

"The Suffragette," June 13, 1913.

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The Suffragette

Edited by Christabel Pankhurst.

The Official Organ of the
Women's Social and Political Union

No. 35—Vol. 1.

FRIDAY, JUNE 13, 1913.

Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free 1½d.)



IN HONOUR AND IN LOVING, REVERENT MEMORY
OF
EMILY WILDING DAVISON.

SHE DIED FOR WOMEN.

"Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friends."

Miss Davison, who made a protest at the Derby against the denial of Votes to Women, was knocked down by the King's horse and sustained terrible injuries of which she died on Sunday, June 8th, 1913.

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CONTENTS.

Our Cartoon	569
Review of the Week	571
250,000 Fund	572
Medical Report of Mrs. Pankhurst	573
"Conspirators" on Trial	573
Events Recorded in the Press	574-5
Emily Wilding Davison, by Christabel Pankhurst	576
A Year Ago	577
In Memoriam	578-9
Some Appreciations	580
Funeral Arrangements	581
Racing and Politics	582
Summer Festival	582
The Window-Breaking Case	583
General News	584
Campaign News	585

A Review of the Week.

Miss Emily Wilding Davison.

Miss Emily Wilding Davison died last Sunday as the result of the injuries she suffered when she made her heroic protest at the Derby. Millions of people, not only in our own country but in other countries, too, had their attention riveted upon the race. It was an unsurpassable opportunity of proclaiming to a whole world, heedless, perhaps, till then, that women claim citizenship and human rights. Miss Davison seized the opportunity, and with an amazing and incredible courage made a protest which has fired the imagination and touched the heart of the people. Her act has proved to be an appeal infinitely more eloquent than all the words of all the speakers could be. Her death has graven her appeal so deep that nothing can efface it. She has taught the world that there are women who care so passionately for the vote and all it means that they are willing to die for it.

Public Funeral Ceremonies.

Miss Davison, as our readers know, was seen by the onlookers to dash into the thick of the race. She was knocked down by the King's horse Anmer. She was carried to the Epsom hospital, and there received the most tender and unremitting care. The Queen sent several times to the hospital to inquire as to Miss Davison's condition. Members of the Union hastened to her at the earliest moment. Mr. Mansell Moullin, putting everything else aside, devoted himself to the effort to save her life. An operation was performed, but the injury she had sustained was so grave that this was of no avail. At the inquest the jury returned a verdict of death by misadventure.

The Women's Social and Political Union at once decided to arrange public funeral ceremonies in honour of Miss Davison, and full information concerning these ceremonies, which are fixed for Saturday, June 14, will be found on another page. They include a procession, in whose ranks will be welcome every Suffragist within reach of London. Mrs. Pankhurst intends to take her place in the procession.

Suffragettes v. The Law.

MRS. PANKHURST had not up to the moment of our going to press been arrested, though her seven days' licence expired on Saturday last. The conspiracy trial began at the Old Bailey last Monday, Sir John Simon, the Solicitor-General, appearing for the prosecution. Upon these proceedings we shall comment in our

next issue, by which time the jury will have given their verdict. An important event of the week is the release of Mrs. Brindley from Holloway prison at the expiration of a five months' sentence imposed upon her for window-breaking. A Suffragist who is said to have admitted in the witness-box that she was at Fisher's Park, Doncaster, with the object of burning it down, was arrested in Court. The Court have, upon the application of Mr. Drew, varied the undertaking he was coerced into signing with respect to printing the

Labour M.P.'s Bolster: Up the Government. Mr. J. R. MacDonald admits this when he says in his Parliamentary Notes in the *Leicester Pioneer*: "The House of Commons is slack. An unscrupulous use of the name of Marconi has had an alcoholic effect upon Unionists and a depressing effect upon Liberals. The Irish Members are as steady in their attendance as ever, and the Labour Party is plodding along. We have had an amendment on the paper for months, and everybody knew that as soon as the Finance Bill was brought on for the second reading this amendment would be moved and a division taken upon it, and yet when the day came 40 Liberals were away unpaired. If the Government had been defeated I dare say a great deal would have been said about the crime of the Labour Party in contributing to that end, but we are really not responsible for bringing up Liberal Members, and if their slackness turns Mr. Asquith out, their blood will be upon their heads, not upon anyone else's."

The Window-Breaking Case.

The hearing was concluded last Saturday of the case brought by the Insurance Companies in the name of Messrs. Robinson and Cleaver and other firms against Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and Mrs. Tuke, as representing herself and the members of the Women's Social and Political Union. The jury gave a verdict against all the defendants for the sum claimed, £364. Mr. Justice Darling entered judgment accordingly, but excluded from the scope of the judgment all members who joined the W.S.P.U. after March 12, 1912. Stay of execution was granted as regards the members in order that there might be an appeal on their behalf, if so desired. The matter is receiving very careful attention, and an appeal will, in all probability be made. The matter is one of vital importance not only to the W.S.P.U. but to all Trade Unions, clubs, political societies, and other non-associated bodies. In the course of the attempt to crush the women's movement, the rights of the general public are endangered at many points.

The Question of Militancy.

The *Daily News* rejoices in the judgment of the window-breaking case because it contemplates that militancy will be affected. What a pity that Liberals are so invariably shortsighted and foolish. No judge, no Court, no executioner could do any more than hinder constitutional work—they cannot even do that—they are greatly mistaken. Mr. Justice Darling administered a very stern rebuke to Mr. Hobhouse, whose action as a Cabinet Minister in inciting Suffragists to violence and arson he characterized as "a most unfortunate thing." "Perhaps," he said, "if there were many more speeches of this kind those who made them would be sued by those who suffered damage." Perhaps, we will add, Mr. Hobhouse will now be prosecuted for incitement. The judge fully and freely admitted that the W.S.P.U. conducts an important constitutional campaign.

The Government Still Going Downhill.

The Government are going downhill very fast. Apart from their policy on Woman's Suffrage, which is the prime cause of their decline, because it has alienated all those who were their most reputable, sincere, and intelligent supporters in the country, there are more Marconi revelations and suspicions of yet more revelations yet to come, not to speak of insurance discontents. The Government are doing nothing whatever to awake confidence or enthusiasm in anybody. Even their Home Rule Bill is a fraud, being designed for the benefit of men only. At all points their policy contravenes their own declared Liberal principles. They are the object of general contempt. The complaisance of their friends, the Labour M.P.'s is nevertheless maintained, and is one of the political wonders of the time. But the Government's own Liberal followers in the House of Commons are disillusioned. It is from the Liberal M.P.'s that the Government are likely to get their death-blow; for, strange though it may appear, the Liberals in the House of Commons are really more independent than the Labour Members. Labour M.P.'s bolster up the Government.

What Is Sauce For the Goose Is Not Sauce For the Gander.

The Government are still too busy persecuting the Suffragettes to have time to bring the Ulster Militants to book. Profiting by the Government's indulgence, these militant men become more defiant and lawless every day. A consignment of rifles assumed to be intended for use in the coming civil war has been seized at Belfast, and it is stated by the *Unionist Press* that thousands of these weapons have already been safely delivered. The Unionists are boasting that they have already an army many thousands strong, drilled and equipped for warfare. The officers of this rebel army are said to be men who hold commissions in the British Army. Lord Willoughby de Broke announces that the British League for the support of Ulster and the Union has nearly 150 Army agents scattered about England, who are enrolling men, and that in a short time 10,000 men will be prepared to "join Ulster in the fighting line" and to resist Home Rule by force. Meanwhile, platform incitement to violence continues. Sir Robert Anderson, who was for many years at the head of the Criminal Investigation Department at Scotland Yard, and was also "adviser to the Home Office on matters relating to political crime," said at a recent Anti-Home Rule meeting: "It is the unquestionable right of every citizen to take a rifle when the Constitution is threatened." He has not been arrested yet.

Many Fires.

A great many fires have been reported lately. Some of these are unhesitatingly attributed by the Press to the Suffragettes, either because, as they allege, literature dealing with the Suffrage question has been found in the vicinity of the fire, or because "suspicious-looking" women have been seen near the burnt premises. The newspaper accounts of other fires make no reference to the Suffragettes, but everybody is speculating as to whether or no the Suffragettes are responsible. More and more strong grows the public belief that by driving women to such serious acts the Government are pursuing a criminal policy. At first the public blamed the women; now all who can reason at all are blaming the Government.

An Interesting Case.

In the case of the London Manchester Insurance Company, Ltd., against Heath, which

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On Friday Miss Ker Mrs. Sanpoared at gether arrested France omanded i dandy, and chemist, on Thurs Drew, m whose in of I apprehen The ch stated as Per havi Pankhurst, other men Political U other date image, u, belonging to the Malicou Mr. Bod Mr. Williar of the Dirc McDonald Draw, and fendants. Mr. Bod arrests since trate. Owin to be dealt to open the for a further had been gi In the o inspector F that at 11 went to M Miss Kenney the vestibili Riots, 1831. documents: a bedroom, nry's room, some writin d the wi residence in warrant to "I think it an an extr cause. Who The witness papers," sh the card he The defenda wrote that, thing at th letter add the witness' duced and t the handwri four docum Miss Kenney went to Mr

came before the Court of Appeal last week, it was decided that the Suffragist window-breaking in March of last year did not amount to "Civil Commotion," and that therefore damage done was not within the scope of an insurance against that risk. In the course of his judgment, Lord Justice Vaughan Williams said:

Civil commotion means that which Lord Mansfield says it means. He said: "I think a civil commotion is this: an insurrection of the people for general purposes, though it may not amount to a rebellion where there is usurped power." That is the definition which I adopt. In the case before Lord Mansfield the facts were such as to make it a vexed question whether it was a civil commotion or whether it was a rebellion, or whether it was a riot. There was a general rising up of the people to do terrible things, and terrible things were done, even to the attacking of the Bank of England. . . . If the definition of civil commotion by Lord Mansfield is always to limit the meaning of the words "civil commotion," notwithstanding any change by the people of this country in the manner of asserting their rights, according to their view, rights, then it is plain that in this case there has been no insurrection though not amounting to rebellion. That the method of asserting such rights by violence of some sort is very different from what it was in the time of Lord Mansfield I have no doubt. Such violent methods are not limited to the violence of suffragists. It may be answered that those who have come in insurance policies to have a fixed meaning or a fixed construction; and I think this is true, and somewhat reluctantly have come to the conclusion that this appeal must be dismissed.

Lord Justice Buckley in the course of his judgment said:

There is no need to express an opinion upon the general question whether the original suffragette movement, which has become so notorious, is or may beget or become civil commotion. The evidence given is evidence of a number of separate criminal acts committed by violence in the sense that a hammer was used to break a window, but without violence or intention to commit violence in the sense of assault upon anyone. This does not in my opinion disclose a state of facts upon which it could be found that there was civil commotion.

Reports That Are a Public Danger.

In the course of her recent trial, Mrs. Pankhurst had occasion to complain of the inaccurate and incomplete and garbled reports of her speeches taken by police reporters and put forward by the prosecution as evidence against her. Her protest finds powerful support by an expert. The newspapers report that:

One of the speakers at a meeting in connection with the Pitman Centenary called attention to the practice—a departure, he said, of quite recent date—of deputing police officers who write shorthand to take notes of speeches which it is expected will give ground for some criminal prosecution. The speaker, who is an expert shorthand writer occupying an important position, said that to be of any value whatever in criminal proceedings a shorthand note must be as perfect as the circumstances permitted, and it must be free from any suspicion of partiality, even to the length of debarring the shorthand writer from any direction as to what he shall take down. This is only another way of saying it must be perfect. In the speaker's opinion, the authorities had erred in thinking that a shorthand note, though not quite perfect, was better than none at all. Such a note was worse than useless. If unsuccessfully used, it might cause the breakdown of a prosecution otherwise sustainable, and the probability of its successful use in an otherwise weak prosecution constitutes a real public danger. From this it will be seen that the police reports of Suffragette speeches are totally inadmissible as evidence, if only because the police reporters pick and choose which portions of a speech they shall report, taking down in very imperfect fashion only those remarks which seem to them incriminating and ignoring all the rest.

MRS. PANKHURST. Owing to Mrs. Pankhurst's weak and exhausted condition of health on her release from Holloway, her progress towards recovery is necessarily slow. Mrs. Pankhurst is still confined to her room, and visitors are rigorously excluded. The licence under which she was released from prison expired at midnight on Saturday. Up to the present, however, there has been no attempt at re-arrest, and on account of her extreme weakness it is thought that there is very little prospect of any immediate action being taken in the matter.

It is stated that the house in which Mrs. Pankhurst is being nursed back to health is under constant police supervision.

MEDICAL REPORT Mrs. Pankhurst has gained in weight, and there is some improvement in her general condition. Owing to the extreme degree of weakness and exhaustion to which she has been reduced, she is regaining her strength very slowly.

The £250,000 Fund.

Contributions May 14 to May 31.

Table listing contributions to the £250,000 fund from May 14 to May 31. Includes names like Anon., Miss L. G. Keene, Mrs. W.S.P.U., and various individuals with their respective contribution amounts.

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AT THE OLD BAILEY.

The "Conspirators" On Trial. THE CASE PROCEEDING.

Monday, June 9, at the Old Bailey, before Mr. Justice Phillimore, the trial was begun of Miss Kenney, Miss Kerr, Miss Lake, Miss Barrett, Miss Lennox, Mrs. Sanders, and Mr. Clayton. The counts in the indictment against the defendants are: 1. Conspiring together, and with other persons, to inflict damage, injury, and spoil on houses, goods and chattels belonging to divers subjects of the King. 2. Conspiring together to incite other persons, members of the Women's Social and Political Union and others, unlawfully to commit damage to plate-glass windows. 3. Conspiring together unlawfully to place in Post Office-boxes certain notices and deleterious fluids. 4. Soliciting, inducing certain women to commit the last-mentioned offence. 5. Unlawfully conspiring together to give false alarms of fire to the London Fire Brigade. All the defendants pleaded not guilty. Counsel engaged in the case are: For the prosecution, the Solicitor-General (Sir A. Simon, B.C.), Mr. A. H. Byles, Mr. Travers Humphreys, and Mr. G. H. B. Branson; for the defence, Mr. J. M. and Mr. Adrian Clark; Mr. Sanders; Mr. Theobald Mathew and Mr. H. Primrose; for Miss Kenney, Mr. C. A. McCurdy; for Miss Lake, Miss Barrett, and Miss Lennox; Mr. Cecil White for Mr. Clayton. Miss Kenney defends herself.

The Case for the Prosecution.

In opening the case on Monday last, the Solicitor-General said that the defendants were charged with conspiring with Mrs. Pankhurst and also with Mrs. Drummond. The latter was before the magistrate in connection with the affair, but was not now well enough to be present. It was also alleged that they had conspired with other persons, of whom 46 were women. Those 46 or 47 persons were named because the prosecution would be able to show that their names were recorded by the association of which the female defendants were important members as having committed crimes and the prosecution suggested that they had been encouraged and incited to commit them. They all know that the declared object of the association was to extend the franchise to women. It was suggested that they had done so without success. Evidently they had promoted or opposed that object, and the only rule which the law laid down was that the method they employed must be lawful. The allegation against the defendants was that whether their object was good or bad, the methods which they thought fit to pursue and to encourage others to pursue, and which they had carefully organised, were plain breaches of the criminal law, and it mattered not how good their object might be.

The annual report of the Women's Social and Political Union stated that Mrs. Pankhurst, its founder and treasurer, was constantly taking part in the work of the Union at its premises. Miss Kerr was the manager; Miss Lake appeared to have concerned herself more particularly with the publication of the newspaper, the "Suffragette"; and Miss Barrett was chief sub-editor of the paper. No doubt some of the more important things in the paper were supplied from Paris by Miss Christabel Pankhurst. Miss Barrett had been making speeches; Miss Lennox was also in the editorial department; and Mrs. Sanders was the financial secretary. The banking account was kept in her name, and very considerable sums of money passed into it.

Medals and "Crime Books."

Miss Kenney held a very important appointment of general organiser. The police had found documents showing a most astonishing degree of recklessness on Mr. Clayton's part, because he seemed to have been planning outrages far more serious than the minor outrages which took place. As indicating the extraordinarily complete way in which the leaders of the movement could control these outbreaks the Solicitor-General referred to the "crime books" which were proclaimed at the time when the Franchise Bill was before Parliament, remarking that during that

period there was not a single recorded case of outrage in the supposed interests of the movement. At the offices of the Union the police found what were practically two "crime books," in which were recorded the names of persons charged, the places, the charge made, and the result. It appeared that they provided people who at their instigation had committed crime with medals with clasps as if they were soldiers engaged in a campaign. They had spent a large sum of money in defending people and in paying the expenses when they went to do things. There were actually found receipts for the expenses of the persons who went over to Dublin to see if they could set fire to a theatre there.

Witnesses were then examined with regard to the printing of the "Suffragette." Mr. Rolfe, of Messrs. Love and Malcolmson, Holborn, stated that his firm was printing the issue of the "Suffragette" for May 2 when the police came and removed type and proof. Miss Annie Kenney (cross-examined) put this question, as she would have to take the witness's answer. Is it not as likely that the documents belong to my sister, Jessie Kenney?—I answer on that point, You slept there that night and your sister did not. Miss Kenney pointed out that in the hearing, was adjourned, the defendants being allowed out on bail on continuing the undertaking given and returned to the police-court not to take part in any violence or incitement.

your courage and firmly believe in militancy. Nothing else can succeed. . . . Whatever is done now should be something big and terrible, something done by numbers, and with numbers around them, or else some careful night attack where all women get off scot free, if possible. . . . Why not a gigantic raid on pillar-boxes with specially made indiarubber bags filled with a staining acid? Or sulphuretted hydrogen would be tasty. I will volunteer for that.

Another document discovered at Miss Kenney's address suggested smuggling as an assistant to the official typist. Replying to Mr. Muir (for Mrs. Pankhurst) Miss Kenney said she found a number of tickets admitting to the British Museum at Mr. Clayton's house. Miss Kenney asked the witness what he thought was the cause of the Bristol riots, a description of which he found in her house.

The Judge: That is really not relevant to this question. Miss Kenney: What was the date? The witness: 1831. Miss Kenney: Would you believe me if I told you I had no knowledge of these documents (the letters and suggestions), that I have never seen the documents, and that they came as a great surprise to me? The judge advised the defendant not to put this question, as she would have to take the witness's answer. Miss Kenney: I put it in this way. Is it not as likely that the documents belong to my sister, Jessie Kenney?—I answer on that point, You slept there that night and your sister did not. Miss Kenney pointed out that in the hearing, was adjourned, the defendants being allowed out on bail on continuing the undertaking given and returned to the police-court not to take part in any violence or incitement.

TUESDAY'S HEARING.

The hearing was resumed on Tuesday. Detective-Inspector Hawkins said that on April 30 he assisted to arrest the accused, and at eleven o'clock went to Miss Kenney's residence at Mecklenburgh Square. Here he found several documents, including a card in the following terms, which he found on Miss Kenney's bedroom table. Wednesday, 9.30 p.m.—Dear Miss Kenney—I am sorry to say it will be several days yet before I can be free to do that which you want, but I have devoted all the evening and all yesterday evening to the business which is so urgent. Evidently a difficult matter, but not impossible. I believe, galling as it is to write it, that I shall be able to do it, and then I shall be able to manage. The exact proportions are very important to hit, evidently. I will let you have the results as soon as I think them good enough. Please hurry. With best wishes and earnestly hoping you are much better, I am, yours sincerely, Edwy Godwin Clayton.—P.S. I am awfully disappointed at having to keep you waiting longer than I anticipated.

"Suggestions."

The witness added that in his opinion the "suggestions" for raids upon street fire alarms, timber yards, cotton mills, and public offices, which he found in manuscript form at Miss Kenney's address, had been written by Mr. Clayton. He had ascertained that he had a laboratory at Holborn Viaduct, where he was described as a consulting chemist. When the witness arrested him at Keow Road, Richmond, Mr. Clayton admitted that the letter to Miss Kenney was in his handwriting. He also said, "I am in extreme sympathy with the 'suffrage cause.'" At the address the witness found a quantity of manuscripts consisting of a number of other "suggestions." A printed list of W.S.P.U. meetings gave Mr. Clayton's name as chairman in four or five instances. At Mecklenburgh Square (said the witness) he found a sketch plan of the neighbourhood of Camberwell and Loughborough Junction, showing the frames at Colindale Lane and the entrance to a large storage store in the locality. The documents found at this house also included a letter to Mrs. Pankhurst from Mrs. Marion Cunningham, of Hayes End, Middlesex, of which the following were extracts: "Of course, poor Mr. Lawrence must save his resources—from wholesale seizure by the Government. I applauded

Miss Kenney: What kind of questions did you think it necessary to take down?—Incitement to militancy. Do not you think I could explain the militant campaign without inciting?—Yes. You would agree there is a difference between explaining and inciting?—Yes. Miss Kenney asked Detective Kenshaw what it was that made him commence to take notes when he was listening to her speaking. The circumstances of the atmosphere. (Laughter.) The surroundings and the meeting. You mean to say that when people applaud wildly you think there is something extravagant coming?—I generally have my pencil ready sharpened. Miss Kenney: Do you watch the political situation at all? Witness: Only in the course of my duty.

Mr. Justice Phillimore: The witness is a police officer, come here to give an account of speeches. If you suggest he has not taken them accurately kindly do so. Miss Kenney read a number of extracts from speeches which had not been read by the prosecution. Mr. Justice Phillimore: You have not read any passages which make less serious the passages read against you. Defendant read to witness and to passage, and asked him: Would you say that was inciting? Witness: In my humble judgment I should say yes. Miss Kenney: That was said by Lord Willoughby de Broke. The fact that someone else said what might be inciting does not excuse you. What has that got to do with you when you come into our meetings? Do you have a ticket? Miss Kenney asked another police officer. "No. My face has been sufficient up to now," said the witness, amidst laughter. Would you consider the majority of our meetings—I think there have been 20,000—have been for the purpose of rousing public opinion to the need of women's enfranchisement? Witness: Justice Phillimore (to witness): You must not tell of the meetings you have not attended. Witness: I believe it is what the whole thing is based on. Mr. Justice Phillimore gave evidence as to damage to various pillar-boxes. Mrs. Maria Elizabeth Hall, of 22, Camden Street, described seeing cotton wool, shavings, and other things in Miss Olive Hoekin's studio. Miss Kenney (cross-examined): Do you know that afterwards they called this a suffrage arsenal?—I heard it. Do you know that arsenal means a place where they keep arms?—Yes. Did you ever find any rifles there labelled 'suffragettes'?—Not that I am aware of. (Laughter.) The hearing was adjourned until the following day.

LEGAL DEFENCE FUND.

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THE
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Emily Wilding Davison.

It is a very hard thing to die. Life is dear and to hurl oneself out of safety into torment and destruction seems more than human will can compass. People maddened by personal suffering can do it; and there are, too, brave souls who risk their life to save another who is in peril. But the rarest of all rare things it is for a human being to lay down his life without any prompting of anguish personally felt or witnessed. It is only men and women of superhuman generosity and courage who can die for those unseen, unheard, unknown. This is what Emily Wilding Davison has done.

Waiting there in the sun in that gay scene amongst that heedless crowd, she had in her soul the thought and the vision of wronged women. That thought she held to her; that vision she kept before her. Thus inspired, she threw herself into the fierce current of the race. It was a tremendous imaginative and spiritual achievement! A wonderful act of faith!

So greatly did she care for freedom that she died for it. So dearly did she love women that she offered her life as their ransom. That is the verdict given at the great Inquest of the Nation on the death of Emily Wilding Davison.

By her great act she has spoken to the mind and the heart of all save those who are too degraded to understand even this appeal.

When women ask by words for the Vote, and when they live and toil for it, the Prime Minister says, as he said in the House of Commons the other day, and as thousands of men have until now been saying, that women do not want the Vote. It is a challenge to women that they shall give stronger proof of their demand. To this cruel challenge Emily Wilding Davison has made a tragic reply. She has said: "I want

the Vote, I care for it, more than my life, and I give my life as a pledge of my desire that women shall be free."

The men who have taunted women with having no appetite for freedom, with being slave-souled, have by a woman's death been shamed into silence. That woman, at least, no one dare insult by so hideous an accusation.

We do not know what more evidence the Government will demand of the fact that women feel a passionate and deep-seated sense of grievance at their exclusion from citizenship. But one thing is certain—the men of the country ask no more sacrifice of life in the cause of Votes for Women. They want to see no other women die for the Vote. That price is too heavy. Not for the one who pays it! Emily Wilding Davison would have given much more than her life if more she had had to give. It is a price too heavy for those who receive it.

The thought of Miss Davison's death makes men sad and ashamed. Some of them will not admit this, and the newspapers try to cover up the truth. But the truth is there.

The Liberal newspapers, knowing what the consequences must be to the Government if public feeling on the matter should be allowed to become articulate, have surpassed themselves by their unscrupulous comments on the matter. The "Manchester Guardian," the paper that boycotted the whole Suffrage question until compelled by Militancy to remove the boycott, says: "Had she spent the hour in which the Derby was run in making a Suffrage speech in a street corner in a London slum, she could have been alive now, and Woman Suffrage would have been the nearer." None knows better than the editor of the "Manchester Guardian" what a shameless lie that is. None knows better than he that the Liberal Politicians in whose service he prostitutes his pen have not heeded and will not heed the countless speeches made at countless meetings, held whether in slums or palaces.

This we maintain. Our dead champion has, by her protest and her death, done more to convince the masses of our own and other countries that Votes for Women is an urgent and vital matter than she could have done if she had argued with them all her life. "She would have been alive now!" That is true. But have we not been taught that he who loseth his life shall find it? And is it not evident that Miss Davison would have lived for the Vote for fifty years more, if she had no intention of giving it to her?

"She would have been alive now." Instead of dying what the "Manchester Guardian" describes as "an ignoble and painful death." As though her broken body were not emboded for all time! As though out of her pain would not come other women's ease! As though in the dust she had not found great glory!

Christ died an ignoble and a painful death. No doubt there were men who saw His body hanging on the Cross, and shook their heads, and said: "He would have been alive now."

Some day we shall all be dead. Cabinet Ministers, Liberal editors, Suffragettes, none of us can live for ever, however carefully we may treasure up our life. We must all die. Emily Wilding Davison resolved that she would strive by her death to purchase something for the people she left behind her. Therein lies her greatness.

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

A YEAR AGO.

A Statement made by Miss Emily Wilding Davison on her release from Holloway, June, 1912.

[The following statement, written by Miss Emily Davison after her release from Holloway on Friday, June 28, 1912, will have a special interest for all those who know how intense was her conviction that only by a great tragedy would the cause of women's enfranchisement be won. Because her comrades were being tortured in prison she felt impelled to make the protest described in her own words below. There can be no doubt that the same conviction led her to make the supreme protest which has resulted in her death.]

We were anxiously waiting the result of the Conspiracy Trial. Then the leaders demanded to be put in the first division. We waited for the result. The news came at last that a small measure of justice had been won, and we lost the precious privilege of their presence. But at once we made our demand for similar treatment. We resolved, as usual, to give every opportunity for Constitutional pressure to win justice. For over a week we waited, every day asking for the Governor and demanding that we should be transferred to the first division, clearly warning him that if all other methods failed we should adopt the hunger-strike. The day before we did this we gave him a twenty-four hours' ultimatum, and then began our fight, strictly to time.

On Wednesday, June 19, from 10 a.m. onwards, we were kept in solitary confinement. On Saturday morning we decided that most of us would barricade our cells after they had been cleaned out. At ten o'clock on the Saturday a regular siege took place in Holloway. On all sides one heard crowbars, blocks, and wedges being used; men battering on doors with all their might. The barricading was always followed by the sounds of human struggle, suppressed cries of the victims, groans, and other horrible sounds. These sounds came nearer and nearer in my direction. My turn came. I fought like a demon at my door, which was forced open with crowbars till at last enough room was made for one of the besiegers to get in. He pulled open the door, and in came wardresses and a doctor. I protested loudly that I would not be fed by the junior doctor, and tried to dart out into the passage; then I was seized by about five wardresses, bound into the chair, still protesting, and they accomplished their purpose. They threw me on my bed, and at once locked the door and went off to the next victim.

I lay like a log for some time. When I did recover a little, I got up and smashed out the remaining panes of my window, then lay down again until I was able to get out into the corridor. In my mind was the thought that some desperate protest must be made to put a stop to the hideous torture which was now being our lot. Therefore, as soon as I got out I climbed on to the railing and threw myself on to the wire-netting, a distance of between 20 and 30 feet. The idea in my mind was "one big tragedy may save many others"; but the netting prevented any severe injury. The wardress in charge ran forward in horror. She tried to get me off the netting and whistled for help. Three others came and tried their best to induce me to go into my cell. I refused.

After a time their suspicions were allayed, and the matron came through into the ward to visit some of the prisoners, while she was there the wardresses released their watch, and I began to look again. I realised that my best means of carrying out my purpose was the iron staircase. When a good moment came, quite deliberately I walked upstairs and threw myself from the top, as I meant, on to the iron staircase. If I had been successful I should undoubtedly have been killed, as it was a clear

drop of 30 to 40 feet. But I caught once more on the edge of the netting. A wardress ran to me, expostulating, and called on two of my comrades to try and stop me. As she spoke I realised that there was only one chance left, and that was to hurl myself with the greatest force I could summon from the netting on to the staircase, a drop of about 10 feet. I heard someone saying, "No surrender!" and threw myself forward on my head with all my might. I know nothing more except a fearful thud on my head. When I recovered consciousness, it was to a sense of acute agony. Voices were buzzing around me; in the distance someone said, "Fetch the doctor." Someone tried to move me, and I called out, "Oh, don't!" Then the doctor came, and asked for me to be moved to a cell close by. They lifted me as gently as possible, but the agony was intense. It was all I could do to keep from screaming. And then I was placed on the cell bed. After a moment the doctor examined me, moving me as little as possible. He asked me to go to hospital, but I begged him to leave me there—which he did. I also managed to say, "For heaven's sake, don't feed me, because I shall fight." I was therefore left very quietly, and they brought me some water, and did all they could for me.

The first night was one of misery, as I had to lie on my back, although it hurt me to do so. There was no sleep. Next day I at once demanded that the Governor should allow me to have my own doctor to examine me. I said, "If you feed me before examination, it will be at your own risk." The Governor asked me why I had done my deed, and I told him I thought that one big tragedy would save the others. His hand trembled, and he promised that he would see into the matter.

I was left alone until about two o'clock, when a specialist came in with the prison doctors. He thoroughly examined me, and seemed very much struck with my injuries. Afterwards Dr. Sullivan confessed to me that he thought I had had the most extraordinary escape.

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To my amazement, the doctors came to forcibly feed me that afternoon. The operation, throughout which I struggled, caused me such agony that I begged the three comrades who were released that afternoon to let friends know outside what was being done.

From that time on they fed me twice a day, in spite of the torture it caused me, until Thursday, when, to our intense relief, they fed us only once. We all said that any food that could have been poured into us in a second operation could not possibly have done us the good that the relief from a second torture did.

Meantime nothing was being done to make my condition better. My head was dressed on Sunday. Nothing further was done to it. By the examination I knew that besides the two injuries to my head the seventh cervical vertebra was injured, and another at the base of the spine. They seemed very much worried about my right shoulder-blade. The sacrum bone was also injured, not to mention the many bruises all over my arms and back. All the vertebrae at the back of the head are very painful, and it is torture to turn.

On Thursday Dr. Sullivan examined me fairly carefully, and asked me to be weighed. I consented, and found that I had lost 4lb. at least since the Friday when I threw myself over. I may mention that when I went into Holloway I weighed 9st. 12lb., and when released weighed 7st. 8lb.

On the Thursday evening after the one forcible feeding operation, the doctor opened my cell door and announced the medical inspector. He walked in and was followed by a gentleman who gave his name as Dr. Craig. The three of

them sat down in my cell, and subjected me for a long examination and cross-examination. I calmly gave them all the information that I could, and seemed thoroughly to satisfy any doubts they had as to my sanity. In the course of the examination I believe I made them realise what a disgrace it was to England and the medical profession that such torture as forcible feeding should have been resorted to rather than granting justice to women. They weakly put forward the argument that their only mission was to save life, but could not deny that mental torture was hardly the safest way of doing so.

I also made them realise that we women set this great cause of ours before everything else in the world; or, as I put it to them, the cause of human progress was above that of any possible material consideration.

Dr. Craig thoroughly examined all my injuries, seemed greatly impressed by them, and when he shook hands with me said, "Don't do any more for your cause; you have done more than enough."

On the Friday morning Dr. Sullivan examined me again, and told me that I should probably be released that day later on. He said he would not trouble me with the forcible feeding, if when I was released I would take some food before going out. I said, "Oh no; I absolutely refuse to take any food within the prison walls." He therefore decided that he must forcibly feed me again, for the ninth time—which was done.

All that day I got no chance of letting my comrades know that I should be released, which they would have been glad of, because they were all very anxious that I should be.

In the afternoon the doctor came and officially announced my release, said that all packing must be done for me, and asked me if, when I was in the cab, I would take some Brand's Essence. He said that the tin should not be opened until I was outside, so that I should know it was not contaminated by the Home Secretary. I smiled and told him that I was willing to take anything once I was outside the walls.

During all the terms of my imprisonments I have been forcibly fed forty-nine times.

**"THE FIRST MARTYR OF
WOMAN SUFFRAGE."**

Ah, not the first, as some have said,
In this high war of Service dead
Is she who now before the Throne
Lays what she never called her own,
And to the only Judge found just
Renders the record of her trust!

One is this warfare from of old;
The years have heard one story told;
Wherever blood was spilt to save
Flowers the same splendour from the grave,
And Christ Himself upon the tree
Died that the spirit might be free.

Ah, not the first!—And comes there then
No braver breed of gentler men?
Shall still the violence of vice
Extort from Love the utmost price,
And fools not listen till too clear
Death speaks the thing they needs must hear?

Oh judging, oh dividing breath!
Oh rumour of the wings of Death!
Blessed the martyrs, and accursed
The tyrants stand. Ah, not the first
This judgment claimed, this challenge cast!
—Dear God, if it might be the last!

EMILY WILDING DAVISON - IN MEMORIAM.

"I'll put a girdle round about the Earth."

THE SUPREME SACRIFICE.

A Life Laid Down.

PETITION PRESENTED TO THE KING.

They will not learn; they have no ears to hearken.
They turn their faces from the eyes of fate;
Their gay-lit halls shut out the skies that darken.

But, lo! this dead one knocking at the gate.
Not one, not one, nor thousands must they slay,
But one and all if they could dusk the day.

Here lies the sign that we shall break our prison;
Amidst the storm he won a prisoner's rest;
But in the cloudy dawn the sun arisen,
Brings us our day of work to win the best.

Not one, not one, nor thousands must they slay,
But one and all if they would dusk the day.
—William Morris, "Poems by the Way."

A few weeks ago five women tried to present a petition to the King on his way to open Parliament. As a result of that attempt, they were thrown into prison.

On Wednesday, June 4, a woman renewed the attempt; she, indeed, presented her petition, but at the cost of that which humanity holds very dear—life itself. With a sublime disregard of personal danger, she threw down her challenges.

The story of how, at the greatest race in the world, a woman stopped the King's horse and herself mortally injured, has reached every corner of the civilized globe.

As long as Derby Day of 1913 is remembered it will be associated with a supremely heroic demand for the settlement of an intolerable grievance. Emily Wilding Davison has proved that there are in the twentieth century people who are willing to lay down their lives for an ideal.

Miss Davison, it will be recalled, ran on to the Epsom racecourse just as the horses were approaching Tattenham Corner, and seized the bridle of the King's colt, Anmer. The speed of the horses at the time is stated to have been something like forty miles an hour.

She was immediately knocked down, and in a terribly injured condition, was conveyed to the Epsom Cottage Hospital.

Mr. Mansell-Moullin, Vice-President of the Royal College of Surgeons, at once setting aside all other engagements, for three days devoted himself to making every effort known to surgical science in the hope of saving Miss Davison's life. An operation was performed on Friday, and this appeared

to afford considerable relief. Miss Davison lived for two days after it, but never recovered consciousness, and died on Sunday afternoon.

SOME ACCOUNTS.

"The race," says the *Times*, "was marked by two incidents for which it will be long remembered, not only by the vast gathering at Epsom, but by all who take an interest in English sports. The King's horse was brought to the ground by a woman Suffragist, who rushed from the crowd at Tattenham Corner, apparently with the object of seizing the reins. The horse fell and rolled on the jockey, who, however, was not severely hurt. The woman was knocked down and received such serious injuries that it was reported at first that she had been killed. The second incident—there has been no parallel to it for about 70 years—was the disqualification of the favourite, Craganour. As far as the spectator could see, the woman was knocked down by the King's horse, but no other horse appeared to touch her. The incident, however, had a disconcerting effect on the other jockeys, who turned round in their saddles at the untoward occurrence. It appears that immediately after the race the woman fell a placard bearing the words 'Votes for Women' was raised by somebody in the crowd, suggesting that the whole thing had been prearranged. Directly the crowd realised what had happened there was a wild rush to the scene."

MR. MANSELL-MOULLIN'S REPORT.

Mr. Mansell-Moullin writes—"Miss Davison, who was completely unconscious, was taken at once to the Epsom Cottage Hospital. The shock of the injuries she had sustained was so severe that for some time it was not thought that she would rally at all. On Thursday afternoon her pulse was a little better, but it was evident that the horse struck her until the end. Dr. Thorneley and Dr. Peacock showed her every possible attention, and the matron and nurses were kindness itself."

AT TATTENHAM CORNER.

At Tattenham Corner, the spot chosen by Miss Davison, there are double rails, and she dashed under both. "That the King's horse was her objective is shown," says the *Daily Telegraph*, "by the fact that she dodged under the head of Agadir, with her eyes fixed on Anmer, who was slightly behind and on the outside. According to Earl, who was riding Agadir, she deliberately threw herself in front of Anmer, with the result that the horse rode into her, knocking her senseless to the ground. Anmer, unbalanced, was himself brought down, and the unfortunate woman was flung heavily on to the course. Many eye-witnesses testify that the act was deliberate, and that the woman waited for the King's horse to come along."

The Press Association says "the incident was the most remarkable ever witnessed in the annals of the history of racing contests. Anmer, as the result of the collision, turned a complete somersault, and fell upon his jockey. The latter was badly hurt, but quickly regained his feet. The King and Queen witnessed the race from the grand stand."

The Central News says that Miss Davison "chose for her onslaught the moment when the leaders having passed and entered the straight, the King's horse and one or two others were rounding the bend. This choice of time for action indicates that the intention was not merely to spoil the race, but a deliberate plan of selection of the King's horse."

ROYAL ENQUIRIES.

Before the King and Queen left Epsom on their return to London, says the *Daily Telegraph*, they were informed of the condition of Miss Davison. Her Majesty the Queen sent a messenger to Epsom Hospital several

AN UNCONQUERABLE SPIRIT.

By her selfless activity and devotion, Emily Wilding Davison exemplified, in Francis Thompson's fine phrase, "the dying way to live," and by her marvellously courageous death has proved anew the spiritual force of those rare souls who lose their life to find it. The most thoughtless have been shocked into a sudden realization of the fortitude of one unconquerable spirit imbued with zeal for a great cause. To her comrades her whole life was a preparation for the last sacrifice, and the nobility of her death surpasses the tragedy of it.

Her resolute character was early apparent, when her college career was brought abruptly to a close by a financial loss. Miss Davison at once turned her energies to teaching, and the money thus earned went up to Oxford, and finally took her London degree with honours.

On joining the W.S.P.U. in 1906, she devoted all the force of her ardent temperament to the cause of Votes for Women, and her extraordinary courage and vitality sustained her through trials of endurance that would have killed a weaker woman. Her slight frame seemed made of steel, and her highly-strung nature was endowed with a cheerful buoyancy that enabled her to triumph over the most nerve-racking experiences.

"That a woman of so fine a type should have been imprisoned again and again is lamentable evidence of the ever-recurring tendency to stone the prophets. In 1909, after serving a month's imprisonment for taking part in a deputation, Miss Davison, on a second sentence of two months for "obstruction," started a hunger-strike, and was released after five and a half days; a second hunger-strike at Manchester gained her release from a sentence of two months in two and a half days.

In the following month occurred a terrible experience in Strangeways Prison where she was forcibly fed, and having barricaded herself into her cell she was played upon with a hosepipe, which inhuman treatment necessitated her release after eight days.

Her personal knowledge of the cruelty with which women meet in prison, and the callousness of the higher authorities regarding their sufferings, brought home to Miss Davison the conviction that a further development of militancy was inevitable, and in January, 1912, she was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for setting fire to pillar-boxes, having thereby adopted one of the methods of ordinary warfare, in the course of which mails are invariably destroyed.

She served a considerable part of this sentence, the only Suffragist prisoner in Holloway, in itself a singularly trying experience; when later she was joined by comrades from without she twice adopted the hunger-strike with them, and twice was forcibly fed.

Miss Davison's final protest in prison was an assertion of the unfettered spirit and a condemnation of the "violation of the soul" that Bernard Shaw has described as the inevitable result of being "sickeningly to see his hoofs strike her repeatedly. It all happened in a flash. Before we had time to realise it it was over. The horse struggled to its feet. I don't think it was hurt—but the jockey and the woman lay on the ground. The ambulance men came running up, put them on stretchers, and took them away. They were far ahead. It was a terrible thing."

Among those who visited Miss Davison at the Hospital were Mrs. Leigh, Miss Martine Yates, Miss Letitia Wright, and Mrs. Green.

THE INQUEST.

At the inquest on Miss Emily Wilding Davison at Epsom on Tuesday, the jury returned a verdict of "Death from misadventure." The verdict was as follows: "The said Emily Wilding Davison died from a fracture of the base of the skull caused by accidentally being knocked down by a horse through wilfully rushing on to the racecourse at Epsom Downs on June 4 last during the progress of a race."

The coroner said that this amounted to a verdict of death from misadventure. The coroner and jury expressed their sympathy with Herbert Jones, the jockey in the accident.

The Evidence. Mr. Gilbert White, of Guildford, opened the inquiry in the new County Court House.

Her excellent letters to the *Morning Post* at this time set forth, as did all her letters to the Press, in simple, lucid terms the new spirit fast dawning among women of their right to full citizenship.

"What the girl strikers enjoyed," she wrote, "and what the Suffragettes have enjoyed, in undergoing their most horrible experiences, has been that joy in at last asserting their individuality as free-born Britons."

This passionate love of freedom, and willingness to pay the utmost price for it was the motive force of all her actions. In the last gallant rush upon the King's horse at the Derby, which was to give to all the world the knowledge that a Suffragette, in the full tide of life and energy, had died for her faith, Emily Davison left for her comrades in the fight an ineffaceable impression of a life consecrated to one great end. Though she would have faced with fortitude the life of a helplessly invalid, all who knew her will rejoice that her last moment of consciousness coincided with the fulfilment of her purpose; not for her the slow decay of lingering death, but "in the hot-tilt of life, a tiptoe on the highest point of being. . . . this happy-starred, full-blooded spirit shoots into the spiritual land."

MISS DAVISON'S CAREER.

Miss Davison's career, thus sadly closed, we shall best give by repeating her record as published in "The Suffrage Annual and Women's Who's Who." It is as follows: Davison, Miss Emily Wilding, B.A., Honours (London), Oxford Eminent Honorary School in English Language and Literature (Class 1), &c. Society: W.S.P.U. Born at Blackheath; daughter of Charles Edward and Margaret Davison, joined W.S.P.U. November, 1906. Imprisonments: (1) March 30, 1909, one month for going on deputation; (2) July 30, 1909, two months, for obstruction at Limehouse, released after five and a half days' hunger strike; (3) Sept. 4, 1909, stone-throwing at White City, Manchester, two months, but released after two and a half days' hunger strike; (4) Oct. 20, 1909, stone-throwing at Radcliffe, one month's hard labour on each count, hunger struck, forcibly fed, hospice incident in Strangeways Prison, and released at end of eight days; (5) Nov. 19, 1910, broke a window inside the House of Commons, one month, hunger struck, forcibly fed, and released after eight days; (6) Dec. 14, 1911, arrested for setting fire to pillar-boxes in City of Westminster; Holloway, remand one week; and (7) Jan. 10, 1912, for above, sentenced at Old Bailey to six months' imprisonment, hunger struck twice with others, and twice forcibly fed, released ten days before sentence finished on account of injuries sustained in protest made against forcible feeding; (8) Nov. 30, 1912, sentenced to ten days' imprisonment for assaulting a Baptist minister by mistake for the Stewards of the meeting, and Mr. Lamartine Yates for Miss Davison's mother.

The first witness called was Miss Superintendent Quinn, of the special staff at Scotland Yard, who was also present. The Coroner: It would not be possible for Miss Davison to think that the whole of the horses had passed if she had seen some go by?—I think not.

The Foreman: Can you distinctly say that her action in coming under the rail was taken knowingly, and was not an accident?—I think it was taken knowingly and deliberately.

Dr. Thorneley said the cause of death was fracture of the skull and hemorrhage of the brain.

Mr. Martin said that a woman friend of Miss Davison, who conversed with

her on the night before the Derby, was present, and could speak as to her mental condition, but the jury agreed that her evidence was not necessary. The Coroner, in summing up, said he did not think that Miss Davison aimed at the King's horse in particular, but that her intention was to upset the race. The jury would probably dismiss from their minds the idea that she intended to take her life. The jury returned a verdict of Death by misadventure.



MISS EMILY WILDING DAVISON, B.A.

world probably be known to the jury. Miss Davison was knocked down by the King's horse, and died at the Cottage Hospital on Sunday. The jockey, Herbert Jones, would not be called, as he had sent a medical certificate that he was unfit to attend, though fortunately he had not been seriously hurt.

Mr. C. P. Gill, K.C., appeared for the Stewards of the meeting, and Mr. Lamartine Yates for Miss Davison's mother. Superintendent Quinn, of the special staff at Scotland Yard, was also present.

Miss Superintendent Quinn, of the special staff at Scotland Yard, was also present. The Coroner: It would not be possible for Miss Davison to think that the whole of the horses had passed if she had seen some go by?—I think not.

The Foreman: Can you distinctly say that her action in coming under the rail was taken knowingly, and was not an accident?—I think it was taken knowingly and deliberately.

THE PAVILION MEETING.

Conversation overheard before the meeting showed that all minds were full of the one thought—that of Miss Emily Davison and her tragic devotion and sacrifice. It with an instinctive reaction for relief, they spoke, for a moment, of the success of the Festival, their voices soon hushed again.

The Chairman's reading of the solemn yet stirring letters from Mrs. Pankhurst and from Miss Christabel Pankhurst was received in an awed silence, which presently broke in an irrepressible burst of applause when she read the words of the following telegram which had been sent to the King by six loyal subjects: "Constitutional methods of approaching our King having failed, Emily Davison has given her life to call his attention to the women's passionate demand. We call upon our King to give serious attention to this appeal of the womanhood."

Mrs. Dacre Fox then went on to contrast the unflinching courage of such women as Emily Davison with the fear which prompts not only the arguments of Anti-Suffragists, but also the coercive acts of the Government. She was followed by Mrs. Mary Leigh, who was received with loud cheers. She spoke with great feeling of her intimate knowledge of Miss Davison, of her great gifts, which she devoted whole-heartedly to the cause, and of the certainty that she, who had "done what she could," has now been welcomed as a kindred soul by the heroine of old time, "Blessed Joan of Arc." "On that dauntless heart," said Mrs. Leigh, "the fire of the stake had no effect, and it still beats in the women of this movement." The listeners were profoundly touched by much in her speech, especially when she read from a book given her by Lady Constance Lytton a passage marked by Emily Davison when she was last in Holloway.

World-Wide Tributes. Very striking was the quick and generous response from the large audience to the appeal for funds to cover the funeral expenses. From all over the hall came gifts from Canada, Australia, South Africa, India, the West Indies, West Hobbies, and other parts of the world, the sum of over £75 being subscribed in a few minutes.

Mrs. Mansell declared that the work of the Union went on unimpeded by any reverse. On Saturday the verdict had been given to the plaintiffs, but it remained to be seen what good it was going to do them. She closed by encouraging all members to call the words of Jeanne d'Arc, which had already been quoted that evening: "Fight on! Fight on! and God will give you the victory."

"THAT WOMEN MAY LIVE." Miss Vida Goldstein called on Tuesday afternoon in Australia. "Place cross for Women's Political Association on Emily Davison's grave: she died that women may live."

SOME APPRECIATIONS.

"Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail . . . but . . . what may quiet us in a death so noble."

Our brave comrade, Emily Wilding Davison, has given her life to call attention to the intolerable grievances of women who remain to carry on our Holy War for the emancipation of our sex.

Words fail when one is faced with death. Emily Wilding Davison's spirit will ever be with us. Such an heroic action will never be blotted out of the record of life.

I have known her as the most cheerful of companions, the truest upholder of our Great Cause, and the most fearless of those who serve it.

Last week Miss Davison was asked to speak at a meeting to be held this week. Her reply was "I have other work to do."

I see that some of our journalists, measuring Miss Davison by their own petty, pint-pot standards, are calling her mad.

In the Light Brigade there were six hundred—even at Thermopylae there were three—but she, one, alone, the Quintus Curtius of our Cause, has thrown herself into the gulf to set her sisters free.

Our comrade's life is over, but her name will live for ever. Her lips are closed—yet they speak to us most eloquently. Dead lips are more potent than living.

I have had the honour of Emily Davison's friendship for nearly four years. Before that time she was known to me only in name.

Against forcible feeding, and would not give in although a hosepipe was turned upon her, I felt I must have the privilege of personally knowing such a brave fighter.

Often have I said to her, "You have done your share, and more than your share. Don't run any more risks, we can't spare you."

Last year, on her release from a monstrous sentence of six months, she told me how she could not endure the cries and moans of her fellow-sufferers who were being forcibly fed, and how she felt that if one life were sacrificed it would put an end to the horror.

She is worthy of the highest rank among the martyrs all down the ages who have voluntarily laid down their lives for a holy cause, and we who loved and admired her bow our heads in deep reverence before this mighty deed of sublime heroism.

Emily Davison is quite one of the most wonderful personalities I have ever known. Her clear insight into the beyond showed her—and having once seen she never faltered—that, as she has often told me, argument is no use.

What was needed was one great tragedy—a human sacrifice must be made before the senseless, inert wall of prejudice and obstinacy could be broken down and the freedom of women won.

Knowing Emily Davison and loving her as I did, I can clearly read the meaning of this supreme sacrifice just made.

and the only answer was imprisonment. Miss Davison presented her petition in her own most wonderful way, prepaying it with her life, so that it could not fail to be received.

As I stood by Mary Leigh by the bedside of our dying comrade, and my old college friend, it seemed as though there was nothing which was hers to give that she had not freely given to the women's movement.

She had felt the call, she knew that suffering and outraged womanhood looked to her, as indeed to all of us, to do her utmost to release her from bondage.

It is not necessary to be a profound judge of character to have recognised in Emily Wilding Davison a fervid, candid, exceptionally large-hearted, generous nature.

Already some are thinking Miss Davison's work for women done. They are wrong. She is more powerful to-day than in life. The law could imprison her, seek to crush her. She is beyond the reach of the law; time and place are limitless.

Her influence now is formidable. In life her attacks were repulsed, some of her attempts failed; in death the great spirit, at length released, is smashing down all that opposes the onward march.

her supreme sacrifice.—A. E. WILSON.

May I, as one of the last to whom she spoke, and as a member of a Men's Union which holds her name in high esteem, be permitted to pay yet one more tribute to the name of Emily Davison?

For years past she was one of the pioneer militant women, and, with friends, if it might be, alone if it must be, companioned or solitary, supported or forsaken, she has with an almost strange persistence followed her lodestar.

Miss Davison has done even a bigger thing than seek to stop the Derby, or than meeting death in the attempt; she has brought into modern life a standard of values many had thought dead.

Our quest for fuller life we have sadly lost our way, and Emily Davison has shown that the only way is to go straight ahead, thinking nothing of the cost.

Already some are thinking Miss Davison's work for women done. They are wrong. She is more powerful to-day than in life. The law could imprison her, seek to crush her. She is beyond the reach of the law; time and place are limitless.

Funeral Arrangements—A Last Tribute.

The following are the arrangements for the funeral procession:—

The procession will form up in Buckingham Palace Road at one o'clock tomorrow (Saturday), and will start at 2 p.m.

SECTION F.
Group Captains:
Miss Rogers. Miss J. Green.
Provincial Members dressed in white, each to carry Madonna Lily.

SECTION G.
Group Captains:
Miss C. Maguire. Miss Bonwick.
Provincial Members dressed in purple, to carry a peony.

form up in Section "1." They will carry their own wreaths and their banner will be veiled with purple. White, purple, or black will be worn with a black band on the left arm two inches deep.

MARSHALS.
Marshals are asked to be in their places at 12.45.

OFFICIATING CLERGY.
The officiating clergymen at the service will include the Rev. C. O. Baumgarten, the Venerable Archdeacon Escreet, and the Rev. Claude Hinscliff.

Sellers must be at Lincoln's Inn House by 12 o'clock in order to receive supplies and instructions. Will those willing to help with this valuable work send in their names at once to Miss O. Bartels, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.2? Sellers are requested to wear white with black crepe band two inches in depth on left arm.

As several clergymen have expressed the wish to be permitted the honour of walking in the procession in their robes, the organisers wish to make it known that they will gladly welcome all who desire to show their respect in this way.

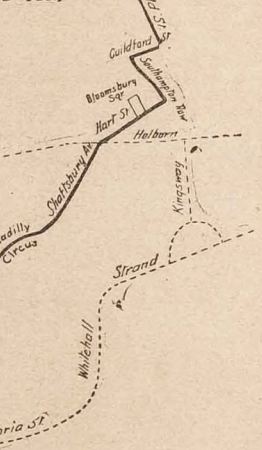
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THE "DAILY HERALD'S" TRIBUTE.

Britain of the twentieth century ought to be ashamed of itself for denying such gifted women the careers and opportunities that are their due, and still more ashamed of itself for driving them to desperate courses. In a normal nation Miss Davison's life might have gone on from distinction to distinction, a record of fine achievement throughout.

PROCESSION.

(Start 2 p.m.)
Palace Rd.



March—four abreast.

But the premature and poignant ending is after all not an end. One life-part has been played; the essence, the real individuality, passes on to others. And the closing protest and tragedy we have witnessed will be far-reaching in their effect. The boldness and sacrifice will startle a host of minds into a realisation of the intensity of conviction behind the suffrage movement, and also into a sense of what a crude, inhuman, insensitive order of things is that against which this brave and brilliant woman threw her energy and her life.

The road to reform and justice is painful, and some of the orients and victimisations are ineradicable. But we are all battling in the faith that nothing in the struggle and sacrifice is in vain, and that the end will be harmony and joyance.

PAPER SELLERS.
A large number of sellers will be required to sell the *Suffragette* along the route. The paper this week is taking the form of a memorial to Miss Davison, and should have a ready sale.

In Memoriam.



Miss Emily Wilding Davison, B.A.

Who graduated with honours at London University, took First Class Honours in the Final Schools at Oxford University in English Language and Literature; suffered imprisonment and endured the torture of Forcible Feeding on many occasions, and finally at Epsom offered up her life for her Faith on Wednesday, 4th June, 1913, and Died on Sunday, 8th June, 1913.

Greater Love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his Friend.

He hath no man lay down his life for his friends."
THE HEARSE.
Relatives.
Banner: "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori."
Hunger Strikers.
Mrs. Pankhurst.
Hunger Strikers.
Carriage bearing Wreaths.
Banner: "He that loseth his life shall gain it."
W.S.P.U. Members who have tickets for the Church.
Women Doctors / Wearing Academic Dress.
Band.

Provincial Members.
1. Members dressed in white to carry Madonna lilies, and will march in Section "F."
2. Members dressed in purple to carry peonies, and will march in Section "G."
3. Members dressed in black to carry purple irises, and will march in Section "H."

A special guard of honour of intimate friends will bring up the body from Epsom to Victoria.
FLOWERS—IMPORTANT.
All are asked to provide their own flowers, and those carrying laurel wreaths will bring these with them.

PROCESSIONISTS.
Processionists form up in fours.
OUTSIDE SOCIETIES.
Independent Suffrage Societies who are taking part in the Procession will

number place at service church at

IMPORTANT NOTICE.
A black band two inches deep should be worn on the left arm by all taking part in the procession.
All intending to join in the procession are urgently asked to be in their places punctually at one p.m.

Floral Tributes.
All floral tributes should be sent to Lincoln's Inn House not later than Friday afternoon.

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Last week Miss Davison was asked to speak at a meeting to be held this week. Her reply was "I have other work to do."

She is worthy of the highest rank among the martyrs all down the ages who have voluntarily laid down their lives for a holy cause.

Emily Davison is quite one of the most wonderful personalities I have ever known. Her clear insight into the beyond showed her—and having once seen she never faltered—that, as she has often told me, argument is no use.

Our comrade's life is over, but her name will live for ever. Her lips are closed—yet they speak to us most eloquently. Dead lips are more potent than living.

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Often have I said to her, "You have done your share. Don't run any more risks, we can't spare you." But she always answered, with that particularly bright smile of hers, that no one's work was finished till the vote was won.

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and the only answer was in her supreme sacrifice. — A. E. WILSON.

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Funeral Arrangements—A Last Tribute.

The following are the arrangements for the funeral procession:—

The procession will form up in Buckingham Palace Road at one o'clock tomorrow (Saturday), and will start at 1.15 p.m. The head of the procession will be at the Bridge.

SECTION F. Group Captains: Miss Rogers, Miss J. Green. Provincial Members dressed in white, each to carry Madonna Lily.

Band. Miss C. Maguire. Miss Bonwick. Provincial Members dressed in purple, to carry a penny.

SECTION G. Group Captains: Miss C. Maguire. Miss Bonwick. Provincial Members dressed in purple, to carry a penny.

form up in Section "1." They will carry their own wreaths and their banner will be veiled with purple. White, purple, or black will be worn with a black band on the left arm two inches deep.

MARSHALS. Marshals are asked to be in their places at 12.45.

OFFICIATING CLERGY. The officiating clergymen at the service will include the Rev. C. O. Baumgarten, the Venerable Archdeacon Escreet, and the Rev. Claude Hinstcliff.

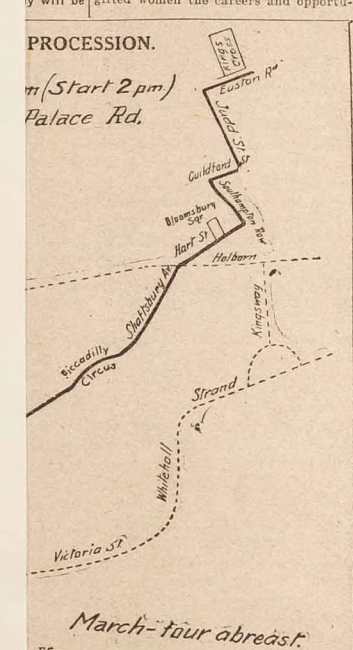
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CLERGY. As several clergymen have expressed the wish to be permitted the honour of walking in the procession in their robes, the organisers wish to make it known that they will gladly welcome all who desire to show their respect in this way.

Among other societies the Women Writers' Suffrage League are joining in the procession.

THE "DAILY HERALD'S" TRIBUTE.

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ities that are their due, and still more ashamed of itself for driving them to desperate courses. In a normal nation Miss Davison's life might have gone on from distinction to distinction, a record of fine achievement throughout.

But the premature and poignant ending is after all not an end. One life-part has been played: the essence, the real individuality, passes on to others. And the closing protest and tragedy we have witnessed will be far-reaching in their effect.

Why did she stop the King's Horse?

In 1906, Miss Davison became keenly alive to the many evils the country was suffering from, owing to the exclusion of women from the parliamentary franchise, and to the inferior position thus assigned them.

She is worthy of the highest rank among the martyrs all down the ages who have voluntarily laid down their lives for a holy cause.

A Petition to the King.

The yielding up of life is the highest and most eloquent proof of love for others that human beings have in their power to give—only the very strongest and most urgent reasons can call for such a sacrifice.

It is not in vain that she has given her life for the cause. Her clear insight into the beyond showed her—and having once seen she never faltered—that, as she has often told me, argument is no use.

PROCESSION.

1. Members dressed in white to carry Madonna lilies, and will march in Section "F."

12.45. The Scottish and Northern W.S.P.U. organisations are arranging a procession to the cemetery.

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Our brave comrade, Emily Wilding Davison, has given her life to call attention to the intolerable grievances of women. We who remain to carry on our Holy War for the emancipation of our sex dedicate ourselves anew to service and sacrifice. We mourn for the loss of our dead comrade, but we also rejoice in her splendid heroism.—E. PANKHURST.

Words fail when one is faced with death. Emily Wilding Davison's spirit will ever be with us. Such an heroic action will never be blotted out of the record of life. She might well have said, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith."—ANNIE KENNEY.

I have known her as the most cheerful of companions, the truest upholder of our Great Cause, and the most fearless of those who serve it. Her death is worthy of her life.—CONSTANCE LYTON.

Last week Miss Davison was asked to speak at a meeting to be held this week. Her reply was, "I have other work to do." Her other work is done. She went cheerfully, almost gaily, to certain death—or worse—offering herself as the sacrifice that should open the minds of men to the desperate needs of women and to their desperate determination.

I see that some of our journalists, measuring Miss Davison by their own petty, pitiful standards, are calling her mad. Mad? Yes! with that divine madness that recreates the world.

In the Light Brigade there were six hundred—even at Thermopylae there were three—but she, one, alone, the Quintus Curtius of our Cause, has thrown herself into the gulf to set her sisters free. Is this "nation of sportsmen" going to allow this fellow-sportsman to be sacrificed without avail? Will they still look on unmoved while the slow murder of that other sportsman, who is offering up her life inch by inch, is consummated? I think not.

Our comrade's life is over, but her name will live for ever. Her lips are closed—yet they speak to us most eloquently. Dead lips are more potent than living. "Let not my deed be in vain," they cry. "I have paid the price; you have had your humanity free."—HERTHA AYRTON.

I have had the honour of Emily Davison's friendship for nearly four years. Before that time she was known to me only in name; but when, in October, 1909, she barricaded herself in her cell in Strangeways Prison, as a protest

against forcible feeding, and would not give in although a hopeless prisoner, Miss Davison presented her petition in her own name, and as a member of the Women's Union which holds its name in high esteem, because it was the only one to pay yet one more tribute to her supreme sacrifice.—A. E. WILLSON.

Often have I had the privilege of personally knowing such a brave fighter. Since that time one brave and daring deed of hers has been closely followed by another, and she was always original as well as courageous. I have thought in Guy Fawkes the hot-air balloons?

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She went to the Derby to present a petition to the King. Others had recently tried to present a petition, but it was intercepted

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The following are the arrangements for the funeral procession:—

The procession will form up in Buckingham Palace Road at one o'clock tomorrow (Saturday), and will start at 2 p.m. The head of the procession will be at Emery Bridge. The route will be through Grosvenor Gardens, Grosvenor Place, Piccadilly, Shaftesbury Avenue, Hart Street, to St. George's Church, Bloomsbury, where, at four o'clock, a service, lasting half an hour, will be held. After the service the procession will march by way of Bloomsbury Square, Southampton Row, Russell Square, Guildford Street, Judd Street, and through Euston Road to King's Cross, where the coffin will be placed in the 5.30 p.m. train for Morpeth, Northumberland.

Order of Procession.

- SECTION A. Group Captains: Miss C. Hale, Miss I. Cay. Cross Bearer. Clergy. Three rows of girls dressed in white carrying laurel wreaths. Purple Banner: "Fight on, and God will give the victory." Twelve rows of girls dressed in white carrying laurel wreaths.
- SECTION B. Group Captains: Miss Gordon, Miss P. Ayrton. London Members dressed in black, each carrying purple iris.
- SECTION C. Group Captains: Miss Harding, Miss E. Lowy. London Members dressed in purple, each to carry a penny.
- SECTION D. Group Captains: Miss L. Tyson, Miss C. Marsden. London Members dressed in white, each to carry Madonna Lily.
- SECTION E. Group Captains: Miss Joan Wickham, Mrs. Hatfield. Colour Bearer. Banner: "Thoughts have gone forth whose power can sleep no more. Victory, victory." Hunger Strikers. Carriage Bearing Wreaths. Clergy and Ministers of Religion. Banner: "Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friends." Personal Effects. THE HEARSE. Relatives. Banner: "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori." Hunger Strikers. Mrs. Pankhurst. Hunger Strikers. Carriage bearing Wreaths. Banner: "He that loseth his life shall gain it." W.S.P.U. Members who have tickets for the Church. Women Doctors } Wearing Academic Dress. Women Graduates }

- SECTION F. Group Captains: Miss Rogers, Miss J. Green. Provincial Members dressed in white, each to carry Madonna Lily.
- SECTION G. Group Captains: Miss C. Maguire, Miss Bonwick. Provincial Members dressed in purple, to carry a penny.
- SECTION H. Group Captains: Miss Elsa Myers, Miss Annie Ainsworth. Provincial Members dressed in black, each to carry purple iris.
- SECTION I. Group Captains: Miss MacArthur, Mrs. Fahey. Outside organisations, carrying flowers.
- SECTION J. Group Captains: Miss Virtue, Miss Glidewell. General Public.
- SECTION K. Group Captains: Miss D. Rock, Miss D. Smith. Carriages.
- CHIEF MARSHAL: MISS MARY ALLEN.
- GROUP CAPTAINS: A. Miss C. Hale. B. Miss Gordon. C. Miss Harding. D. Miss L. Tyson. E. Miss Joan Wickham. F. Miss C. Maguire. G. Miss Bonwick. H. Miss Elsa Myers. I. Miss MacArthur. J. Miss Virtue. K. Miss D. Rock. Miss D. Smith.

- London Members. 1. Members dressed in black to carry purple irises, and will march in Section "B."
- 2. Members dressed in purple to carry red peonies, and will march in Section "C."
- 3. Members dressed in white to carry Madonna lilies, and will march in Section "D."
- Provincial Members. 1. Members dressed in white to carry Madonna lilies, and will march in Section "F."
- 2. Members dressed in purple to carry peonies, and will march in Section "G."
- 3. Members dressed in black to carry purple irises, and will march in Section "H."
- A special guard of honour of intimate friends will bring up the body from Epsom to Victoria.
- FLOWERS—IMPORTANT. All are asked to provide their own flowers, and those carrying laurel wreaths will bring these with them.
- PROCESSIONISTS. Processionists form up in fours.
- OUTSIDE SOCIETIES. Independent Suffrage Societies who are taking part in the Procession will

form up in Section "I." They will carry their own wreaths and their banner will be veiled with purple. White, purple, or black will be worn with a black band on the left arm two inches deep.

MARSHALS. Marshals are asked to be in their places at 12.45.

OFFICIATING CLERGY. The officiating clergymen at the service will include the Rev. C. O. Baumgarten, the Venerable Archdeacon Escreet, and the Rev. Claude Hinscliffe.

ARRIVAL AT THE CHURCH. During the service the processionists for whom there is no accommodation in the church will pass into Russell Square, and wait there during the service, and they are asked to retain their places in the procession. Those who have tickets for the church are requested immediately after the service to resume their original places in the procession as quietly and quickly as possible.

After this the procession will continue to King's Cross, where the body will be

entained for Morpeth, Northumberland. The interment will take place at Morpeth on Sunday next. The service will be held in the Parish Church at 12.45. The Scottish and Northern W.S.P.U. organisations are arranging a procession to the cemetery.

IMPORTANT NOTICE. A black band two inches deep should be worn on the left arm by all taking part in the procession. All intending to join in the procession are urgently asked to be in their places punctually at one p.m.

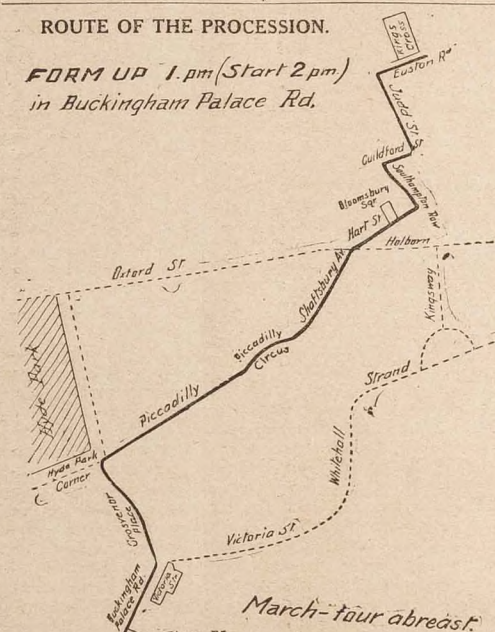
Floral Tributes. All floral tributes should be sent to Lincoln's Inn House not later than Friday afternoon.

PAPER SELLERS. A large number of sellers will be required to sell the *Suffragette* along the route. The paper this week is taking the form of a memorial to Miss Davison, and should have a ready sale.

As several clergymen have expressed the wish to be permitted the honour of walking in the procession in their robes, the organisers wish to make it known that they will gladly welcome all who desire to show their respect in this way.

Among other societies the Women Writers' Suffrage League are joining in the procession.

Britain of the twentieth century ought to be ashamed of itself for denying such gifted women the careers and opportu-



ROUTE OF THE PROCESSION. FORM UP 1 p.m. (Start 2 p.m.) in Buckingham Palace Rd. March-tour abreast.

On Friday Miss Ker Mrs. San peared at gether wi arrested France o manded i day, and chemist, on Thurs Draw, m whose im issue of T apprehen The ch stated as For havi Pankhurst, other men Political U other date image, u, belonging to the Maltese Mr. Bodl Mr. Willia of the Dire McDonald Drew, and fendants. Mr. Bodl arrests since trate. Owe to bealt to open the for a furthe had been gi In the i inspector I that at 11 went to M Miss Kenne the vestibul Riota, 1831. documents: a bedroom, ny's room, some writin day the w residence in warrant to "I think it an extre cause. Wh The witness papers," ab the card he The defenda wrote that, thing at th letter addre the witness' duced and t the handw four docum Miss Kenne went to Mr

RACING AND POLITICS.

Are we to laugh or weep when we find official Liberal and Labour newspapers casting their sanctimonious eyes to Heaven over the interruption of the sport of Kings by a woman fighting for democratic principles—by a woman prepared to sacrifice her life for that liberty of soul which she holds so dear, and which, apparently, even official labour in its middle-class comfort has lost the desire to fight for at all?

The Government, of course, would wish us to read the Citizen but not the Herald, to read the Daily News but not the Suffragette. Does Mr. Asquith read any papers, even of his own side? If so, perhaps he only feels that they are making good copy out of the real and bogus outrages of which the women stand accused. But every attack on property that the newspapers lay at the women's door might serve as a sign to Mr. Asquith of the hollowness of his pretence that voteless women can be left to the tender mercies of men. When the papers tell him that women have fired an empty school, he might remember that voteless women have no control over the education of their children. When the papers say they have attacked a post-office, he might remember that his Postmaster-General attempted to cheat voteless women by introducing a lower grade of clerk into the Post Office. When it is a burnt boat-house or cricket pavilion, he might remember how little of leisure working women have and how much less of sport. Journalists chatter about "hunting the leather!" No leather is so hunted as the woman working in a sweat-shop without the protection of the vote. When a church is burnt down, it might remind him that Christ thought little of temples made with hands and little of the money-changers, the Scribes and the Pharisees. When the damage done is at an observatory, Mr. Asquith might remember that, though it may need a telescope to study the glory of God in the heavens, the mess that man has made on earth can be studied with the naked eye.

Now let us come to the most recent instance of all. Miss Emily Wilding Davison makes a protest at the risk of her life by throwing herself in front of the race-horses at the Derby. The Derby, we are told, encourages an improvement in the breed of horses. Votes for Women means assuredly the raising of a better breed of human beings, and Mr. Asquith should blush to think of the great anti-Suffragist hypocrisy which considers it right and gives every encouragement to women to go into the racing world, and yet pretends to fear that women will lose their modesty and purity by going to the polling-booth. What are the earnest and thoughtful section of our women to think of a national sport which, on the day of its apotheosis, fills the papers with tales of the roguery attached to it? The winner of this historic race is disqualified for unfair riding, the bookmakers are cheated by the betting men they have paid in error, and simple folk are cheated by the welters. A pretty spectacle all round, and this has its counterpart in our political life, in that other game that men play at Westminster, of which a weekly paper wants to know how we can expect anything better while leaders on both sides are such liars.

The night before Miss Davison's deliberate and heroic act, the culmination of a life of devotion to others, she was asked why she had ceased writing her wise and forceful letters to the Press. She replied that paper after paper

had refused to print them. Now, Miss Davison was secure in the knowledge that her letters were well written, temperate, and the outcome of a fine brain and a careful study of her subjects. Miss Davison insisted on attention being given to the wrongs of women, and, failing to get a hearing in that Press which the editor of a great London daily has assured us has always been open to women, she claimed the attention of all the world on Epsom Downs.

If Miss Davison's sacrifice has produced no effect on Mr. Asquith, it has called to the minds of tens of thousands of decent people who never considered the question before the fact that there are women in England to-day prepared to make any sacrifice to gain their political rights, so that they may alter a condition of affairs which the present electorate has come to accept as normal.

R. H. P.

THE SUFFRAGETTE SUMMER FESTIVAL.

THE Suffragette Summer Festival of 1913 is nearly over. Friday, June 13, will be the last day. One is already able to review it as a whole and to gauge the impression it has made. It is a far-reaching one. There was talk the other day at the Fair of visitors from the Philippine Islands. They had been told by the enlightened British public that the best "sport" to be obtained in London was Suffragette baiting. So they came to our Fair. They went away somewhat puzzled. Suffragettes and Suffragette activity were not what they had been led to expect!

The Fair stands out, a big and complete success. On its own merits and on the merits of the Union it has won its way. The Press has not helped. It has not been "puffed" in the newspapers. Everyone who admitted that by far the most successful advertising has been carried out by the women on the hay-cart, by the women poster-paraders, by the women bill distributors. The self-devotion of women who paraded on hot mornings, of women who gave up whole days to making the dainty paper roses for decoration, the energy, determination, and courage of the stall-holders have made the Fair what it is. Everyone but a staunch member of the W.S.P.U. would be appalled at being requested to organise in a period of three weeks a toy stall or a stall for children's clothing! Yet it has been accomplished, not only successfully, but magnificently. All the stall-holders have done wonders. One has only to look through the list of milliners who sent contributions to Mrs. R. Pott's stall, or of soap-makers, &c., who supported the Hampstead Stall, to realise what can be done by hard work and persuasive powers joined to unconquerable spirit!

One cannot pay a tribute to the stall-holders and their helpers without saying a word also about the thousands of women who have worked and stitched and made sacrifices in order to have something to send for sale at the Fair. Women have sent their jewellery, they have sent books they cared for; they have sent needlework, to which one knows they have sacrificed sleep and leisure. Contributions have poured in from all over the country. From Birmingham the news came that every single

member was sending one article at least to the Festival.

Mrs. Morris and Mrs. Marks have made a great success of the Refreshment Buffet. Their helpers have had long hours and hard work, but one does not hear of complaints—only one or other of them says occasionally: "This will always make me more patient with the tea-shop girls."

The Barn, with its picturesque hay-cart in one dim corner and the brilliant little garden in the other, with the realistic touch of country scenery behind it, will never be forgotten. Mrs. Marshall has already achieved fame as the "Suffragette General Provider," but she has never done it in such picturesque surroundings before. The Lark's Nest and its famous "new-laid eggs" have proved a great feature. No one could have carried out this scheme more picturesquely and more successfully than Mrs. Murray. She was cast for the part, and she has carried it through nobly.

The Festival has meant real hard work all round, but which of the members will mind about that, now that another big success has been scored for the Union? And we have enjoyed ourselves as well as made money! There has been many a hearty chuckle over the announcement concerning pickpockets. "Scotland Yard is here to protect you—Still beware!" People have given up saying Suffragettes have no sense of humour; even the man in the street has got beyond that.

The actresses have given us splendid assistance. The hundreds who have appreciated the daily performances will thank not only the performers, but Miss Bensusan, who has worked so tirelessly for the Festival. Perhaps the success of the week has been scored by Miss Margaret Morris's dancing children. No one can have too much of them. Then there is "Punch." He has caused a lot of fun to the children and the grown-ups.

It has been good to come into the Empress Rooms in the evening, to sit upon the grass and watch the splashing fountain with the rainbow colours reflected in it. The rose-scented paths were lovely at night, and the painted gates here and there, with scenery by hill and wood behind, led one out of the garden into the land of dreams. The artistic and beautiful decorations were designed and carried out by Mr. Waldo Furst, to whom great gratitude is due.

There was music always, and sometimes applause broke out, a short and sure way of expressing appreciation to Miss Rosabel Watson for the big part she had played in making the Fair so pleasant.

Joan of Arc, presiding over us, was the gift of Mrs. Furst. We are grateful to Mrs. Furst for the symbol and all it has meant to us. Nowhere could the laurel wreath to a brave friend and comrade have been so fitly laid as at the feet of the virgin fighter and martyr who uplifts and inspires us all.

NOTICE!

THE END OF THE GARDEN FAIR.

DUTCH AUCTION,

AT THE EMPRESS ROOMS, KENSINGTON,

ON THURSDAY EVENING, JUNE 12,

and FRIDAY AFTERNOON, JUNE 13.

BARGAINS THIS WAY.

AN OPPORTUNITY NOT TO BE MISSED.

THE FAIR CLOSSES AT 6.30 ON FRIDAY EVENING.

THE WINDOW-BREAKING CASE

Verdict for the Plaintiffs. APPEAL ALLOWED.

In the King's Bench Division on Saturday, before Mr. Justice Darling, the hearing of "Robinson and Cleaver and Others v. Lawrence and Others," an action arising out of the window-breaking in London in March of last year, resulted in a verdict against the defendants, with costs. Application, however, was stayed, pending an appeal to the Court of Appeal.

The plaintiffs in the action were Messrs. Swan and Edgar, Messrs. Swears and White, Messrs. T. G. Harries and Co., and White House Linen Specialists. The claim was against Mr. F. Pettick Lawrence, Mrs. Pettick Lawrence, Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and Mr. Mabel Tuke, and the members of the Women's Social and Political Union. It was alleged the defendants conspired to procure certain persons to trespass on property. The defence was a denial. Mrs. Pankhurst put in no defence, and it was explained that Miss Pankhurst was out of the country. Mr. Tindal Atkinson, K.C., and Mr. E. Charles, instructed by Messrs. Amery, Paris, and Co., appeared for the plaintiffs; Mr. G. Wallace, K.C., and Mr. G. R. Bianco White, instructed by Mr. R. Hatchett, Jones, and Co., for the Union; and Messrs. Ranger, Barton, and Frost, the solicitors for Mr. and Mrs. F. Pettick Lawrence, who had no counsel.

The hearing. On June 5, Mr. Tindal Atkinson having opened for the plaintiffs, evidence of conspiracy was tendered in the form of passages from the seventh annual report of the Women's Social and Political Union, and from speeches and articles by Mrs. and Miss Christabel Pankhurst and by Mr. and Mrs. Pettick Lawrence, printed in Votes for Women, the former journal of the union. Evidence was given as to the breaking of the plaintiffs' windows on March 1, 1912, and as to the printing and publishing of Votes for Women.

On June 6 Mr. John McCarthy, superintendent at the Criminal Investigation Department, gave evidence and produced various documents seized by the police at the Clements Inn offices of the W.S.P.U. on March 5, 1912. Mr. Wallace, on behalf of the members of the union, submitted (1) that in any case persons who had joined the union after March 1, 1912, could not be liable for acts done on that date, and (2) contended that the members of the union who had joined before that date had gained no knowledge and could not have gained any indication earlier than three months before the window-breaking on March 1, 1912. In support of this contention he called Lady Sybil Smith and a number of other ladies who had been members of the union, and who said they had taken no part in any conspiracy or attacks on private property.

Speech for the Defence. Mr. Wallace, in addressing the jury on behalf of members of the union, asked them not to confound the innocent with the guilty. He appeared on behalf of the innocent members. Were all the members of the United Irish League—he thought that was the name—guilty of the murders of officials which took place in Ireland some years ago? He referred to Sweeney v. Cooté (1897), A.C., at p. 223.

For the Plaintiffs. Mr. Tindal Atkinson said this case was a very important one indeed, for it was the first attempt to make the funds of the union liable for the damage done in the course of this campaign; and if they found that these funds were liable, then they would also be liable for all the subsequent damage done, far exceeding the value of the property lost in this action, caused by the burning of houses and churches. It was this that constituted the real importance of this case. He said the real importance of every person belonging to an association of this kind, who remained a member of it after knowledge of what was responsible in their name, were as much done as those persons who actually took part in doing it.

Mr. Pettick Lawrence's Speech. Mr. Pettick Lawrence, in rising to address the jury, said that he wished to associate himself with what both the learned counsel had said, who had just addressed the jury, as to the importance of the case. The seventh annual report of the Women's Social and Political Union had been put in and read to the jury. That had enabled counsel to deal with facts that were quite immaterial to this case—matters which had occurred long after March 1, 1912, such as injury to private property after that date. This was of special importance to his wife and himself, as they had left the W.S.P.U. in October, 1912, and they were no longer members when the report was published. He had stood by the women who were in revolt. He did not regret it. One of the reasons why he had done this was to avoid the terrible calamity that might come upon the country if the vote were not given to women—a war.

The Funds of Trade Unions. His wife and he had no dissociated themselves from the Women's Social and Political Union, but they had not ceased to work for the cause of woman's enfranchisement. The question was whether he should be saddled with the whole of the damage that was caused in this way. An attempt of a similar kind to saddle the Members of Trade Unions was considered so unfair that an Act of Parliament was passed specially to meet the case. They had three months before from an attempt to join in a conspiracy to procure persons to trespass on property, and they were not to be taken against him, but would an attempt be made to saddle him with the expense of what occurred? Continuing, Mr. Pettick Lawrence said, in conclusion, that he submitted to the gentlemen of the jury that after careful consideration they ought not to find that he should be liable to bear this loss.

Mrs. Lawrence's Address. Mrs. Pettick Lawrence said that the case had been put before them by experts in the intricacies of the law, and she was conscious that she was no lawyer; but she took courage from the fact that they were laymen. With regard to conspiracy, the popular idea of a conspirator was that of a person working in the dark with the intention of benefiting himself and injuring others. In that sense they were certainly not conspirators. The words uttered by them relied on by the plaintiffs were uttered in public meetings and reported in their newspaper. She had had no other object than a political one—namely, the raising of public opinion as to the wrongs inflicted on the disfranchised section of the community. It was peculiarly difficult for a man to put himself in the position of a woman. But she wanted them to do so, and to suppose that all the laws were made by women. Let them suppose that they had transgressed those laws, and had to appear before a Bench of women to be judged by them and punished by them. In such a case, would not they, or if not they some men, have felt this to be intolerable, and would they not be moved to make demonstrations of protest, and if their minor protests were disregarded, to go on making stronger protests until they had convinced women that it was impossible to govern men without their consent? The holes in those broken windows were mouths calling attention to the wrongs of hundreds of thousands of wives and mothers. The change of policy of the union dated from the speeches of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Hobhouse. The latter, at Bristol, ridiculed their great processions, and said that there was no such evidence of popular feeling in favour of this movement as was shown by the breaking down of Hyde Park railings, and the destruction of Nottingham Castle. She appealed for understanding, and wanted them to see behind those broken windows the broken lives of women.

Summing Up. Mr. Justice Darling, in summing up the case to the jury, having enunciated the law, said that he should leave it to the jury whether the members of the Women's Social and Political Union, whom Mrs. Tuke represented in the order of the Court, had conspired to break these windows as well as the members of the Council on both sides had cited authorities to him. If he was wrong on the point, he could

easily be put right in the Court of Appeal. Mr. Wallace was quite right when he told the jury it was not enough for the plaintiffs to prove a mere conspiracy. Was what the other lawyers would have called an action on the case. The plaintiffs must show a conspiracy to commit damage and actual damage committed. Mrs. Pettick Lawrence, in a most eloquent speech—really one of the most eloquent he had ever heard in that Court—had put forward her defence. A number of people had broken these windows. Mrs. Pettick Lawrence had not suggested that these people were not liable. But that was no answer for the plaintiffs, because in all probability those persons were not worth a penny. If people do wrong actions and other people do them, the former persons become liable to those who suffered damage.

Mr. Hobhouse's Speech. Mrs. Pettick Lawrence had said that the persons who broke these windows were incited, not by the defendants, but by Mr. Lloyd George and by Mr. Hobhouse. He did not intend to say whether what was done was in pursuance of what the gentlemen had said. He did not wonder that Mrs. Pettick Lawrence had read this passage from Mr. Hobhouse's speech. It was a most unfortunate thing to tell these people, especially if they were then engaged in a solely constitutional agitation. "And, mind you, gentlemen," continued the learned Judge, "this is a constitutional agitation, and far be it from me to say that women are not just as fit for the vote as those who possess it. It was not unusual that Mrs. Pettick Lawrence should use the argument that those gentlemen had incited the women to violence. But the fact is that, even if they had, it did not follow that the defendants had not incited them also. If they were all in the dock together, and one said where you used whips I used scorpions, he should be inclined to pass a heavier sentence on those who used scorpions. Perhaps if there were many more speeches of this kind used those that made them would be sued by persons who had suffered damage. And if two of such speeches were made on the same afternoon the speakers might well find themselves indicted for conspiracy.

The breaking of the windows was not denied. The question for the jury was—Did the defendants conspire to incite other persons to break these windows? Mr. Wallace asked the question the jury must look at the articles and speeches printed in this paper Votes for Women. They could not disregard what Mrs. Pettick Lawrence had said to them, that the union had been engaged in a great constitutional agitation. Not only did they get up great constitutional meetings, but they broke all the records. If they had only stopped there! But then they got on to breaking windows. Why? In her own words, that "the holes in the windows might become mouths." That might be the object with which the windows were broken; but that fact did not prove that it was right to break them. No one could help sympathising with a great deal of Mrs. Pettick Lawrence's speech, but he could not possibly direct the jury that the ends pursued by her were so good that they justified the means employed. He could not say that if a window were broken with the object of getting a rise in wages it was unlawful, but if it were broken with the object of getting votes for those who were without them it was lawful. If the defendants conspired to induce others to break these windows and the windows were broken, it did not matter whether the defendants had a good end in view or a bad one; they were liable to the plaintiffs for the damage done.

The Methods of the Union. Lady Sybil Smith and other ladies had given evidence. She said that she joined the union in 1909, and had registered early that year for reasons of her own. She had said that she did not herself think it right to attack private property, but she thought it was a matter for the individual conscience. She thought it right that others should do so if they thought right. And in answer to a question from him she had said that she thought there were many moral codes as there were individuals. Well, if that were going to be acted upon, what was the good of giving women votes at all, or, indeed, of making laws? She said that she herself disapproved of acts of violence; but she had attended at the meetings where there was talk of stone-throwing. That was Mr. Tindal Atkinson's case against the members of the Council on both sides which these things were said, they subscribed to their funds, and

they bought the paper of the union, and so all were liable. It was plain that when the Women's Social and Political Union was first established it conducted a perfectly legitimate and constitutional agitation. It was as legitimate an association as the Anti-Corn Law League. But there came a time when it gave the go-by to its constitutional methods. Mr. Hobhouse had not said: "Go and break windows." Apparently he had said that they should commit some acts of violence. So did the English king who had said: "Who will rid me of this turbulent priest?" and a nobleman who heard him went away and murdered Thomas a Becket. But it could not be said that nobody but the king was guilty of what occurred. He ought also to say that Mr. Hobhouse's speech was delivered after a number of the indictments relied on by the plaintiffs had been printed in Votes for Women.

What had the methods of this union degenerated into? Lady Sybil Smith in her evidence had put it in the blindest way and perhaps in the best language. She had said that there were as many moral codes as there were persons. "You," said she in effect, "have your own moral code; act upon it." What did that end in? It ended in Anarchy; it ended in nihilism. They were a long way from that condition where people only followed virtue and never gave way to evil impulses; there were some of them, no doubt, but the world was not full of them yet. One could not write up "Pay ce que vous devez." People like the plaintiffs in this action said that their windows had been broken. If that were allowed with impunity society would be dissolved.

He need not tell the jury that if they returned a verdict for the plaintiffs it would be in no way hinder, far less stop, the legal agitation of the Women's Social and Political Union. It might well be that it would help the union. For it might well be that if they pursued their present course those who governed might become more stubborn. If the jury thought that the defendants had conspired by means of incitements and the collection of money and other means to get others to go and break these windows, then they would return a verdict for the plaintiffs. The total amount of the damages claimed was £364 13s. 9d. He hoped that he had expressed no opinion, and certainly no hostile opinion, to woman's suffrage. He desired to express no opinion upon the matter. He ought to say that Mrs. and Mrs. Pettick Lawrence had left the union before the issue of this seventh annual report. If the jury thought that the defendants had conspired for conduct of which they disapproved, and with which they desired to dissociate themselves.

The Verdict. The jury retired at 3.15 p.m. and returned into Court at 4 p.m., when they returned a verdict for the plaintiffs for the amounts claimed by them against all the defendants. Accordingly judgment was entered for the plaintiffs in the five actions, with costs.

On the application of Mr. Wallace execution was stayed against Mrs. Tuke as representing the members of the Women's Social and Political Union pending an appeal to the Court of Appeal, if notice were entered within three weeks.

In answer to Mr. Wallace, Mr. Justice Darling said that members of the union who had joined it after March 1, 1912, were not liable.

STOP PRESS.

SCENE IN THE COMMONS.

MISSILES AT PREMIER.

Missiles were thrown at Mr. Asquith in the House of Commons on Wednesday afternoon.

While Mr. Asquith was speaking a young man in the Strangers' Gallery suddenly rose and flung what appeared to be a newspaper parcel containing flour in the direction of the Prime Minister.

A second parcel containing leaflets and literature followed. The first shot over the Premier's head on to the floor, a few feet to the right of the Speaker's chair. The man, who it is understood made a reference to his protest to Miss Davison, was ejected.

LEA

On Eric Miss Ker Mrs. San peared at gether wi arrested o manded i day, and chemist, on Thurs Draw, m whose im issue of T apprehen The ch stated as For havi Pankhurst, other men Political U other date image, u, belonging to the Malicio Mr. Bod Mr. Willha of the Dire McDonald Draw, and fondants. Mr. Bod arrests since trate. Owen to be dealt to open the for a further had been gi In the inspector I that at 11 went to M Miss Kenne the vestibal Riots, 1831. documents: a bedroom, ny's room, some writin day the wi residence in warrant to "I think it an extreme case. Wh The witness papers," ab the card he The defenda wrote that, thing at th letter addre duced and t the handw four docum went to Mr

Programme of the Week.

Table with columns for day, location, and event details. Includes sections for LONDON, EASTBOURNE, TORQUAY, NORTH-WESTERN COUNTIES, EASTERN COUNTIES, and COUNTRY.

Very special thanks are due to Mrs. Murray, who has all through the week collected charming goods for, and taken entire charge of "Lucky Nest." Also to Miss Newman, who has spent week helping each day in refreshment room. The large and beautiful cake sent to festival by Messrs. Compagnoni Brothers, has won great admiration from all. The decoration of flags, chains &c. in purple, white, and green, were done by a man who gave his off-time to the work. This is most heartily appreciated. Miss K. Jarvis is speaking at Eastern Bandstand on Wednesday next, at 6.30. Will all members try to be present and bring friends? (Org. Miss M. S. Allen, Shop, 58, Grove Road.)

here and friends are asked to patronise shop, where tea, cigarettes, pretty flowers, ladies' and children's overalls can be bought at reasonable prices. (Hon. Sec. Miss E. M. Schuster, Shop, 258, Chapel Walk.)

Women's Tax Resistance League. On Thursday afternoon last members of this League were invited by Mrs. Louis Esau to Rutland Court, where they exchanged experiences of their sales, and gave amusing descriptions of the contents of tax-ejectors, ballifs, and auctioneers. Delightful stories were told by Miss Stadel, Atkinson, Miss Eston, Miss James, Mrs. Thomas, Miss Manuelle, and others, while Mrs. Golden Sanderson and Mrs. Kinaston Parkes gave accounts of the country sales. The outcome of the meeting was to strengthen the resolve of all present to resist to the utmost till the vote was won. (Office, 10, Talbot House, 93, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.)

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS. SINGLE INSERTION 1d. per word. MINIMUM 1s. 6d.

(Four insertions for the price of Three.) All Advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address: The Advertisement Manager, THE SUFFRAGETTE, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

BOARD-RESIDENCE, & C.

ABSOLUTE Privacy, Quietude, and Refinement, no extras. At the Strand Imperial Hotel, opposite Gaiety Theatre. Ladies will find the freshest, daintiest, cosiest quarters; sumptuous bedroom, with h. and c. water fitted; breakfast, bath, attendance, and lights, from 8s. 6d.; in pension, 9s. Finest English provisions. Terrace, garden, lounge. — MANAGERESS, 4728 Gerard.

A BEAUTIFUL HOLIDAY HOME (altitude 600ft.).—Dean Forest, Severn and Wye Valleys, England's finest forest and river scenery. Spacious house, 23 bedrooms, billiard room, bathroom. Extensive grounds. Tennis, conveyances. Vegetarians accommodated. Suffragists welcomed. Board-residence, 30s. to 37s. 6d. Photos, prospectus, E. MAS, HILLAM, Littledean House, Newnham, Glos.

A MEMBER OF THE W.S.P.U. OFFERS COMFORTABLE BOARD-RESIDENCE to ladies and gentlemen. Moderate inclusive terms. Best breakfast, 23 bath, from 3s. 6d.—52, Upper Bedford Place, Russell Square, Phone City 6983.

APARTMENTS or BOARD-RESIDENCE. Highest references. Room and Breakfast, 3s. Breakfast, Tea, and Dinner, 5s. daily, 30s. weekly. Vegetarians catered for. Also a nice little Bed-sitting Room, furnished, 8s. 6d. per week.—Mrs. WYTRA, 22, Doughty Street, Mecklenburg Square, W.C.

BOARD-RESIDENCE, superior, from 30s. Close Baker Street, Underground, and Tube. Bed and breakfast, 3s. 6d. per day. Telephone 4339 Paddington.—MR. CAMPBELL, 5 and 7, York Street, Portman Square, W.

BRIGHTON—A comfortable HOME at moderate terms. Ordinary or reform diet.—Miss TURNER, W.S.P.U., Sea View, Victoria Road, Brighton. Nat. Tel. 2762.

BRIGHTON—TITCHFIELD HOUSE BOARDING ESTABLISHMENT, 21 Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good Table. Terms from 25s.—Mrs. GRAY, Member W.S.P.U.

EASTBOURNE.—Member recommends COMFORTABLE BOARD-RESIDENCE, overlooking sea and centre of Grand Parade. Good Table. Terms moderate.—17, Burlington Place.

HASTINGS.—APARTMENTS or BOARD-RESIDENCE, suitable for Students. Member W.S.P.U. 18s. 6d. per week, or 3s. per day. Vegetarians catered for. Highest references.—Miss FUNST, 10, Olive Avenue, Mount Road.

NEW FOREST NEIGHBOURHOOD.—Comfortable APARTMENTS. Board if required.—HEARD, "Thornlands," Totton, Southampton.

PRIVATE HOTEL for Ladies only; quiet and refined, 13, St. George's Square, Westminster. Breakfast, Bath, and Attendance, from 4s. 6d.—Write or wire Miss DAVIES.

THE ANCHORAGE, St. Abbs, Berwickshire.—Comfortable BOARD-RESIDENCE. Sea view, golf, tennis. Members. Woman's March.—BARZ, COWE.

TO BE LET OR SOLD.

EASTBOURNE.—Member offers a FLAT or ROOMS facing sea. Magnificent view. Moderate.—Mrs. NORLEY, 39, Gilroide Road.

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WANTED.

ACTIVE PARTNER, with between £300—£500, to develop wholesale cigarette and cigar business, required. No agents.—Please apply T. L., 120 Sheringham Avenue, Manor Park, Essex.

GIRL WANTED, to Educate with a Girl and Three Boys; home life, in pinewood district; vegetarian preferred; non-theological; ethics, 15s. weekly. Particulars and references on application.—CHARLES OLIVER, B.A., Tadley, Basingstoke.

HELP WANTED, as one of Family; no rough work; healthy country; vegetarian preferred; 212.—Mrs. OLIVER, Tadley, Basingstoke.

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A MODEL LAUNDRY.—Family work a Speciality. Dainty fabrics of every description treated with special care. Flannels and Silks washed in distilled water. No chemicals used. Best labour only employed. Prompt collections; prompt deliveries.—BUSLESS, Cressy House Laundry, Reynolds Road, Acton Green, W.

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SITUATION VACANT. WANTED, WORKING HOUSE KEEPER immediately; active, strong and capable man kept salary £25. Vegetarian preferred.—Mrs. OLIVER, 22, Crescent Road, Crouch End, London, N.

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MODERN ARTISTIC DRESS.—MORA PICKLE (late of Baker Street), REMOVED to 399, OXFORD STREET, Entrance in Gilbert Street, opp. Times Book Club.

SPRING COSTUMES, in all the newest materials, from 2s. 2s. Perfect fit and style guaranteed.—Madame MOORE, 44, Fombridge Villas, W.

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On Friday Miss Ker... Mrs. San... peared at... gether wi... arrested... France o... manded i... day, and... chemist, ... on Thurs... Drew, md... whose im... issue of T... apprehenc... The cha... stated as... For havi... Pankhurst... other men... Political U... other d... damage, ... belonging t... the Malicio... Mr. Bodl... Mr. Willia... of the Dira... McDonald... Drew, and... fendants... Mr. Bodl... arrests since... trate. Owil... to open th... for a furthe... had been gi... In the... inspector I... that at 11... went to M... Miss Kenne... the vestibul... Riots, 1831... documents... a bedroom... ney's room... some writin... day the wi... residence in... warrant to... "I think it... an an extre... cause. Wh... The witness... papers," sh... the card he... The defenda... wrote that... thing at th... letter addre... the witness... duced and t... the handwri... four docum... Miss Kenney... went to Mr...