imprisonment is a harsh and absolutely unjustifiable sentence, and once again the forces of freedom must rally in protest. The refusal on the invitation of the Attorney-General, to consider the offence of a political nature is specially to be condemned, and we look to members of the Labour Party to demand that the prisoners shall at least be transferred to the first division.—Labour Leader.

indeed probable, that the absence and degradation of the leaders of a political movement will have the normal effect of inflaming the followers. This is where the law stops short, and the judgment of statesmen must come in.—The Nation (Leading Article).

No unbiased person who was present at the trial or who has read adequate reports of the speeches of the three defendants could fail to be impressed by their dignified demeanour, their moral passion, the unselfishness of their aims. They showed themselves to be possessed in an unusual degree of the qualities that all classes of people everywhere recognise as the highest attributes of mankind. In vain one after the other pleaded to be regarded as political offenders and placed in the first division—not, as they explained, that they shrink from any form of punishment, but because it was unjust and a needless indignity to treat them as common criminals. Yet, as Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence pointed out, Dr. Jameson, whose Raid resulted in twenty-one men being killed and forty-six wounded, and a City councillor convicted of a criminal assault on a young girl, were treated as first-class misdemeanants! We shall be surprised, if before these lines are printed, the strange absurdity of the Judge in this particular is not overruled by Parliament. Also, we are confident that public opinion will insist on a reduction of the sentences.

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"HOW DOTHTHE LITTLE BUSY WASP..."



FIRST WASP (Mr. W. L. r. L. ng): "Take my advice, my dear fellow, and don't go inside." SECOND WASP (M. st. r. of El. b. nk): "I never do! The pen is mightier than the sting. (Writes hurriedly) "Dear Liberal ladies, any expression of your opinion always receives, and always will receive from me, VERY SYMPATHETIC CONSIDERATION."

(The above Cartoon was crowded out last week.)

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Immediately the news of the sentence on the leaders was received at the House of Commons on Wednesday, Mr. Keir Hardie said: I desire to call the attention of the House to the sentences which have been pronounced this afternoon in the Central Criminal Court upon three Suffragist prisoners, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Pankhurst, who were sentenced to nine months' imprisonment in the second division, and to pay the costs of the trial. (An Hon. Member: "Hear, hear.") It is worse to rejoice in women being sentenced to prison for doing these things than the doing of them, because it does not require the same amount of courage. My ancestors went to the scaffold for this same offence, and I am proud of it. I would remind the House that the accused in this case were on trial not for themselves committing these acts, but for advising others to do so. It is just as well to keep that fact in mind. Further, the jury, in finding them guilty, recommended them to the consideration of the Court because of their high moral character and the purity of the motives which actuated them in the action they had taken. The judge, in pronouncing sentence, gave two reasons why he could not comply with the request of the accused persons that they should be treated as first-class misdemeanants. The first reason was that they gave no promise not to commit the offence in future. They refused to give any such promise, and he said they were therefore not entitled to consideration on that score. The second reason was that if they were put in prison as first-class misdemeanants they would be able to carry on their campaign from within the prison, and that, of course, could not be tolerated. As a matter of fact, I think his Lordship was mistaken and under a misapprehension when he made that statement. If they had been committed as first-class misdemeanants, any communications which they sent outside would have been subject to examination by the prison authorities, and they would have stopped any material for carrying on the propaganda from being passed out. I hope, therefore, the Home Secretary will not allow that consideration to weigh with him. There has been a point raised whether a political offence is known to the law, and it was dealt with by the Attorney-General in the speech he has just made. The hon. member for East Nottingham (Sir J. D. Rees) said there is no such offence known to the law of England, and I rather think the Attorney-General accepted that point of view.

Sir Rufus Isaacs: Although I am not sure whether it is dealt with as a political offence, there is certainly a provision which says that a person convicted of sedition is a first-class misdemeanant. The other evidence is contained in the latest Extradition Act, and it was referred to by the Attorney-General. It is laid down that a fugitive criminal shall not be surrendered in respect of crime of a political character, and the Court has to construe what is meant by an offence of a "political character." Surely if a judge is capable of deciding what constitutes a political offence in the case of an alien he should be equally capable with regard to British subjects. The House has drawn a broad distinction between the political offender and the ordinary criminal. I ask that the present Home Secretary will at once take into his consideration the question of having the three accused persons, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Pankhurst, transferred immediately from the second division to the first division. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and the others made appeal on that head to-day. The Attorney-General will admit it to have been a powerful and logical appeal. Mrs. Lawrence quoted two instances of men highly placed in society, whose names I will not mention because I do not want to give annoyance to their relations, who were convicted of serious indecencies against young women and sentenced to imprisonment in the first division. If the first division was good enough in the two cases I have referred to, and in many other cases that might be mentioned, it ought to be accorded to the three persons who were sentenced to-day: persons of high character, persons of good education, persons who, whatever we may say about their acts, everyone, including the Home Secretary himself, will admit are actuated by the highest motives in what they

have done and are doing. I ask definitely that the new rule, as it is called, of the right hon. gentleman's predecessor shall, pending his decision on the first-class misdemeanant point, immediately be made to apply in the case of these persons, and that the House will take into serious consideration the remission of the sentences, and especially that part of the sentence making the accused persons responsible for all the costs.

May I point out the difference between men and women when being tried for practically similar offences. Mr. Tom Mann gets six months' imprisonment for calling upon soldiers to disobey their officers, to disobey the oath they have taken, and to endanger the peace and property of the realm. Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, for advising their colleagues to break windows, get nine months' imprisonment, and, in addition, have to pay the costs of the trial. How can the two sentences be justified? Either Mr. Tom Mann got too little or the others got too much. We are entitled to ask that the sentences should be drastically revised by the Home Secretary. My third point is that he shall at once consider the question of transferring these persons from the second division, to which they have been sent, to that of first-class misdemeanants, as has been done so often in the past in the case of the Irish Members opposite, the Clartist leaders, and other political offenders, so that it may not be said that modern administration under a Liberal Government is more humane than it has been in the past, while the offence committed is practically identical.

Mr. Lansbury: With regard to political prisoners generally, and to women in particular, I should like to tell the hon. Member (Sir J. D. Rees) that it is very doubtful if this Assembly would be here if people had not broken the law in the past. On a memorable occasion a man named Cromwell marched up to this place, or the building that preceded it, and broke the law, and the whole of English liberties have been won by people who have broken the law. I should have thought the Attorney-General and the Home Secretary would long ago have learnt that the policy of coercion in any kind of way only helps the movement that you are attempting to put down. With regard to the Suffragist prisoners, I was present at the trial, and heard the speeches of Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Lawrence. I believe that the Home Secretary had been made at the Bar of this House, there is hardly a man here who would refuse to put these prisoners in the first division. We might say that punishment of some kind is needed; but we would be bound to say, in view of the cases that were cited, that women are not tried by their own sex at all. They are tried from our point of view, and this woman made her appeal from the point of view of a woman. I ask whether, if it was right to put certain men, because of their position, in the first division when they had committed crimes against womanhood, you should treat women in the way they are being treated. Highly-placed men have certainly been guilty of more violence than the hundreds of women were guilty of in the latest raid; and if they were put in the first division is it not reasonable that these women should ask to be put on the same status?

Mr. McKenna: My right hon. friend the Attorney-General has dealt fully with the issues, and there remain to me such questions as those relating to the exercise of the prerogative of mercy. The responsibility for advising upon that subject rests with the Home Secretary, and I do not for one moment flinch from taking full responsibility for such advice, either as I have given recently or shall feel it my duty to give in future cases. . . . First of all, I have to assure the hon. Member for Merthyr Tydvil (Mr. Keir Hardie), that I will give immediate attention to the case of the Suffragist prisoners, and I can assure him also that I have already felt it my duty to consider the circumstances and to form an opinion as to whether the cases are such as to which could properly be applied to rule 243 (a).

Mr. Keir Hardie: I am not quite sure whether the right hon. gentleman said that the new rule is to be applied to those persons who were sentenced to-day, and if that is to apply immediately, as his predecessor said it should do.

Mr. McKenna: I did not make that statement for the very simple reason that I have not yet been able to examine the cases sufficiently to know whether the prison discipline and prison arrangements will permit of the conditions of the rule being applied to those prisoners. I do not know at this moment, as I have not been able to consult my advisers, even which person they are going to; and, consequently, I cannot make any statement on the point now. I will give my most sympathetic consideration generally, and I shall certainly consider favourably as to the applications under the rule, but I cannot make any definite statement.

Mr. Keir Hardie: Would you say as to prison dress?

Mr. McKenna: In no case have any of those prisoners ever been asked to put on prison dress. In no single case has that been so, and it is quite unnecessary to ask whether they are required.

"IMMEDIATE RELEASE!"

This was the insistent and unanimous demand of the crowded and deeply-stirred audience which gathered at the Steinway Hall on Thursday evening, twenty-four hours after the closing scenes at the Old Bailey. Men and women were drawn together by a common emotion, a common resolve. Before Miss Annie Kenney and the other speakers entered and took their places on the platform, one heard earnest groups of people eagerly discussing the political significance of recent events, and when the resolution was read from the chair it did not need any great penetration to tell the merest onlooker that it would pass without a single dissentient. The resolution was:—"That this meeting, recognising that the Government were the real conspirators and the real defendants in the trial that has just come to an end, demands the instant release of the leaders of the Women's Social and Political Union."

Miss Kenney expressed a deep truth in simple and direct language when she declared that it was only when fear was cast out that the vision became clear. And Miss Naylor, in her very thoughtful speech, called upon those who had not yet done so to cast out fear and go forward bravely, looking neither to the right hand nor to the left; and she reminded her hearers of Mrs. Pankhurst's words at the Connaught Rooms, when she counselled the W.S.P.U. not to compromise nor to listen to any advisers but those appointed at the trial. She spoke, too, of the searchlight thrown into every corner of the movement, which had revealed only a highly-developed and powerful organisation, which every member might be proud to be in the "Dorothy" the Way to the Crown of Life; and of the self-sacrifice of the leaders. Miss Evelyn Sharp referred to the Old Bailey Trial as "the greatest suffrage meeting of modern times," and called upon the members to keep the issues clear. The demand was not for privileges, but for rights—for political recognition both inside the prison and outside. What right, she asked, had the Government to demand justice from the Russian Government on behalf of Miss Malocha while treating British women with contempt? If anyone should be in prison over the suffrage agitation it should be the whole of the present Cabinet.

MEMORIAL TO MR. MCKENNA.

The following memorial from the residents of Brighton and Hove, Preston, and Rotherham is being presented to Mr. McKenna on behalf of the Suffragist and other political prisoners:—

We, the undersigned, do earnestly desire to express our deep sympathy and our deep admiration for the courage and determination of the Suffragist and other political prisoners, on the grounds (1) That the sentences hitherto inflicted have in many cases been unduly harsh; (2) That the whole system of the treatment of prisoners has been unsystematic and haphazard, and demands inquiry; (3) That the question of the proper treatment of political prisoners who refuse to accept prison discipline is one which should be dealt with by the Government, apart from individual cases. Finally, on the ground of humanity and justice, we demand equal rights for women and men.

Other towns please copy!

RESOLUTIONS.

The following resolution was passed by the Hove Branch of the I.L.P. on May 22:—

That this meeting strongly protests against the excessive sentences passed upon Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and Mrs. Pankhurst, and calls upon the Government for their immediate release, and further strongly condemns the Government for charging the Suffragist leaders with conspiracy whilst taking no action against prominent members of the Government and Opposition who have publicly incited the people to disorder.

The following resolution was passed by an overwhelming majority at a public open-air meeting on Broadheath Bridge on May 24, under the joint auspices of the Altrincham I.L.P. and W.S.P.U.:—

That this meeting protests against the harsh and vindictive sentences passed upon Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and Mrs. Pankhurst, and calls on the Government to order their immediate release.

The Camberwell Branch of the I.L.P. has passed a resolution protesting against the harsh sentences passed upon Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Pankhurst, and calling upon the Government to deal with them in the manner recommended by the jury.

At a meeting of the Irish League for Women's Suffrage, at the Emerson Club, on May 28, a resolution demanding the release of the leaders of the W.S.P.U. was carried unanimously.

An effective form of protest against the injustice of the sentences was carried out by Miss Kelley, hon. sec. of the Women's Franchise Association in Cheltenham. She paraded the streets in a carriage hung with posters worded thus: "Conspiracy charges. Tom Mann's punishment, two months. Mrs. Pankhurst's and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's sentence, nine months. Is this justice?"

The National Political Reform League organised a similar Poster Parade in London, in which 100 people took part.

DEPUTATION TO MR. MCKENNA.

A report of the Home Secretary's reply to the deputation which waited upon him with regard to political prisoners appeared in the Standard (Woman's Platform) of May 24. We have not space to print it in full, but the following extracts are the main portions to which we refer in our article, "Political Prisoners," on page 556:—

Mr. McKenna said that it would be attributing to the Prison Commissioners and the Home Office officials much less than ordinary feelings of humanity and ordinary sense to suppose that they should be actuated by peculiar feelings of hostility to Suffragist prisoners as compared with any other class of prisoner. As a matter of fact, it was not so, and, although in many respects they were difficult to deal with, they did not on that account visit any feelings of anger upon them. On the contrary, they deplored that these prisoners should render their own conditions the more uncomfortable, as was unavoidable, by the refusal to accept the ordinary rules of prison discipline.

He proceeded:— It is suggested that, because the motives of the prisoners in these cases are laudable motives, so far as it is laudable to have any political ambitions, that therefore their offences are not to be treated like other offences of the same kind. If a person breaks somebody else's window and causes a loss to somebody else from a political motive, it is said that nothing further, no punishment, shall be meted out to such a person other than imprisonment as a first-class misdemeanant. But that if a person breaks somebody else's window from motives of revenge or out of sheer ill-temper, that then it is proper to treat the offender as a second or third-class misdemeanant. That, I take it, is the statement. So that the motive in the case of that particular offence is to be the determining line as to the class in which the prisoner shall be put. I understand, also, that the nature of the offence is not to be taken into account. . . . Mr. Atherton-Jones in his opening statement gave ground for understanding how it is that the policy may have differed in past times when the prisoners were not under the Home Office. But I am dealing now with administration in the Home Office. There we have no record of anybody being treated differently from any other prisoner. That is a pure figment of the modern imagination. I applied to the Irish Office, and an told that the Irish Office there is no such distinction drawn; that a prisoner who has committed a crime amenable to the ordinary law, is treated under the ordinary law. It is quite true that in Ireland, under the Irish law, prisoners who are committed in default of bail are treated with all the privileges of untried prisoners, but that is under the Irish law, and applies to all prisoners who are committed in default of bail. And probably as a good many of those prisoners who will be committed to prison in Ireland have been committed in default of bail, there would be the impression that they were receiving benefit as political prisoners. It is not so.

Let me come to the Jameson Raid. Were they treated as political offenders? The only record I have been able to find of the case is the letter of the Home Secretary of the day to the Lord Chief Justice who tried the case. The Lord Chief Justice did not find that they were political prisoners. There is not the slightest indication of any kind whatsoever that that was the ground of their exceptional treatment. In fact, I have got record after record of instances in which the doctrine has been repudiated, and I cannot find a single case where there has been any such recognition of differential treatment. . . . Parliament in certain cases has laid it down by statute what prisoners shall receive treatment in the first division. Prisoners guilty of seditious libel are by statute, if found guilty, placed in the first division. Prisoners guilty of offences against the Vaccination Acts, if found guilty, are placed in the first division. But mark the distinction here. Suppose any person who in the course of agitation for an extension or a repeal of the Vaccination Acts commits an offence by obstructing or assaulting the police; such a person does not get placed in the first division. He may be placed in the second or third division, or get hard labour. Therefore you have an offence against the Vaccination Acts defined by Parliament as an offence for which a person shall be placed in the first division. But an offence arising out of the Vaccination Acts—such an offence as you would call a political offence—is not so defined by Parliament, and a person could be sentenced to the second or third division.

So you see Parliament has itself drawn a very clear distinction between the kinds of offence which must be punished in the first division and offences in which complete discretion is left to the judge who tries the case.

Mr. Atherton-Jones thanked Mr. McKenna for receiving the deputation, and at the same time expressed the dissatisfaction of the deputation with the answer received.

THE BY-ELECTIONS.

SOUTH HACKNEY.

Mr. Hector Gibson (C) 5,339
Mr. J. C. Gibson (C) 4,836
Lib. Maj. 503

The magnificent result in reducing to 600 a Liberal majority of nearly 2,000, which Suffragettes had been hailed with gladness and the Government with consternation.

The lightning campaign of four days is ended, but we come away feeling convinced that the Suffrage seed has fallen on to good soil, and we shall see the fruits of our labours after many days.

NORFOLK NORTH-WEST.

Mr. Hemmings (L) 5,339
Mr. N. J. Sedell (C) 4,836
W.S.P.U. Organisers: Miss West, Miss G. Roe, W.S.P.U. Com. Rooms, Market Place, King's Lynn.

The organisers from the various districts report well attended meetings and keenly interested audiences. They write: "A most successful demonstration was held in the Tuesday Market Place, King's Lynn, on Saturday night, when Miss Brackenbury, Miss Jarvis, and Miss Nancy Lightman spoke."

MASS MEETING OF SUPFRAGISTS.

Suffragists from all parts of Ireland will attend the mass meeting in the Antient Concert Rooms, Dublin, to-morrow (Saturday), June 1, at 8 p.m. The speakers will consist exclusively of women.

SOME PRESS OPINIONS.

We hold that the time has come for reviewing the whole of the cases arising out of the window-smashing raid. These suffrage prisoners are not ordinary offenders.

With the sentences on the Suffragist leaders an invisible as well as the visible trial concluded at the Old Bailey yesterday. The Government was also on its trial for cowardice, insincerity, or both.

AT MERTHYR TYDVIL.

THE W.S.P.U. CAMPAIGN.

An important discussion took place at the I.L.P. Conference at Merthyr Tydvil last week on the following paragraph in the Report:

In reply to a deputation the Prime Minister announced that it was the intention of the Government to introduce a Manhood Suffrage Bill during the present Session. The N.A.C. immediately took action, and passed the following resolution:

Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., pointed out the acceptance of the paragraph bound the party to oppose any Reform Bill which purports to give more votes to men without extending the vote to women.

Mr. Armstrong (Holbeck) proposed the reference back of the paragraph, and urged that the Labour Party should take every extension of the franchise they could get.

Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., in a moving speech said he detested the vote for women because they are human beings. The Suffragists had with reason come to refuse to believe the word of Tories and Liberals.

The W.S.P.U. organiser writes: "We have conducted a very vigorous campaign for the last week, and have fought by a house to house canvass a very great deal of sympathy and understanding."

Many delegates attended. Mr. Keir Hardie, from the Chair, paid a great tribute to the work of the W.S.P.U. and to their militant methods.

Each charge had to be put in a separate count, and that has been done, and the multiplication of counts. The substance of the charge against them, I opened to you, and I have stated it again to-day.

Mr. Lawrence's Position. Each charge had to be put in a separate count, and that has been done, and the multiplication of counts. The substance of the charge against them, I opened to you, and I have stated it again to-day.

THE CONSPIRACY TRIAL AT THE OLD BAILEY.

(Continued from Page 563.) Margaret Cousins, honorary secretary of the Irish Women's Franchise League. It ran—

Dublin, February 29, 1912. Dear Mrs. Pankhurst—Thank you very much for your kind letter. We shall certainly send you some representative—at least six; but in view of the fact that a great deal of local militant work will have to be done at the time of the National Congress, several of our members who cannot face this latter occasion, will have to be excused.

Then, it is said that there is no combination, no preconceived plan to get these persons to come here to make this attack! (Continuing to read)—

I hope more members from other parts of Ireland and from other societies will also join the deputation, that they may be able to force the Cabinet to unite on the subject and bring in a Bill.

Dear Miss Evans—All the organisers taking part in the forthcoming protest should be most careful not to take any action which might be construed as a breach of the peace.

Mr. Peckh Lawrence: There is no evidence put forward that I had a list before the women were actually in custody.

Mr. Peckh Lawrence: After they had been arrested. The Attorney-General: Of course, that is what I am stating. The list must have been taken from the register, otherwise how could he know the people who were to be bailed out?

Mr. Peckh Lawrence: I don't want to dwell further upon it. It is quite clear that the editor would be responsible for anything published in it. With regard to Mrs. Peckh Lawrence, there are one or two special matters to which I wish to draw your attention.

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that it is not the only criticism I venture to make upon it. He has, in fact, been taking an active part in it from the very first. He has been joint editor of VOTES FOR WOMEN, and it is upon the passages in VOTES FOR WOMEN that we have relied to a great extent in this case.

Then again I find on December 1, by him, as editor of the paper—I don't mean to say that he wrote it, but for which he is responsible as the publisher—an article signed Christabel Pankhurst, called "Broken Windows." In plain and unvarnished terms it is put forward. I can quite understand a position taken up by the defendants if they said, "Yes, we have done it, but we are proud of it, and will suffer for it," but I find it difficult to understand when they have done it and say they are not responsible for it, and seek to shelter themselves from it.

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been made, because the Prime Minister had been obliged to leave the building without completing a single sentence. You will remember that that was the housing down of Ministers who had had gone to the City Temple to speak on a non-political subject. Mr. Peckh Lawrence may think that a perfectly justifiable proceeding. He will find to understand that it is. And to encourage it, and to approve of it, he makes this speech, explaining the policy of palliation. How then can he say that he is not to be held responsible as well as the others?

Then again I find on December 1, by him, as editor of the paper—I don't mean to say that he wrote it, but for which he is responsible as the publisher—an article signed Christabel Pankhurst, called "Broken Windows." In plain and unvarnished terms it is put forward. I can quite understand a position taken up by the defendants if they said, "Yes, we have done it, but we are proud of it, and will suffer for it," but I find it difficult to understand when they have done it and say they are not responsible for it, and seek to shelter themselves from it.

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Mr. Peckh Lawrence said he thought it had been admitted that this police report evidence was so unreliable that it was not to be put in.

The Judge: He took down parts of the speeches; it was not verbatim. He said that while he had taken down extracts, that he held a certificate for 110 words a minute; and that every sentence he took down was a full sentence.

Mr. Peckh Lawrence: He afterwards admitted in cross-examination that he had broken up sentences, and had taken different words from different sentences and made them run into a consecutive sentence.

Mr. Bodkin: I re-examined him as to whether he was prepared to swear that what he had got down in his notes were words actually uttered.

Mr. Peckh Lawrence: But it was not necessarily uttered in the sequence in which he put it down.

The Judge: Yes, I thought so. The Attorney-General: I don't care a bit about the sequence. The sequence is quite immaterial so long as there are references to the breaking of windows.

Mr. Peckh Lawrence: The witness said, "We will go forward and see violence." That was never said. Every word used in that sentence may have been uttered, and these words have been extracted from various sentences and put together in the form he gave. What was actually said was that violence had been used to the articles.

The witness admitted that by stringing them together to make a consecutive sentence, although it entirely distorted their meaning.

Mr. Peckh Lawrence: I do not care whether it comes in sequence or not. The only point I am relying upon in that evidence is that the definite statement was made there with reference to the breaking of windows. What was known in that speech has not been controverted in evidence—the desire to stagger humanity in order to get the Government to give them their freedom.

Counsel went on to quote from the speech delivered by Mrs. Peckh Lawrence on February 15, 1912, at the Savoy Theatre, the speech in which she said: "Too many women for prison means no prison for anyone."

Next counsel quoted from Mrs. Peckh Lawrence's speech at the London Pavilion, in which she said: "I do not care whether it comes in sequence or not."

The witness is turning at last. I look at these broken windows and I know the message that are rising out of them. We have asked for bread, and they have given us a stone; but stones, like chickens, come home to roost.

Mr. Peckh Lawrence, counsel added, had never called any evidence to dispute those statements, and that proved the correctness of the report.

Mr. Healy: What counts is it that these extracts refer to? Is it conspiracy or incitement?

The Attorney-General: I thought I had made it quite plain that I am relying upon the conspiracy of persons who are acting together for an unlawful purpose, to carry out an unlawful scheme. Then, with reference to incitement, these speeches were made; the circulars were issued as incitements to the persons to whom they were sent. I prove further that a number of persons have come forward, did come forward on November 21, and also on March 1 and on March 4, in answer to appeals which had been made, and which have appeared in the paper of which she is the joint editor with Mr. Peckh Lawrence; and that the speeches are made, circulars are sent out, and the register of volunteers is kept. Now, in reference to all these, the point that I make is this: that if you have got a number of persons engaged in, at that moment, what was a combination to do things wrong, unlawful things, such as conspiracy, and which jeopardised to some extent the position of the Association, because some claim may be made upon it. She presided at the Albert Hall meeting, at which she announced the march to Parliament Square on November 21. She was a signatory to the circulars to which so much reference has been made on November 11. The circular (exhibit 127) in which she says, "We have come to a very grave crisis." And then she goes on to say, "If you have already sent in your name for active service."

mited by card, and from it they go to their appointed places to break windows.

Mrs. Pankhurst.

I have said that I would deal with Mrs. Pankhurst. Mrs. Pankhurst, before she returned to England, sent messages, in one of which she said, "I share your indignation with the Government's insult to woman, and am ready to renew the fight when I return from America." Mrs. Pankhurst, of course, is the founder and hon. sec. of the Women's Social and Political Union. She was a leader, if not the leader, of the movement, and on January 26, when she returned, she passed a very great tribute to the courage of her colleagues, praising them up to the skies, and congratulating them on their praiseworthy courage, and devotion in the crisis they were called upon to face. All that had received to November 21. On January 22 she said:

I call on all the women here to volunteer for the next protest. If they refuse that deputation to go to the Bar of the House of Commons, then I will be the first to throw.

Counsel next read the letter of February 17, 1912, by Mrs. Pankhurst, in which she asked sympathisers to join in making a great militant protest on March 4. This was followed by another letter telling the volunteers where to go. Then there was the letter to Dr. Shaw, in which Mrs. Pankhurst spoke of the preliminary unannounced affair, in which some of the "had bold ones" would take part.

The Attorney-General said he had pointed out only the salient features of the evidence which were sufficient in themselves, and he submitted that there was strong evidence against all the defendants, the evidence which remained quite uncontradicted. During the course of this investigation, he proceeded, you have heard naturally a great deal about the wrongs of women. I certainly do not intend to argue about that here before you, but I think sometimes it might be remembered that women, after all, hold a very high place in the estimation of men, whether they are in favour of the suffrage or whether they are not. That seems sometimes to be altogether lost sight of. We have had references made by the defendants which would suggest the often proper consideration is not shown to them, and that, therefore, they require the suffrage. Gentlemen, I do not want, and I am sure you do not want, to ask any such question. But I do think that when we hear so much about the wrongs from which women are said to be suffering at the hands of men—

Mrs. Pankhurst: No, my lord, no one has said that. We have said that we are taxed without being represented, and we want the right of self-government so that we may get the wrongs of women redressed in the way accepted in the case of men.

The Attorney-General: Gentlemen, I ask you always to remember this: That, in these matters, and particularly in moments of danger, the balance is not all on the side of man. As we know from events of recent occurrence, where there is grave peril, and when there is a question of only limited safety, being in peril, we know that the order that has gone forth is "women and children first."

Mrs. Pankhurst: What about the women on the streets?

An Evasive Reply.

The Attorney-General: I am not asking that you should pay too much attention to that. I only make that observation so that you may not lose sight of it, if you are in any way influenced by what has been said during the course of this case.

In conclusion, I would ask you to do your duty according to your oath, to remember that in this matter you have to judge, bearing in mind, not for the purpose of using it against the defendants or for the purpose of straining the evidence, but in order that you may properly and efficiently discharge the duty which you have sworn to fulfil. I ask you to take into account the evidence which has been given to you and only that evidence. And if you are satisfied, if you come to the conclusion upon consideration of that evidence, and with such direction of law and other assistance as my lord will be pleased to give you, that in fact the acts to which I have called attention did take place, and that the defendants were responsible for them, then I submit to you—whatever motive they may originally have had in doing these acts is quite immaterial and unnecessary for you to consider. There I leave the case with you, satisfied as I am that you will deal properly with it, giving every attention, as you have done most patiently from the first, and that you will record your verdict upon the evidence which has been laid before you and upon that alone.

JUDGE'S SUMMING UP.

The Judge then summed up as follows: We now come to the conclusion of a long investigation, and whatever criticism of our proceedings there may be, I do not think it will be laid to the door of this Court that the accused persons have not had an open, free, full and impartial inquiry. They are charged with certain offences against the law, and they are charged, it is true, in an indictment which has been criticised because it is voluminous. That is necessary. If the indictment had been less voluminous, it would have been open to the criticism by the

accused that where the indictment did not allude to any particular act charged, they were not in peril on that charge. And, therefore, it is that the necessities of the law require a certain amount of voluminousness—it may be legal verbosity—in the indictment which is preferred. And, after all, these three accused persons are of high intelligence; one of them learned in the law, and I do not think that the indictment could have caused them any trouble in understanding it. The Attorney-General proceeded to make a brief epitome of the indictment, for an abstract of which see VOTES FOR WOMEN for May 17.

And if, he continued, it has been brought home to their door that they did incite any one of the women, your verdict must be against them in regard to that particular charge, if the charge be proved. They are also charged with committing the damage themselves, and that is a legal inference to be drawn from the facts of the case, because although it is not suggested that of any particular acts charged they were the actual authors, although they were not present when the acts were committed, it is alleged that they were accessories to what was done, and that they procured and counselled the acts, or any of them, to be committed.



Panbridge's Pictorial Press. Mr. and Mrs. Petrick Lawrence arriving at the Old Bailey on the last day of the Trial.

and if they did that, they can be, by the law, indicted and tried and convicted, although they were the actual authors of the acts themselves.

What is Conspiracy?

Conspiracy is the joining together of two or more minds to effect an unlawful purpose or to do an unlawful act. It stands to reason from that definition that one person cannot conspire alone. The conspiracy exists in the agreement of two or more minds, an agreement for the common and the unlawful purpose. And if two of these persons agreed, they may be found guilty, although the other person may not have agreed, even if they be all jointly charged together. Not that I am suggesting any distinction between the cases in that regard. All who so agree are guilty of the crime of conspiracy. It is the agreement in itself that is the crime, and it matters not whether the object be carried into effect or be attained; the agreement to do the unlawful act is the conspiracy, and the conspiracy is the crime.

What is Incitement?

In the eyes of the law it is incitement to commit an unlawful act that is unlawful in itself. It matters not whether the incitement, again, be effected. The person incited, it is quite clear, may change his or her mind, but if the incitement be proved the crime has been committed.

Now, to prove the incitement in any particular case, you have heard the arguments that have been addressed to the Court. It is well I should point out to you that it must be shown that something which the accused persons said or did reached the mind of the person incited. You remember a case was quoted to the

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Court in which there was an incitement to murder, but the incitement never reached the person incited, because he was dead before the letter reached him. And although the moral guilt on the inciter was the same, legally, it could not be

Now you must be satisfied in each of these cases, whether it be incitement and counselling to murder, or whether it be by way of conspiracy, you must be satisfied in each case in regard to each of the persons accused that the proof of the charges that it is sought to establish against them is brought home to your reasonable conviction. And if a doubt—not an unreasoning or fanciful doubt, certainly not a doubt which arises from any pre-conceived idea or prejudice of your own, should affect your mind, but if it is some reasonable doubt—the accused are entitled to say the case has not been proved beyond that reasonable doubt. And in the presence of that reasonable doubt you are entitled to say that the charge—a particular charge—has not been made out against them. That is a common place of our Courts, and I will not refer to it again; and whatever thing I say to you during the course of my remarks, don't forget that all that I say is qualified by what I have said in regard to the necessity of strict and necessary proof.

Now, gentlemen, to go on, let me say a word or two in regard to the proof by speech. I wish to say in as public a manner as I can say it, that the bare academic expression of opinion in this country is free. Avoid blasphemy, avoid indecency, avoid defamatory matter, and you may express—and I hope juries will always bear that in mind—you may express what opinions you please without fear of the law. Juries are not, and ought not to be, the custodians or the judges of the views of others. The most unpopular views often slowly, painfully, and against heated opposition, win their way to a recognition of their truth in the minds of men, and it is well that it should be so. But a speech which incites others, if it does so incite them, a speech which incites others to commit unlawful acts differs not in degree, but in kind from the bare expression of an opinion. The difference between, for instance, to give an illustration, the difference between expressing an academic opinion that history furnishes us with examples that revolution has oftentimes effected a beneficial change in the constitution, and the conspiring with others and inciting others to revolt—the difference between those two statements, when you come to reflect upon it, are as wide as the Poles asunder. The one is a free and lawful expression of opinion, the other is a crime, and must always be a crime in all civilised communities where law and order prevail, and must in the interest of all be enforced. But, in the matter of speech as contrasted with the written word, the law is charitable. It is so in the case of defamation, where you may say things of a man defamatory which you may not write, and in the words of a great authority I would say this, quoting, "Writings are permanent things. They are acts of deliberation capable of satisfactory proof, and are not ordinarily liable to misconstruction. At least, they are submitted to the judgment of the Court naked and undisguised as they come out of the author's hands. Words are transient, and as fleeting as the wind. The poison they scatter is always confined to the narrow circle of a few hearers. They are frequently the effects of a sudden transport, usually misunderstood, and often misrepresented." Therefore, it is that having regard to the wise and eloquent words of that great authority, I have taken what pains I could in this case to exclude evidence imputing, in imputed speech, where I thought there was any possibility that any error had crept in. Anyone who has ever stood before an audience must know how often words, a phrase, a sentence, issues from the person, a moment's courage of the brain, without adequate reflection, and sensible men will excuse them, will make allowance for them, and will not necessarily think that they reflected the settled purpose of the speaker, where from evidence, as from the circumstances of the moment, or from the subsequent utterances or conduct of the speaker, it appears that they have been loose words, loose words only, not illustrating any settled purpose, and not intended to have any permanent effect. Then the nature of the audience, too, has to be considered.

The speaker must consider this, and be responsible accordingly. Words addressed to a Chamber of Commerce may be harmless which might be provocative of disorder if addressed to an assembly of women of all ages, under circumstances of excitement and of passion; and the speaker must remember that. But, gentlemen, where the words spoken are revised, where they are published, where the authority of the speaker, it is in vain then for the speaker

to escape from the natural responsibility attaching to his utterances. Some of the strongest expressions upon which the prosecution rely on evidence of inciting language have neither been denied nor disavowed by any of the accused persons. The paper, VOTES FOR WOMEN, in regard to which the prosecution allege responsibility of all of the accused, has published some of these alleged incitements, thereby undermining, in my view, the argument in palliation of their use, that they were loose words only, and not representing the settled purpose of the speaker.

Some History.
The history of the case appears to be this. I am not going to elaborate. I will give you credit for intelligence and memory. The Women's Social and Political Union is an organisation which was started in some years ago, somewhere about 1903. It is not suggested that the Union itself was an illegal association. It formed, it is true, the most forward, and not to use an offensive expression, the most aggressive branch of the various organisations working towards the common object of the enfranchisement of women. Mrs. Pankhurst was the founder and the hon. sec. Mrs. Christabel Pankhurst was the organising secretary. It had an account at Barclay's Bank, the main account which arose from Social and Political Union. That account was operated on by Mr. and Mrs. Petrick Lawrence, by Mrs. Luke, and by Miss Christabel Pankhurst. Cheques signed by any two of them were the authority to draw. One of the two had to be either Mr. or Mrs. Petrick Lawrence. Mr. and Mrs. Petrick Lawrence, however, as we have seen, Mr. Petrick Lawrence has absconded—(laughter)—and the police are unable to trace her whereabouts. There was another account operated on in the same way, called the Meetings Account, which, obviously was drawn upon for the purpose of defraying the expenses of meetings. There was another account, the VOTES FOR WOMEN account, and that obviously represented the account connected with the paper, VOTES FOR WOMEN, which was the organ of the Union, and that account was operated upon by Mr. Petrick Lawrence alone, he being one of the two editors of that paper. And as he has said—he has acknowledged it—the inference of the law would be that he is responsible for what has appeared in the paper of which he is the editor. He has told you that he does not in any way disclaim that responsibility.

There was, also, an account, the "Woman's Press Account," and that was operated upon solely by Mr. Petrick Lawrence, and that was obviously the account dealing with the office in Charing Cross Road which played such a prominent part in the disturbance of November 21. Mr. Petrick Lawrence also had a private account at the same bank, with which we need not deal. Large sums were transferred from time to time from one account to the other and back again. But, without going into the intricacies of the intestine finance, suffice it to say that it is a reasonable inference that from one or other of these accounts the whole expenses of the movement were defrayed—the hiring of halls, the printing of the paper, the pamphlets, the leaflets, the offices, the residential chambers, everything. The home of this organisation or industry was 3 and 4 and 5 and 6, Clement's Inn, consisting partly of rooms and offices and partly of residential

chambers. The residential chambers were in all rented at £270 a year by Mr. Petrick Lawrence, and he and Mrs. Petrick Lawrence lived there. Mr. Petrick Lawrence is also the tenant of the offices of the Woman's Press, in Charing Cross Road. He rented it at a rental of £275 per annum. That is the substance of the finance of the various branches of this organisation. There was later an office taken at the Gardonia Restaurant, which view, the argument in palliation of their use, that they were loose words only, and not representing the settled purpose of the speaker.

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A Campaign of Militancy.

A meeting was held at the Steinway Hall, as we have heard, at which it would seem that Mrs. Pankhurst urged militancy. Now I agree with the Attorney-General that too much importance must not necessarily be attached to an epithet of that kind. Our peaceful struggles are generally conducted under the most military phrases. We talk of soldiers, armies, battles, campaigns, officers, camps, routing the enemy, swords, weapons, victory, and all the rest of it in the most harmless oratorical manner. I think Mrs. Pankhurst actually alluded to "the Church militant" to show that the word was a harmless oratorical flourish. But it is for you to say whether, under the circumstances as disclosed in this case, the word militant used so often in connection with the methods of the movement, was a mere harmless oratorical flourish or whether it was meant or understood to mean a deliberate policy of breaking the law.

Now the action of the Government, of which we have heard so much, the attitude of its individual members, divided as it was, and as the Opposition was, divided in personal opinion as to the subject of women's franchise—all this really, when you come to reflect upon it, has no bearing whatever upon the issue which we are now investigating. What Mr. Asquith said, what Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Hobhouse, or Sir Edward Carson—these, I think, are the four names which have been mentioned so often—I believe that the Attorney-General, on some occasion, was also mentioned—all this, has it any bearing upon the nature of the charge which you are investigating? I understand, I gather from the evidence, that there was a Conciliation Bill, which was thought to be a mode of compromising between the contending parties—those who wished only a few women, those who wished all women to have votes—there was some Conciliation Bill by which, in my view, it was thought larger concessions might be secured than by any other form of women's franchise reform, and it was said, so I understand, to have been jeopardised in some measure by the announcement on November 7, I think it was, of a proposal, by the Prime Minister, to advocate manhood suffrage, coupled with a promise—so I understand it, to include women on the same terms as men, if the House of Commons should so decide. But apparently the chief violence and the wrath of the Association or Union was heaped upon the head of Mr. Lloyd George, and the only speech that has been put in in evidence of Mr. Lloyd George is the speech of an ardent advocate of the Suffrage to women, and I say—I walk diffidently in these matters, but it seems to me a piece of topey-turveydom for them to attack most strenuously the person who

is most ardently in favour of their cause. As I say, I am not gifted with the requisite intelligence to understand it, and, so, I must be pitted rather than censured. Mrs. Pankhurst made great play on some refusal of the Prime Minister to receive a deputation in person. I think she forgot that in the earlier stage, before the events of November 21, it appears that an influential deputation was received by the Prime Minister, and a long account of it appears in the Press—in which they ask him all the questions they dared to ask. Mrs. Pankhurst: No, my lord.

The Iniquities of the Government.

The Judge (continuing): And apparently from every quarter. The position of the Government might be satisfactory or it might be unsatisfactory, but at any rate it was perfectly clearly indicated and laid down by the Prime Minister to them, and that before many of the explosions took place. I must say they seemed to have treated him with more candour than civility, because I read that Mrs. Pankhurst said, "Then you can go, and we will get another head." They were apparently very straightforward in the language they addressed to him. But the argument that chooses to force itself upon him, the busiest man in the country, whoever he may be, is bound to be at the beck and call of anybody, of any woman, apparently, who chooses to force herself upon him, and that the Constitution demands this from the Prime Minister—well, all I can say is that it would require none but a very idle mind to occupy that distinguished position. I mention these facts to explain how it is that the speeches and articles, on and after November 17, seem to deal with two main subjects. Firstly,

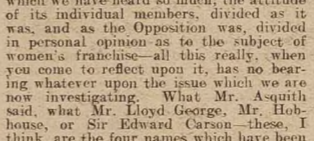
Evidence of Conspiracy.

It was at that meeting, and after he had heard that appeal, that Mr. Petrick Law-

and, secondly, the advocacy of militancy, whatever that may be.

Now, come to the evidence. Mrs. Pankhurst apparently left this country at the beginning of September and did not return until January 22. I think that is the first date on which any speech is delivered by her. And the prosecution say that so far as any incitement is concerned in regard to the matters of November 21, no charge is made against her in that regard. That, of course, does not mean any withdrawal concerning the accusation that she did, though she was in America, nevertheless conspire with the other two defendants to incite others to break the law. Now, on November 15, 1911, there appears to be a letter from Mrs. Petrick Lawrence addressed to "Dear Colleague in the Women's Movement," in which she asks for volunteers in a protest. "Against this outrage upon the honour of women," and in which she called upon women to join in that protest, and to put aside considerations of health; how was health to be endangered by an innocent, lawful act on the part of anyone? They were asked to put aside business and private relationship, so that they might be able to strike a blow against the enslavement of half of the nation. They were invited to come for active service, and to send in their names for tabulation in a register. Then there was a meeting at the Albert Hall on November 16 at which Mrs. Petrick Lawrence spoke. (The Judge here quoted from that speech.) That is the way, he said, in which Mrs. Petrick Lawrence urged the meeting to take action, and she called upon women to support them.

Waiting to cheer the Leaders after the Trial.



Panbridge's Pictorial Press.

HOW WOMEN CAN MAKE MONEY BY PHOTOGRAPHY.

A New Way of Helping the Cause.

By HELEN T. WESTON.

Everybody nowadays knows how easily photographs can be taken, but very few realise how profitable results can be produced. The *Daily Mail* prize of £1,000 for the most interesting set of photographs descriptive of a holiday is a plum that may fall to anyone; there is an element of luck about it, but any woman of intelligence who possesses a camera, and can take decently presentable photographs, can make quite a respectable addition to her income, provided she knows the right way to go to work.

The professional Press photographer, who seeks to belittle the cause of the noble women who are fighting for freedom, has done his best to picture us when we are being assaulted by roughs or hustled by the police.

The dignity of the cause has in some rare cases suffered because pictures of prominent Suffragists have appeared in the newspapers showing these intellectual women with their hats awry and their hair straggling in unkempt coils.

These pictures are often taken by men who have neither the intelligence nor the desire to understand the cause for which women are fighting.

Women Press photographers have been successful as free-lances, and if only women would obtain the training that teaches how and why photographs can be made saleable, much good could be done for the cause.

It is the dignity of the Suffragist movement that we want to see pictured. The unfair impositions that man-made laws place upon women. Pictures of the women workers in the sweated trades, the chain-makers, and all the cruel indignities that womankind have to suffer.

The tuition in Press photography offered by the Practical Correspondence College, of 7, Thames House, Strand, W.C., is the only way I know of acquiring this knowledge.

From the course you may learn not only what to take and how to take it, but your work will be criticised, and you will receive such personal advice and valuable assistance that you will probably find that you have earned the tuition fee over and over again before completing the six months' course.

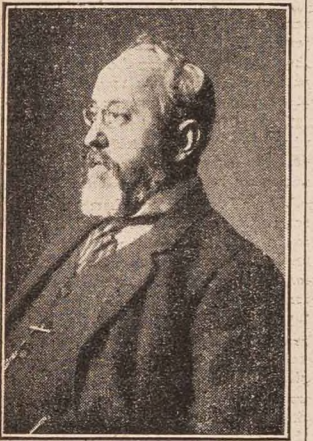
"The first lesson absolutely opened my eyes to profits I had never realised, and I know now that I have destroyed dozens of negatives that I could have turned into money if only I had taken this course earlier." That is what a student wrote recently. Why not send for particulars of the P.C.C. course, so that you can help the cause and make a profit out of the newspapers while doing it?

The College, by the way, will not enrol everyone who applies to them. It is no credit to them to have students whose work is obviously too inferior to be ever made profitable. Clean, bright prints are wanted, and if your work cannot be included in that category, well, there are no half-guineas waiting for you in the editorial exchequer.

The Secretary of the Practical Correspondence College will send you a booklet, telling you all about this money-earning course if you will send half-a-dozen of your own prints up for free criticism at the same time. If you don't send the prints they do not care to send the book, because it is only for those who are really keen. It costs you nothing, and you risk nothing, but if your work shows you are likely to profit by the course you will be told so when they send your prints back.

[ADVT.]

rence subscribed the handsome sum of £1,000. What was that £1,000 for? For pamphlets, leaflets, to help the distribution of literature, to hold peaceful public meetings...



Mrs. P. HEALY, K.C., M.P.

immediately preceding the disorders that took place. There was a procession, headed by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and that evening others went to the office of the 'Woman's Press' at Charing Cross Road...

Christabel Pankhurst, "Why We Did It." Then there begins a series of advertisements—I can only characterize them as advertisements which appear in the paper under the heading, "The Next Protest," which was an appeal for new volunteers for active service...

OATMEAL SKIN FOOD (GOSS). A PERFECT EMOLLIENT. Preserves and Beautifies the Complexion. 1/6 Tubes, 2/6 and 7/6 Jars. Prepared by S. F. GOSS, Ltd., at their Laboratories, 460, Oxford Street, W., and 17, Brompton Road, S.W.

March 4. And here comes the fixing of the date. It is to be March 4. That circular reached, amongst others, Lillian Ball. Lillian Ball had already, you will remember, on November 21, gone in response to a circular to Charing Cross Road, and had walked about with a bag of stones upon her person...

Flake SOAP IN FLAKES THE PUREST FORM OF SOAP PRODUCED. For use with all fine fabrics such as Laces, Blouses, Silks, &c., or with Flannels & Woollens usually liable to shrinkage. JOHN KNIGHT, LTD. Soap Makers by Appointment to H. M. King George V. THE ROYAL PRIMROSE SOAP WORKS, LONDON.

defence, that in law is open to them. They have not denied the facts alleged and proved; they have not denied that they agreed together to incite these other women to commit the unlawful acts which they did; they have not denied their speeches, and in some instances they have not denied the phrases used in the speeches...

Mr. Lawrence's Address to the Judge. The female prisoners had been first-class misdemeanants, for we are very strongly in favour of women being treated differently from men in a major trial and—holding them, when they are excited by public agitation, not to be fully responsible for their actions.

THE REVOLUTIONS OF YESTER-DAY. How much easier it is to praise the revolutions of yesterday than to see the one that is going on in the street outside! The Spectator (whose only fault, Mr. Zangwill once remarked, is that it does not "speak") does not think it necessary to dwell at length on the Suffragist trial, the importance of which has been much exaggerated, but goes on to wish that...

ECHOES OF CARNARVON. A long and excellent report of Mr. Lloyd George's meeting at Carnarvon, on May 18, appeared in the North Wales Chronicle for May 24. We have only space to quote the following telling extracts: "A man in the gallery who, with the best intentions, shouted 'Heddwch' (Peace) more loudly than discretion, so that the speaker's voice was drowned by the sound of his shouting..."

A GERMAN VIEW. (Translated.) Dear Editors.—Votes for Women has just arrived, as always, I sit down with great expectations. What do I see? Nino Montali! For a long time I sat as though frozen, unable to realise it. It seemed as though something monstrous had happened. I felt as if a cry of indignation must rise up from the whole English nation. I saw the whole womanhood of the world start up as though struck by a lash. It is a shame on our modern civilization, a shame above all on the English Government and its judges, on the whole nation, that such a judgment could be given. I shall keep the fine cartoon and some day show it to my children, telling them, 'Look, in the year 1912 women were treated thus because they demanded their rights, and that in a state like England, which was supposed to be in the height of civilisation.' Is there not Gamaliel who will go to your Mr. Asquith and say, 'But this movement is of God and you cannot suppress it?' The thoughts of myself and my wife will often be with them in Holloway. We are proud to know the W.S.P.U., and we send our greetings to your members.—Yours, &c., Leipzig. (DR.) GUSTAV DEINING.

Table listing names of contributors and the number of copies of 'Votes for Women' they have received. Includes names like Miss P. Marrow, Mrs. M. E. Swan, Miss G. H. Boulton, etc.

