

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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DOUBLE-FACED AGAIN!



Mr. ASQUITH (to Suffragette asking for Votes): "Two Months' Hard Labour!"

Ditto (to Miner threatening with Votes): "One moment, sir, what can I do for you?"

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

THE OUTLOOK.

After we go to press, the leaders of the Union and Mr. Lawrence will appear again before the magistrate at Bow Street. Until the conclusion of the trial we shall of course refrain from all comment. We shall not put ourselves in the position of lawbreakers; so light-heartedly taken up by other newspapers which

know that the Government will not prosecute them. The "Times" for instance, in its issue of March 6, referring to the prisoners whose trial has not even begun, and who by the law of England are assumed to be innocent until they are convicted, wrote as follows:—

"A sentence of penal servitude on the instigators of these criminal acts as distinguished from their dupes, would commend itself, we believe, to the public sense of justice."

Here the editor of the "Times" is not only prejudging the case; he is attempting to dictate the sentence. If this is not contempt of Court we do not know the meaning of the phrase. But editors who do this sort of thing know the authorities will not touch them. They are as safe as the people who mob and assault Suffragists in the streets and parks, or who break up Suffragist shops, but are never arrested.

Where, Oh, Where?

Meantime, the other leader roams the earth, the ocean, or the air. Without being in the least like a Boojum, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, has silently vanished away, and none knows whither, least of all the eminent detectives of Scotland Yard. Fond of hunting as the British people are, it is a peculiar thing that their sympathy is almost always with the fugitive, and we doubt if Sherlock Holmes himself would have a chance for their favour against a successful Vanishing Lady. So day by day, as the police went searching the British Isles, enquiring with simple guile at the residence of every noted Suffragist in the kingdom, the interest grew with laughter. Always the delight of the crowd in London and other great cities—always welcomed for her eloquence, her

wit, her skilful retort, and, above all, for her imperishable good temper—Miss Pankhurst herself can hardly ever have been so widely popular as her elusive shadow was from the hour when she took flight. So she remains, up to the time of writing, unheard, unseen, but none the less an inspiring influence to all who have known her intellectual power, unflagging courage, and charm.

Sir William Byles, M.P.

In the leading article we discuss the attitude of Sir William Byles and some few members of Parliament who follow in his train. These gentlemen, contrary to expectations aroused by their eager championship of rebels in other lands, profess to be so shocked by militant methods that they intend to turn traitor to the cause of Woman Suffrage. There is evidently never a very robust faith in the cause. We have noticed before that some people never testify so strongly to their belief in Woman Suffrage as they do at the moment when they announce their defection from the Suffragist ranks. Sir William Byles' reference to militant methods seems uncommonly like an excuse, for we find him arguing in a letter to the "Daily News" that to deal with Woman Suffrage this session might interfere with the success of other causes—causes for which he cares more. He instances Home Rule, and says:

Controversy, differences, perhaps wrangling about Woman Suffrage among the supporters of the Government, or haply in the Cabinet, would inevitably imperil that measure. I can never be a party to prejudice the chances of Home Rule, and that is why I stay my hand for this Session, at any rate, in the woman's cause.

So it is not militant methods, after all, that have made Sir William Byles desert the woman's cause. It is

sheer party spirit and a desire to ingratiate himself with those he thinks strong, at the expense of those he thinks weak. It cannot be pretended for one moment that, taken on its merits, the cause of Woman Suffrage is less important than the cause of Home Rule. No; the M.P. in question, in proposing to sacrifice the one cause for the other, is not actuated by principle, but simply wishes to make things easy and pleasant for the Government, and to curry favour with the Nationalist party.

The Prestige of the Government.

But it is obvious that the effect of Sir William's scheme would be to defeat his own object, for unless it is settled in speedy and statesmanlike fashion, the Woman Suffrage question will be the ruin of the Liberal Government and the various causes, including Home Rule, for which they as a Government stand. Therefore, all who care to maintain the Government in office should refrain from recommending to them the suicidal course of trifling with the Woman Suffrage issue. If the Nationalist party think that the success of their own cause depends on the continuance of the present Government's existence, they will set to work to restrain Sir William Byles from his wrecking enterprise. They may well pray to be delivered from such injurious friendship as he offers them. The prestige and the safety of the Government are seriously threatened by this question of Votes for Women, and they cannot retain office much longer unless they deal with it. This is a point which of course will be carefully weighed by those who have other legislative ends in view.

The Conciliation Bill.

In marked contrast to the attitude of the little group of M.P.'s that we have referred to above is the attitude of Mr. Agg Gardner. He has been asked to go back upon his principles in consequence of the action taken by the militants. He refuses. He introduced the Conciliation Bill because he thought it right to do so. He absolutely refuses now to do what he thinks would be wrong, and to withdraw it merely because he dissents from the action of women for whose policy and conduct he is in no way responsible. Quite apart from our contention that if men are to have Manhood Suffrage it will be inadequate and unfair to give women nothing more than the Household Suffrage, we are of opinion that the Government intend, if they dare, to destroy any and every proposal for Woman Suffrage. They will destroy a limited measure, and they will destroy an extended measure. They have promised facilities for the Conciliation Bill, but they do not hesitate to break their promises. They are doing everything in their power to disintegrate the Suffrage forces in the House of Commons so as to rob every successive proposal for Woman Suffrage of a majority. It is in order to put a stop to the Government's machinations and to compel them to shoulder the responsibility of dealing with our question that the recent militant demonstrations have been made.

The Referendum for Woman Suffrage?

The determination of the Women's Social and Political Union to fight for a Government measure is greatly intensified by the definite knowledge that the Government, in the hope of defeating Woman Suffrage at the twelfth hour, are plotting to use the Referendum. A suspicion of this was first excited by the campaign in the "Daily Chronicle" and "Westminster Gazette." Since then, anti-Suffragists in the Cabinet have openly pleaded for the use of this "costly method of denying justice." Worse still, our so-called friends in the Cabinet, Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Edward Grey, have suggested that the Cabinet would offer no resistance to an attempt by the House of Commons or the House of Lords to add a Referendum clause to a Woman Suffrage Bill. Lord Haldane has now confessed the whole truth, and confirmed our worst suspicions. No wonder the Prime Minister would not meet Mrs. Pankhurst! Lord Haldane said at Oxford on Saturday: "The House of Commons may say that it wishes to submit the question of Woman Suffrage to a Referendum, and it will be perfectly within its rights if it does so."

Why Not for Other Measures?

Who, after this, will talk of the Prime Minister's fidelity to his pledged word? Lord Haldane's statement shows that the Prime Minister is prepared to break his promise, and that the Suffragist Ministers are prepared to connive at this betrayal. "The House of Commons will have a perfect right to submit Woman Suffrage to a Referendum," says Lord Haldane. Yes, and the House of Commons would have an equal right to submit Home Rule, or any other measure, to a Referendum. But what would the Government do if the House of Commons made the attempt? The Government would resist that attempt and would carry their resistance to the point of resigning office. Knowing this, their followers in the House of Commons carefully abstain from adding Referendum clauses to Government measures. But knowing that the Prime Minister will actually welcome the addition of a Referendum clause, and that the Suffragist Ministers will make no difficulty whatever if they do make that addition, the Ministerial rank

and file will feel a direct encouragement to support the Referendum proposal. The whole scheme is treachery of an unprecedented kind. We have called it a breach of the Prime Minister's pledge, and that is what it is. He has promised that in the event of Woman Suffrage being added to the Government Reform Bill, the Government would make the clause their own and fight it through on precisely the same footing as the franchise proposals for men. That pledge debars the Government from leaving open the question of a Referendum on Woman Suffrage. They are bound by their pledge to resist such a proposal, to treat it as a question of confidence, and to stand or fall on it. Perhaps this latest betrayal by the Government will open the eyes of some of the more trustful people in the Suffrage Movement, and will stir them to their calm reliance on the Government's good intentions.

At Bow Street.

The Government pursue at Bow Street, day by day, those methods of repression by which they hope to crush the forward movement for women's enfranchisement. We confidently anticipate that their efforts will meet with no more success than has attended similar attempts in the past history of this and other countries to destroy what is indestructible. Almost daily since our last issue, women have stood in the dock charged with offences committed in the cause of freedom; daily magistrates have tried to meet an indomitable purpose, which is to them incomprehensible, with vindictive sentences, in many cases with insult as well. Day by day the gallant procession files through Bow Street; some are remanded afresh, some are committed for trial, some are convicted and sent to serve a sentence out of all proportion to their offence. Still they come; and while Liberals at home rejoice at the persecution of their countrywomen, lovers of liberty in foreign lands are beginning to ask if last week's police court proceedings are illustrative of a Liberal Government's way of dealing with a franchise agitation. We give elsewhere some very significant opinions showing the French view of the whole situation.

Methods of Repression.

The procedure of the authorities has been marked by a vindictiveness and a disregard alike of decency and of law such as they would never have dared to display in the case of voters. When Mazzini's letters were opened, all the best men in the country rose in indignant protest. But the police are now publicly stated to have tapped private telephones—a much meaner and more dangerous trick than opening letters—and no one stars. The sentences imposed by magistrates have been both cruel and inequitable. Women accused of trifling damage have received the maximum penalty of two months, and in nearly every case hard labour has been added, so as expressly to exclude them from the rights established under Mr. Churchill's rules. The remarks of some magistrates surpassed all limits of decency or restraint. We would especially instance Mr. Fordham's treatment of Mrs. Jacobs, the wife of the well-known novelist, against whom he repeatedly suggested insanity. Once again special consideration has been shown to offenders of high social position, while unknown and working women are visited with extreme severity. But the most shameful thing of all has been the entire disregard of all injury and assault committed against Suffragists and their property. Women have been set upon by roughs, beaten by respectable elderly gentlemen, stoned, covered with filth, and not one of their assailants has been arrested. Suffragist's shops have been broken into time after time amid great noise and disturbance, but the police have looked calmly on, or been conveniently absent. Not a single offender has been punished.

Tenderness Indeed!

Newspapers throughout the country have been asserting that militancy would have ceased long ago but for the "tenderness" with which Suffragettes have been treated by the authorities in prison. They talk of "the extraordinary amount of tolerance shown by the Government in the past"; "the mild punishments meted out"; "the tenderness and consideration that must now be abandoned." Tenderness and consideration indeed! Have these amiable sentimentalists never heard that unconquered Suffragette prisoners were kept in irons, frog-marched from place to place in the prison, their heads bumping on the stone steps, and forcibly fed with every addition of barbarity and insult? Have they never heard that one Suffragette, after being imprisoned for three months and exposed to the torture of forcible feeding, was detained two days after her sentence had expired though the authorities knew her father was dying, and, in fact, he died without recognising her again? Perhaps they might remember how Nurse Bryant had the prison clothes strapped on her, was kept in the punishment cell for seventeen days, and was in irons for two days and nights without cessation; or how a fire hose-pipe was turned on to Miss Davison in bitter cold weather while she was in her cell—an atrocious outrage which even Mr. Herbert Gladstone (now Lord Gladstone), the originator and supporter of forcible feeding for political offenders, actually condemned in Parliament, though he afterwards officially applauded the authorities of that particular gaol.

From first to last, the Suffrage prisoners, both women and men, have been treated with a rigour often amounting to savagery. It is true that the late Home Secretary ordained certain concessions, but those concessions had been exacted at a cruel price of suffering, and now by the addition of "hard labour" the magistrates under Mr. McKenna are doing their utmost to revoke them.

Treatment in Holloway Gaol.

In days to come people will wonder, as a French correspondent to the "Standard," quoted elsewhere, also wonders, that in a "free" country like ours "lady political offenders are condemned to hard labour." They will not be less perplexed by the explanation that the extra indignity was added in order to relieve officialism of the obligation to grant the prisoners those privileges to which, under the regulations of the late Home Secretary, they would otherwise have been entitled. We have it on good authority that the women in Holloway Gaol, thus deprived by an official quibble of their recognition as political offenders, would have adopted the terrible expedient of the hunger strike at the end of last week had not Mrs. Pankhurst, on the understanding that the privileges would be conferred within the next few days, advised them to desist until this should be effected. At the time of going to press we understand that this has not yet been done. Every effort is being made to bring pressure to bear upon the Home Office, and it is much to be hoped that further unnecessary suffering will be avoided by the immediate political recognition of those brave women who have made woman suffrage a living question, and in return are receiving the prison treatment of criminals.

Keeping the Flag Flying.

Seldom in the history of the movement has a finer meeting been gathered than that in the London Opera House on Thursday, the 7th. The enormous theatre was crammed from floor to ceiling. Outside a disorderly crowd of medical students and similar anti-Suffragists howled at pleasure, but inside all was enthusiasm and zeal for the cause. The Pavilion meeting on Monday afternoon was almost equally crowded and enthusiastic, though the presence of a few exuberant shopboys at the back of the hall made speaking difficult towards the end. We call special attention to the combined meeting of many other Suffrage societies to be held to-night (Friday), again in the London Opera House, at 8.

The Root of the Grievance.

There was one significant point about the tradesmen's meeting at the Queen's Hall last Monday. Towards the end a lady shopowner who was present tried to move an amendment calling upon the Government to put an end to the present disorder by removing the root of the grievance. The chairman, no doubt with a fine flourish of indignation, ruled the amendment out of order, but we congratulate that lady most heartily, both on her courage and her intelligence. Her amendment exactly hit the point, and a portion of her letter to the "Times" upon the subject will be found in another column. Let the Government remove the root of the grievance, and disorder ceases. Till the grievance has been removed it is the Government that is ultimately responsible for whatever happens. That is always the way, and history recognises it. In our own country political disorder of every kind has always demanded redress of grievances, and whenever the Government has been wise enough to grant redress, disorder has ceased. For the rest, we notice that the tradesmen seemed equally angry about the coal strike; they were careful to announce they were not opposed to woman suffrage (for that might have lost them custom), and they said nothing about the boom the Insurance offices have enjoyed.

Important Admission in a Liberal Paper.

A significant article appeared in the "Manchester Guardian" on Wednesday, March 13, which we print on page 378. We draw our readers' attention to the passage in it which admits the full possibility, and even appears to justify it, of the withdrawal of Irish support from the suggested suffrage amendment to the Reform Bill. The Women's Social and Political Union has always opposed the Government proposal to leave the suffrage question to a private member's amendment, on the ground that this could not, without the help of the Liberal whip, secure the support of the coalition majority. We are glad to see that the "Manchester Guardian" shares this view.

This Week's Issue.

A special supplement is presented with this week's issue, giving the portraits of the leaders of the Women's Social and Political Union, and of the editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN, now awaiting their trial. Other prominent features are an article by Mr. Laurence Housman, an account by H. W. N. of the search for Miss Pankhurst, an important announcement concerning Self-Denial Week and the Albert Hall meeting (illustrated by our cartoonist's rendering of Mr. W. K. Haselden's clever "Bunty" poster), and some very strong letters in support of recent militant action which have appeared in the Press over the names of some of the best-known men and women of the day.

VIEWS OF NOTABLE MEN AND WOMEN.

IN DEFENCE OF THE MILITANTS.

MISS ELIZABETH ROBINS.

The following letter from Miss Elizabeth Robins appeared in the "Times" on March 7:—

"Among the mass of printed comment from anti-suffrage sources which has come under one's eyes in the last six years, your leader of yesterday is probably the most enlightened. Here at last we have a consideration of causes, not merely of symptoms.

"You will not find all men agree that 'when enthusiasm brings about a tragedy, there is some error latent in it, however fine its cause may be.' To agree to this would be to admit that nothing in this world has gained as been worth its price of sorrow. The truth seems to be that the greater good may seldom, in an imperfect world, be bought with any other coin. The amount of attendant tragedy is, we admit, a measure of imperfection. But not always in the enthusiasm. History shows how the sorrier imperfections have been exhibited in the means employed to kill enthusiasm. The harsher means have always failed, when the enthusiasm was great enough in enough people to face obloquy and suffering.

"Since you, sir, are not blind to some of the subtler forces behind the suffrage agitation, can you not help to make clear the fact that, whether for good, as we think, or for ill, the woman suffrage movement has tapped those deep reservoirs of spiritual devotion and consecrated selflessness from which the world has from the beginning drawn its moral and religious strength!

"The truth is that the ideal for which woman suffrage stands has come, through suffering, to be a religion. No other faith in the modern world to-day counts so many adherents ready to suffer so much for their faith's sake. Why not try to realise what this means? For to realise it will shorten a bitter time.

"We know that some who are ignorant of the causes behind the recent outbreak nevertheless maintain that for the authorities to treat with those who have defied the law would be wholly without precedent. Such a contention loses sight of the objectless offered by the former law-breaker, now law-maker, and chosen colleague of the Prime Minister; loses sight of the attitude of authorities and public alike towards General Booth; loses sight of the collective evidence of the past. Yet we are told that because some glass has been broken, any show of understanding or consideration towards militant suffragists would involve a menace to the foundations of civilisation.

"The women's answer to that is that they are fighting against the real, not a fancied, menace, and fighting for a less imperfect civilisation. But perhaps even those who think their own opposition to militant suffragism is founded on love of law and order, even they may yet ask themselves if they may reasonably hope that the little mops of the magistrates or the bigger broom of the superior Court will keep back this tide. Does anyone seriously think that the hundreds of thousands of the forcible feeding torture, the death and insanity already to the credit (!) of the policy of repression have had their intended effect? And yet towards this fifty-year-old demand, with half the House of Commons on its side and more than half the Cabinet, the Government's only change from an attitude of cynical neglect is to stronger methods of repression.

"The Prime Minister, whose ignorance of the deeper forces at work is still very great, welcomed yesterday the newest of these methods proposed by a member of Parliament—a Bill to make the recent damage done chargeable to the funds of the society to which the agitators belong. Does he really think that, if he should be able to make for that fund (of which the greater part represent 6d. by rd. faith and self-denial such as has no parallel elsewhere in the world)—does the Prime Minister seriously think such a course will put an extinguisher on the suffrage candle?

"Rather it will blow the flame to conflagration. And you, Sir (I say it with all respect), will not be able wholly to free yourself from responsibility in the misreading of the situation on the part of the officials—isolated each in the engrossing business of his special department, and yet called on to take action in a matter whose significance has been obscured and whose meaning has been travestied by the Press. The Prime Minister, in the absence of first-hand knowledge, proposes, he says, to consult the Attorney-General. Let him rather send out some impartial observer to report faithfully the breadth and depth of this disaffection. He will perhaps carry back some idea of the 'mandate' left behind by the woman who has gone to prison, the woman whom 40,000 others followed through the London streets last June in token of their adhesion to the governing aim of her life. That assurance she has sent from prison of an 'inexhaustible supply' was no vain boast.

"You were shocked and astonished at the broken glass. I assure you that many of us have come to read of broken glass with an intensity of relief.

"Some of our opponents told us long ago to what the agitation would lead. We counted the idealism out of faith in the wisdom and right feeling of men, not from any doubt of how far women would go in pursuit of an end beside which penal servitude itself is slight and negligible."

MR. MANSELL-MOULLIN, F.R.C.S.

The following letter was sent to the "Times" by Mr. Mansell-Moullin, Vice-President of the Royal College of Surgeons; it was, however, returned:—

The Suffragette raid is over. The law is being vindicated. As in all times of popular clamour, savage and even vindictive sentences are being called for—

sentences which, if they are passed, men will regret when they have regained their reason.

Several hundreds of women, many of them the most cultured and talented in the land, are being subjected to the unutterable tortures of the English prison system. They have renounced everything for their cause—surely the highest and noblest form of renunciation possible. Some will be killed. Many more will be injured for life. All will endure the greatest suffering.

What next? Justice. Remember that to these women this cause is sacred. It is a religion. Remember that this feeling is spread far and wide all over the country, and that it is growing by leaps and bounds in a way in which it has never grown before. Remember that the justice of their cause has been admitted time after time by Ministers and Members, and that they have been exasperated beyond endurance by the cynicism of Ministers of the Crown who taunt them with doing nothing to make their cause known, and who offer them facilities with the most solemn pledges with one hand, while they are engaged in torpedoing the Bill for which facilities are demanded with the other. The women may be in the wrong, but whose is the fault?

The women's cause is part of the valuation of the race, irresistibly pressing on to higher things. Aided, supported, and guided by statesmanlike action, it can only work for good. Opposed, crushed back by force, it will gather greater force until it sweeps all obstacles from its path. So it always has been with all great moral and spiritual causes, such as this one, and so it always will be.

Will not M.P.'s, before it is too late, try to look beyond the surface of things, try to think of what lies deeper, brush aside all the details of the moment, and see that what so many Cabinet Ministers have admitted to be the just claims of women are granted now and at once!

MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

In a statesmanlike letter to the "Times" of March 12 Mrs. Annie Besant refers to the "hail of epithets," from the Prime Minister's "wretched individuals" to the "hysterical menads" of anonymous scribblers, directed against a number of devoted and gentle women, "who may be mistaken, but are certainly not wicked." After referring to the fact that the woman suffrage cause, from being somewhat and academic, has become full of energy and burning, Mrs. Besant says: "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church." Three hundred are now in gaol and hundreds more are volunteering. What, she asks, "is the motive behind the policy? It is the life and honour of working women that they are fighting for, and that gives them the courage to endure. Street hooligans may yell at them, but working women love them. It is this which gives them strength to suffer." With regard to recent action, Mrs. Besant explains that the militants do not believe that votes will be given this session unless pressure is exerted. A big measure is unlikely to pass in this crowded session; to join now one has asked for, is a clever way of disposing of it. Even the Conciliation Bill may not pass, and there is ominous talk of a Referendum. Hence the violent action. Mr. Asquith consults the law officers of the Crown with a view to crush these terrible women, but he is on his knees before the miners. One set of "criminals" goes patiently to prison, having inflicted bodily injury on none; the other races its dogs and makes holiday, while inflicting agony untold on others. "The Prime Minister entreats the one and abuses the other. Is it because the miners have votes and the women have none? What are these women to do? Europe looks on amazed while crowds of well-born, well-bred women go patiently to prison. The scandal is too great to be prolonged, and there is only one way out: the granting of the vote. 'That would be yielding to violence.' To what else have politicians ever yielded? It is abominable, but it is true. Violence is the recognised way in England of gaining political reforms. If can't is not put aside and a Bill brought in the crowd in the prisons will grow until the situation becomes intolerable." Mrs. Besant's fine letter concludes: "Will not our legislators act, and escape the condemnation of posterity?"

MRS. CAVENDISH BENTINCK.

In the "Times" on March 12 Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck wrote:—

"As a non-militant Suffragist I feel bound to draw attention to the dangerous course that is apparently being pursued by the Government at the present juncture. In yesterday's paper I saw that Mrs. Pankhurst, a woman who is revered—I might almost say worshipped—by many thousands in this country, was being treated as a common criminal, that she had been thrown into a stone-cold cell in the third division, although she was visibly in a worn-out condition. What effect is such information likely to have on all the more energetic and assertive womanhood of this country? We are all the daughters of our forefathers—though some people are pleased to speak of us as though we were an alien race—and if the authorities pursue a provocative policy they will only still further exasperate the Suffragist, to say nothing of the fact that they evidently underestimate the strength of the particular organisation to which Mrs. Pankhurst belongs, and forget that it is one which has active branches all over the United Kingdom.

"Pray let us do nothing which may lead indignant women to commit further, and possibly even more reckless, acts of violence."

LADY ISABEL MARGESSON.

Writing in the "Standard" ("Woman's Platform") on March 11, Lady Isabel Margesson said:—

"It is curious to notice in the letters written to the Press on the latest 'Suffragist' raid how the writers shirk the real point at issue. 'The point is, that in England no great reform has a chance of being carried unless the general public is stung into consideration of the needs of that reform by the pressure of personal discomfort and danger to life and property.' This is a political tribe which we Suffragists have applied to our own case. No amount of truisms, of disapproval, or of pious and excellent sayings on general conduct can be turned into arguments against this natural history of the political world! We did not invent it, we are merely obeying a peculiar law of English life, in the certainty that if we obey we shall also conquer. The Government is hoping to repudiate this distasteful and degrading law of its own being by holding up righteous hands of horror at the women who are clever enough to see through their bluff, and brave enough to hold on the only way open to those who would achieve reform.

"The Real Issue."

"Let no one persuade himself that 'raids,' with all they entail of persecution and suffering, are decided upon lightly or undertaken from paltry motives of self-advertisement. Those who so misunderstand sacrifice proclaim themselves of the valet turn of mind, who can see no hero in daily life. The cost is too heavy for anything less than the highest sense of duty and patriotism.

"If the coalowners will consent to the minimum wage now, why did they refuse until the miners plunged the innocent country into misery? The same thing is true of the Government. Why does it force the women into these deplorable tactics? Because it trifles with their just demands. Let the objectors to militant tactics shirk the real issue no longer. Only when they can disprove the law of natural (political) history can they justly blame the women for obeying it.

"To those who, like myself, are unable to share in the fight, there will be undying regret as well as shame that they have not had the honour of suffering with those brave women who count political liberty worth any sacrifice. John Hampden is called a patriot to-day for plunging his country into civil war. Was the fault his or the king's? The brave Suffragists are following in his footsteps in fighting for their political rights. Will they not be called patriots, too, and is their war their fault or the Government's? We can already hear the answer: 'Oh! but that's quite different.'"

Debenham & Freebody.

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CHRISTABEL PULLS THE STRINGS.

Self-Denial Week and Albert Hall Meeting, Thursday, March 28.

THE LOST LEADER.

"Tell me, shepherd, have you seen my Flora pass this way?" It is a pretty old catch, and it must have given the London police great pleasure to learn it.

Day and night you could hear them practising it, with one word altered. They sang it to each other as they went on duty. "Tell me, shepherd, have you seen?" the tenors began. "Have you seen? Have you seen?" growled the basses. And then all in harmony they sang, "My Flora pass this way." Only the word wasn't Flora.

Near St. Clement's Church in the Strand you could hear it best. The choir picked it up. At night people thought it was the waite.

But the shepherd always answered, "No, I haven't."

On Monday at noon Mr. Max Beer-bohm, who once invented the Lost Leader as the singing bird of Bow Street, was found inscribing on the gates of the Inn the lines:—

O blithe eluder, on my word
To hear thee I'd rejoice;
O Christabel, shall I call thee bird,
Or but a wandering voice?

He was moved on before he could finish, but another poet at once took his place, and wrote:—

Where Christabel low lieth,
Poisonous puns and spy,
Letting their lanterns fall,
But the solemn sergeant sigheth,
Thick-headed, lost to all
But an anxious agony
Of the puzzling mystery,
Where Christabel low lieth.

A third discovered the lines of Coleridge:—

And thus spake our sweet Christabel:
All our household are at rest,
The hall is silent as the cell;
But the police are weak in health,
And may not well awakened be,
So we will move as if in stealth.

Nevertheless, amid all this music and song, the sleuth hounds of the law were not idle. They boastfully described themselves as "plodding on." They advertised. "Easily recognised by her L.L.B. degree," one placard said. "May be known by her number of speeches during the last six or seven years," said another. "Obviously the brains of the movement," said a third. And still they didn't find her!

Then they worked out clues. They tapped the telephone at Madame Tussaud's. They tapped the Admiralty Wireless. They got a search-warrant for Windsor Castle. They explored the Tower, and ordered the Greenwich Observatory to watch the aeroplanes. They consulted Mahatmas, and gazed into crystals till they were almost silly. They traced a green hat from Blackfriars to Woolwich, and another nearly to the very gates of Richmond Park. Hearing that hairpins had been discovered at Weybridge, Dorking, Holmwood, the Isle of Man, Ostend, Weston-super-Mare, Dieppe, Leeds, Dover, Manchester, and Paris they spared no pains or expense in following them up, and they caught them. They have quite a lot of hairpins now.

Then they detected her double in Parliament Square. They photographed her by flashlight. The picture appeared in the halfpenny papers next morning. The double was pleased, the public was pleased, the police were enchanted. It was a triumph of smartness and ingenuity. But all agreed it was not quite the same thing as catching the other half of the double.

On Thursday night they took the warrant in a taxi to the London Opera House, but they carried it away on foot. They were a long time getting over that.

They asked Mr. Maskelyne to teach them the trick of the Vanishing Lady. They became almost clever at it, but the Lady still vanished.

They went down the coal mines in cages, and the strikers refused to pull them up till they found her.

One day the "Daily Chronicle" came out with a broadside. "Found at

Last." They all rushed to Whitefriars Street, but it was only the South Pole that was found, and the Lost Leader is rather magnetic than polar.

Then Scotland Yard declared that the failure was due to "the fanatical loyalty of her friends," and the sleuth hounds of the law went plodding on. H. W. N.

CHRISTABEL PULLS THE STRINGS.

On March 28, unless the Government shows a wisdom hitherto absent from their treatment of the suffrage question, two of the well-known leaders advertised to speak at the Albert Hall will be behind prison bars. A third, as elusive as she is eloquent, will, unless Scotland Yard achieves an historic capture so far beyond its grasp, also be there only in spirit. But, absent or present, it is always true to say that the spirit of

Christabel Pulls the Strings! and her undaunted spirit, mocking, defiant as ever, will draw the public to



(With apologies to Mr. Haselden and "Bunty.")

the great meeting on March 28, as surely as it has ever done on previous occasions.

Help is always forthcoming in the Suffragette movement. Fling its speakers into prison: others will come forward. On March 28 a man and two women, whose names are already known all over the world, will justify their further title to fame as courageous champions of women's freedom by speaking on the platform of the Women's Social and Political Union. A public that already knows the work of Mrs. Annie Besant, Miss Elizabeth Robins, and Mr. Israel Zangwill will not fail to secure seats for the Albert Hall meeting at which they are to speak. Miss Evelyn Sharp will take the chair. No one can hope adequately to fill the place of those for whom a Liberal Government can find no better place than a prison cell; but it is safe to assert that everyone of the deputy speakers is proud to be given the opportunity of trying to fill that place. And what the rank and file of the Union has to do now is to show that they understand the spirit of the movement by coming forward and filling the Albert Hall from floor to ceiling.

Another task is immediately before the members of the Women's Social and Political Union. Self-denial week, now in course of progression, will not end, except in a literal sense, on March 18. Always capable, when it means more work of putting two weeks into one, the Suffragettes are equally ready to make one week into two when

it means more money; and their honorary treasurer—the finest honorary treasurer that ever raised money in freedom's cause—calls to them from Holloway Gaol to carry on their work of filling the war chest right up to the Albert Hall meeting. The enemy, unimaginative, like all enemies of progress, thinks that in locking up Mrs. Pethick Lawrence they have also locked up the magic spell with which she conjures fairy gold from the pockets of all who hear her speak. Did ever enemy show less knowledge of the Union's honorary treasurer, less knowledge of the potency of spells? If "Christabel pulls the strings" of the forces that control the great militant movement among women,

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence Pulls the Purses!

She will be pulling them from behind her prison bars on March 28. She is pulling them now, and every member of the Union who is raising money this week by self-denial knows it and responds to the familiar and magic appeal.

Letters and money pour in as these words are written. "I hope the Government's attempt at repression will result in new victories for the

one of those mobbed in Kensington last week, tells how, at the height of a disturbance caused by the hysterical behaviour of a well-dressed crowd, a working man gave her a shilling for a paper, with the words, "Stick it, miss—you'll get it in the end!" The shillings of the poor are worth as much as the gold of the rich in a living movement; and the few examples of generous self-sacrifice that we have given are taken almost at random from a mass of similar instances. Can any Government hope by repression to stamp out a movement financed by a spirit of this sort?

The duty of every member and friend of the Women's Social and Political Union, as we have said, is plain. It is to raise such a fund at the Albert Hall meeting as will prove to the Government that the first result of imprisoning the honorary treasurer of the Union has been to add enormously to the treasury of the Union. Let everyone do her best to fill her collecting-card to the uttermost (last day for sending in March 23). Let everyone concentrate further on making the sum collected at the Albert Hall on March 28 an historic sum, a sum that will be worthy not only of the Union's Treasurer, but of the Union's Founder—two women who will be pulling the strings of the militant movement, that night, from the place which, as long as freedom is denied to women, is the noblest abode for freedom's adherents.

Albert Hall Meeting.

Owing to the regulations with regard to letting the Hall, there can be no public sale of tickets. It is therefore incumbent on members to take a certain number for themselves and their friends. Tickets may be had from the Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, W.C. Prices: Amphitheatre, 2s. 6d.; arena, 1s.; lower orchestra, 2s.; balcony, 1s. and 6d.; upper orchestra, 6d. (all numbered and reserved); boxes, £1 10s., £1 1s., and 12s. 6d.

THE QUEST.

Of gallant Amundsen and Scott
In cold Australia's crystal grot,
We know a little, read a lot;
But who, alas! can tell
The answer to that sterner quest
Of all-absorbing interest?
O North and South, O East and West,
Where, where is Christabel?

Has any traced her woman's wit
To some forlorn, deserted pit
Wherefrom the lamps of night are lit,
The caves of sleeping Coal?
Or has her sense of sacrifice
Allured her to the realms of ice,
The great glass house, where men nor mice
Can fright her from the "Pole"?
A. W. in the "Daily Chronicle."

NOT FOR £10!

The following telegram was received at Clement's Inn on Tuesday evening, addressed to Miss Pankhurst:—"Will give £10 for fifteen hundred words article on 'How I Baffled Police,' wire Editor, 'People's Journal,' Dundee." The reply sent was:—"If you find Christabel, will forward offer."

COME AND FIND ME!

It is stated in the Press that to each of the constables going on duty in London the following description of Miss Pankhurst has been read:—"Christabel Pankhurst, age 26, 5ft 6in. Complexion fresh. Hair dark brown. Eyes dark. Usually dressed neatly."

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

All communications intended for the W.S.P.U. should be addressed to Miss Kerr, Acting Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

Prisoners' Secretary.

Members and their friends requiring information about any of the prisoners are asked to address all communications to the Prison Secretary, Mrs. Archdale, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, W.C., who would be glad to hear from any friends who will meet and give breakfast to released prisoners, some of whom are released to-day.

Important Meetings.

Just now, when there is much misunderstanding about the last great protest, it is imperative that members should make the London weekly meetings widely known among their friends and acquaintances. On Monday next, March 19, the speakers at the London Pavilion, Piccadilly Circus, at 3.15 p.m., will be Miss Evelyn Sharp,

Mr. Nevinson, and Mrs. Drummond, in the chair. At the evening meeting at the Steinway Hall on Thursday, March 21, at 8 p.m., the speakers will be the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield and Mrs. Mansel.

Stewards Wanted.

A number of stewards are needed for the Albert Hall meeting. Members only are eligible, and those who can undertake this duty are asked to send in their names to Miss Hambling, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, without delay. It is important that members should write *now*, so that plans may be completed.

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

The leaflet reprinted from Miss Pankhurst's article, "Broken Windows," has been revised and brought up-to-date, and can now be had from the Woman's Press, price 9d. per hundred, 6s. per thousand, post free. Miss Pankhurst's unpublished leading article of March 8 will be ready shortly as a leaflet.

The FRENCH HAT SHOP

Near the Queen's Hall.

Large Variety in the Colours always in stock.

12/6 No. 5.



Smart Crinoline Hat, with draped Taffetas Crown, Brim bound Velvet and trimmed Feather Mount and Jet Ornament. In All Black, and with Black and White Mount. With Box and Carriage Mount. 13/4.

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COSTUME, 2 Gns. as sketch, to measure, in all wool—NAVY SERGE. TAILOR-MADE COSTUMES to order, in the latest materials, complete with fitting of Serges (black or navy), Tweeds, Cheviots, Suitings, etc. to £4 14 6. FACED CLOTHS, from £3 8 0. FULL LENGTH COATS, from £1 17 6.

Careful and prompt attention to country and foreign orders.

A large and varied assortment of Patterns and Fashions, with self-measurement forms, will be sent, upon application, post free. Special attention is paid by expert enced cutters to the production of perfect-fitting garments from the same materials as those used in the sample Boddice or Coat.

Guaranteed made by Men Tailors.

OPPOSITE TUBE STATION, NOTTING HILL GATE, LONDON, W. FROM 1394, WESTERN.

DIMOLINE PIANO CO.

Special Sale of Pianos. Cheap. All Makers. SILENCING STOP PIANOS FROM 20 GNS. CASE. PLAYER PIANOS. SIMPLEX PLAYERS. Special Terms to Members W.S.P.U. Manager: MRS. DIMOLINE JONES, 11, Parkhurst Road, HOLLOWAY (Private House Furniture, &c. Grace Jones).

A REAL COUNTRY LAUNDRY.

YOUR ATTENTION is respectfully drawn to the above Laundry, which is now ready to undertake a few more families' washing. This Laundry is under the personal supervision of the principals, whose eighteen years' experience enables them to execute all work entrusted to their care in the best possible manner, and at the lowest prices. Flannels and silk underwear a speciality. The Laundry has all modern conveniences and improvements (the sanitary arrangements being absolutely perfect), with large open air drying grounds. Inspection is invited at any time, intending customers may rest assured that the linen will be finished in the very best style, and returned correctly and punctually. A van will call to collect from any district on receipt of postcard. Managers will call to make arrangements, if so desired.

Riverbank Laundry, Ltd., Ferry Rd., Teddington. PHONE 593 P.O. ENSTOWN.

TO SUPPLAQBTTES.—Save time and temper. Buy a good-fitting Smart Hat made to order, from 6/11. Ready to wear, 4/11. Box sent on request. Orders by post receive prompt attention. CLARA STRONG, 84, ELSPEETH ROAD, CLAPHAM JUNCTION, S.W.

THE CRIMINAL AND THE COMMUNITY.

The social conscience of the present day is genuinely anxious to arrive at some better means of dealing with the criminal population. Many books have been written on this subject, from the standpoint of the extreme sentimentalist to that of the believer in the deterrent power of the most severe forms of punishment. Dr. Devon has chosen the medium path, and his criticisms and suggestions cannot fail to impress as coming from a sensible and well-balanced mind, and obviously from one who has had ample opportunity for first-hand observation. The author points out the mistake of regarding the criminal as necessarily of a "type" whose actions follow a course after any given set of rules or formula.

"Prisoners," he says, "differ as much from one another as people who are law-abiding." Circumstances, heredity, environment, and a host of other forces play a large part in the balance, or unbalance, of a person's moral equilibrium, and it should not be forgotten that a "criminal" is one who is found out, and that many a man at large, outwardly leading a respectable life, is a criminal at heart. However, society must be protected from persons with anti-social tendencies, and Dr. Devon takes the view that our aim should be less to punish the offender than to treat him so as to render him less likely to want to repeat his crime or be a danger to the community. And in order to do this effectually a much more individual form of treatment should be adopted towards each one according to his or her temperament and capacities. All will agree that the common end in view is to lessen crime, and to all who are trying to bring about this desired abatement this book cannot fail to be of help and interest. It is an exhaustive, clear, and detailed study, and if written with a certain dryness, that is amply atoned for by its earnest and reasoned common sense. The fact that the author is a medical man carries much weight when, for instance, he unhesitatingly condemns the system of solitary confinement as tending to weaken the moral strength and mind of the individual, and so likely to turn him out less morally fit than when he went in.

The author's reference to the Suffragist hunger strike is not altogether sympathetic, but it is obvious that he fails to understand the real reason for that heroic form of protest. However, he admits: "The law attempted to frighten the women, and the women, by their continued resistance, frightened the administrators of the law. Which presented the most sorry spectacle it is hard to say."

K. Douglas Smith.

LIFE IN PRISON.

A pamphlet that will do much for the women's cause has just been published by the Women's Group of the Fabian Society ("Women and Prisons," by Helen Blagg and Charlotte Wilson. Fabian Society, 3, Clement's Inn, W.C. Price 2d.). The writers deal with the development of the English Penal System, with Prison Life, with Criminals and Crime, and with "Paths of Change." Part II: "Prisons," touches very closely upon the life that hundreds of women Suffragists are living as we write, and much of the information quoted has been obtained at first hand from women Suffragists. The writers say: "Since Elizabeth Fry ... no female prisoner recorded her experiences until Suffragists in large numbers were sent to Holloway (1907-11). Their criticisms are therefore worthy of careful consideration even on that ground alone. The letters or statements of twelve women are here quoted. All are first hand and carefully verified."

Some of the reading is painful. All of it is, as we know well, horribly true. How little the newspaper leader writers, who are prating to-day about the "leniency" with which the women Suffragists have been treated, know what they are saying!

"Hour after hour, day after day (seven days) I spent sitting on the wooden bed, doing nothing, hardly thinking, staring into vacancy. I could well imagine the loneliness, silence (for two doors close this cell), darkness and cold sending women mad. The horror of it is still with me, and night after night, unable to sleep, I go through it all again. I tried walking about to obtain exercise, but the cell echoed so weirdly and horribly I was obliged to desist."

Thus a woman Suffragist writes; and we from our knowledge of what a drowsy English woman have suffered in the cause of women's enfranchisement can fill up the picture for ourselves. How long are these things to go on? It is not surprising to learn that at least one man who had formerly no sympathy with militant methods has been much moved by reading this pamphlet, and has been led to understand something of the true meaning of the woman's movement.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Wings of Desire." By M. P. Willcocks. London: John Lane. Price 6s.
"The Modern Prison Curriculum." By R. F. Quinton, M.P. London: Macmillan and Co. Price 7s.
"The Unholy Estate." By Douglas Sladen. London: Stanley Paul and Co. Price 6s.
"Woman Afloat." By Harold Owen. London: Stanley Paul and Co. Price 6s.
"Mary Wollstonecraft." By Camilla Jebb. London: Herbert Daniel. Price 2s. 6d. net.

By James Devon, Doctor of Medicine. London: John Lane. The Bodley Head, New York. Price 6s. net.
* On sale at the Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C.

Show Week at Peter Robinson's OXFORD STREET

Our First Great Show of Early Spring Novelties Commences on Monday



THE "VALENCE"—Handsome Afternoon Coat in Black Satin; elegant collar of silk embroidery trimmed with a lace-collared fringe. Modestly priced. £3 18 6.
THE "JULIA"—The latest novelty in a Black Voile Coat. It is trimmed with handsome design of silk on large Cape collar, cuffs, and bonnet. Price £4 10



THE "CRANBOURNE"—We are reproducing the original Tailor-made model in various shades of coloured whipcord and navy, black, and cream coating serges. Every detail has been studied to give graceful curves and becoming lines to the figure. The decorations are of silk braid and coarse stitching with cross-way button-holes. For slight or generous figures. Complete, with cost lined satin work rooms. Price £5 5
THE "WINCHMORE"—This reproduction of a new model is distinctive in every detail. It is made in various shades of French faced cloth and black, navy, and cream coating serges. The piped button-holes and novel across-shaped buttons, lend a note of smartness. The long roll collar of satin to tone gives a charming finish to this well-balanced Tailor-made. Cost lined satin. Complete, with cost lined satin work rooms. Price £5 5

THE GOVERNMENT ANSWERED.

A Great and Enthusiastic Meeting at London Opera House. The Fight Goes On.

The atmosphere on Thursday evening at the London Opera House (two days after the arrest of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence) was electric with that undaunted spirit which in this Union never dissipates in emotion, but is translated into action. The blow that had fallen on the Union through the arrest of its leaders had made its friends rally in full force, and the huge house was packed from floor to ceiling with an audience of men and women entirely sympathetic and absolutely unwavering in confidence and loyalty, who stood up in a body to applaud and cheer the speakers. Outside, the seething of the crowd and the tramping of the mounted police; inside, perfect quiet, except for the cheering and applause.

The platform was indicative of the quality of the movement. In the chair was Mrs. Brailsford, a woman with a University education, who did creditable work for the refugees in Macedonia; and the speakers included Mrs. Morgan Dockrell, president of the L.C.C. Teachers' Union, who spoke with passionate eloquence as a mother and a home-keeper; Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., whose chivalrous championship roused the audience to enthusiasm; Lady Constance Lytton, whose sacrifices for the cause are known to all; and Miss Evelyn Sharp, the well-known writer.

Amongst those present were Miss Elizabeth Robins, the Rev. Hugh Chapman, Mr. Nevison, Mr. and Mrs. Mansell-Moulin, Mr. and Mrs. A. J. Webb, Mr. Wilcock, Mr. Guest, Mr. Alfred Marks, and Mrs. Hertha Ayton. Mr. and Mrs. Zaunwiler, Miss Eva Moore, Mrs. and the Rev. Percy Deumer sent letters of regret at being unable to attend.

Mrs. Brailsford, in opening the proceedings, declared that the Liberals, who had a splendid record, had become intoxicated with their past achievements. She urged the manhood of the country to rouse themselves, reminding them that last Friday was St. David's Day, and that the original David was the man who slew the tyrant with a sling and a stone. They must not let themselves be perturbed by the anger of members of Parliament.

"We are not here to-night," said the speaker, "on the brink of what seems to us to be the most important phase in this movement of ours, which, as you know, has been going on from year to year, backed by such determination, by such self-sacrifice, and such devotion on the part of its adherents as has been shown by no other political party in this great country of ours. (Applause.) We have lately, and especially since last Friday, had a great deal of criticism directed against us, the women who are working, not for the same cause to which in the past men have sacrificed and devoted themselves, and for that sacrifice and devotion they have received the applause of grand and noble. When I think of the condition of the women of the artisan class and what these suffragists are struggling for, I am prepared to declare that in years to come when they have won their freedom and that of their sisters, they will be looked on as the heroines of our time. That will be when all the leader writers of the daily Press and all the small-spirited politicians are things of the past and buried in the past." (Hear, hear.)

He denounced the hypocrisy of those who talked of the unwomanliness of smashing windows. People who talked like that did not realize that these women were striving on behalf of those of their sex who were condemned by the present laws to lead unwomanly lives. He referred to the numerous occasions on which women's franchise had been carried in the House of Commons, and declared that last year a Bill could have been got through if people had wanted to get it through.

Obscuring the Issue.
The whole talk of Manhood Suffrage was so much dust stirred up for the purpose of obscuring the whole issue, declared Mr. Lansbury. He had lived through agitations connected with Ireland and Home Rule, and had heard Mr. Gladstone speak of Mr. Parnell as marching through rapine and plunder to the dismemberment of the Empire; and yet a few years later Mr. Gladstone was doing his level best to support the aims and objects of the Irish people. The people who, until they obtained their rights refused to abide by the law, compelled Liberal and Tory Governments to carry through the House of Commons Land Bill after Land Bill. What was good for the Irish Home Rulers was good for the suffragists of England. (Cheers.)

The Government had promised that they would give facilities for this, that, and the other thing; but everybody knew perfectly well, long before the window-smashing, how in Parliament wires were being pulled in every direction to set this question of the suffrage back and prevent it being effectively dealt with this year.

MRS. MORGAN DOCKRELL.
Mrs. Morgan Dockrell asked at the outset, "What is the matter with England?" "Why," she said, "we have a Government made up of men who cannot govern—of statesmen who know nothing of statecraft. We have a Prime Minister in Mr. Asquith who is no more in touch with modern thought and modern needs than one of the mummies in the British Museum!" (Cheers.) We have that Will o' the Wisp, Mr. Lloyd George, who has led this country by way of two great movements—the labour movement and the

women's movement—to the verge of civil war. For 25 years I have worked in this cause, and in every part of England and to all sorts of men and women I have put before them that it would be a sin to break the law for this cause. I believe it is still a sin to break the law, but I believe that sin is on the head of those men. That is why I stand side by side with them. (Applause.)

What about the men in the Cabinet? Well, what more could we do? We have no influence. We have no vote. We have tramped in our thousands through the mud of London, through jeers and jests. We have petitioned them. When Conservative women were not thinking of politics, the Liberal women were down in the slums of the East End educating the mob, educating them to vote for Liberals. We asked these men: "Will you give us the vote if we get you in?" They answered: "Oh, it's part of the Liberal policy itself." But when they got in they forgot all about us. The women had to put these men in, and, please God, the women will get them out again. (Prolonged applause.)

To those who have been cheered on by our leaders in the past, to young and old, I would say—remember, friends, the greatest things in life are what you give to it, not what you get out of it. (Applause.) This movement for the emancipation of women, for the lifting up of women, for the raising of women above the state they occupy to-day, this is one of the calls which comes only once in the life of a people. It has come to us to-day. It has come to you and me. Friends, I say to you, stand true, so that in the days to come, when we are no more.

"Others will sing the song, others will right the wrong, Finish what we begin, and all we hope to win."

LADY CONSTANCE LYTTON.
Lady Constance Lytton said: "I believe the militant section of the woman's movement has 'collapsed.' I congratulate you upon that collapse." (Laughter.) The events of the last few days had been very characteristic of their movement, she proceeded, and more especially of the treatment meted out to their movement. Let them never forget that there was one difference between the women's fight and every other struggle that had ever been. The women steadfastly set themselves against cruelty, and she contended that the women had hurt no one, and had risked no injury to anyone but themselves.

Those who tried to repress this movement stood for sex monopoly, party interest, and party prejudice. They stood for fear of women—fear and distrust of that great majority of the population which still stood for loyalty, for citizenship in obedience to the law; and for the maintenance and welfare of that which was best in the State. (Cheers.)

The speaker went on: "They challenged us with the fact that we have not used the violence which brings pressure to bear. Now, it is characteristic that every challenge they throw out to us we women are able to take up. They challenge women with being unable to unite one with another—with being unable to trust each other in companionship, unable to be ruled by one another. They think they can seize our funds, that they can belittle the movement of its leaders, and that the movement will come to an end. (Cheers of 'Never!') It is quite true, our leaders are phenomenal. (Applause.) But they are the products of the movement, which they lead; they have not created it. Nobody knows that better than themselves."

He contended that they would not have even had the question discussed or any talk of the Manhood Suffrage Bill if it had not been for the six or seven years of definite militant action. It was this agitation which made hundreds and thousands face the suffrage question as they had never done before. (Cheers.) They all knew how far respectable methods had taken their cause or drawn people's attention to it, and the reason people were discussing the miners now, he reminded them, was because the miners had made it inconvenient for them. (Cheers.)

Women in Gaol.
He and his audience were having an easy time. Let them visualise the women who were suffering in gaol for their principles. Let these ladies when they came back find them more solid and united in the work than ever. Let them find their numbers increased and every one of them determined to do ten times more in the future than they had ever done before.

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Nobody knows it better than we do in a dark hour like this. There will be a variation in our next few meetings. Our leaders will not be on the platform, but they will be there. Whether they are in prison or whether they are dead our leaders shall lead us. (Applause.)

MISS EVELYN SHARP.
Miss Evelyn Sharp ridiculed the announcement she saw in the newspapers on the previous morning, to the effect that the suffragist movement was "toppling." "If this is an example of toppling," she exclaimed, "by all means let us 'topple!'" The town was in a state of panic. As a proof of it, ask any woman to go into an ironmonger's shop and try to buy a hammer. (Laughter and cheers.) As a matter of fact, the members of the Government did not rightly appreciate the situation. Cabinet Ministers at school should, she thought, learn a little more of history and a little less of the dead languages, then they would know how to deal with political agitations.

Alluding to the absence of Miss Pankhurst, Miss Sharp said that they had not found the South Pole, and there might be some chance, perhaps, of finding Miss Pankhurst. (Laughter.) All through the ages Governments had adopted the same repressive measures to meet panic. They might now, if they liked, rush an Act through Parliament to enable them to try to stop women from breaking windows, but they would no more stop the present agitation than they stopped the agitation which, a hundred years ago, gave the men the votes they enjoyed today. (Cheers.) She found it interesting to reflect upon the words which represented the blank spaces in the current number of their magazine. One of those paragraphs contained four quotations from four Cabinet Ministers, and the words of those gentlemen were evidently considered too seditions—too great an incitement to violence—to appear. (Laughter and cheers.) It was a very significant fact, she declared, that people were afraid to allow the reasons why the women broke the shop windows to appear. Why, she asked, were they not allowed to state their case? (Hear, hear.) She repudiated the sympathy of such people as those who said: "We were with you before you began to break shop windows." What were a few windows to the rights of all the women of the land? They were fighting the battle of the old and the new, and the new was bound to win.

"The Fight Goes On."
"When they talk about putting our leaders in prison they are talking about something they cannot do," she proceeded. "I am sorry for the Government which thinks it has no better place than a prison cell for a woman like Mrs. Pankhurst. They can no more shut up women like that than they can imprison the song of a bird. You cannot break what is unbreakable, and the spirit of the women in this movement is unbreakable. Our leaders are in prison, our editors are in gaol, but the fight goes on, and our paper goes on, and we are going to win. We have not the least fear on the point. The only way the agitation can be stopped is by passing a measure through Parliament giving equal electoral rights to women as to men." (Cheers.)

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried, with two dissentients, amid tremendous applause.

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DEMONSTRATION

To Demand VOTES FOR WOMEN will be held at the STEINWAY HALL, Lower Seymour Street, W. FRIDAY, MARCH 15, 1912, AT 8 P.M. SPEAKERS—Mr. Walter Rosh, M.P., Miss Abadam, Mrs. Wynne Nevinson, Rev. Drew Roberts, Mrs. M. E. Davies, Hon. Fac. C.B.U. (in Welsh), Miss Nellie Addison (Actress) (Franchise League) has kindly consented to sing. DOORS OPEN at 7 P.M. Chair to be taken at 8 P.M. promptly. Mrs. MANSELL-MOULIN (Vice President C.B.U.). TICKETS—Reserved and Numbered Seats, 5s., 6d., 1s., 6d., and 3d. Tickets to be obtained from Mrs. M. E. Davies, 55, Wandsworth Bridge Road S.W.; Mrs. Mansell-Moulin, 63, Wimpole Street, W.; Miss Worbury 33, Morpeth Mansions, Westminster, S.W.; Mrs. Walter Rosh, 19, South Street, Thurlow Square, S.W. Please enclose stamp for postage.

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LONDON SOCIETY OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES. NON-MILITANT. 58, Victoria Street, S.W. NON-PARTY PUBLIC RECEPTION, Tuesday, March 19, 1912, Empress Rooms, Kensington (High St. Station), from 2.30 to 6 p.m. Chair—Miss MARY LOWNDES (Chairman, Artists' League). Speakers—Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D., Miss CLEMENTINA BLACK, Miss A. MAUDE ROYDEN. Discussion invited.

VOTES FOR WOMEN

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND. FRIDAY, MARCH 15, 1912.

THE DESERTERS.

Sir William Byles, M.P., is so unfavourably impressed by the last militant protest that he threatens to withdraw his support from the Woman Suffrage cause. This is indeed a surprise! We had thought Sir William Byles to possess a heart aflame with passionate sympathy with rebels against political injustice. His soul thrills with joy and pride in the revolutionary deeds of Persians, Russians, Turks, and Chinese who seek to win the blessings of representative government. Naturally we thought that he, above all people, would understand and applaud the far less violent revolution which is being conducted by his own countrywomen. But no, the rebellion of British women against the Government who deny them political justice awakes no responsive sympathetic echo in the heart of Sir William Byles. It leaves him cold and disapproving; it even makes him turn deserter to his cause and theirs, the Cause of Votes for Women. So differently, so very differently does Sir William Byles regard a man's revolution on the one hand and a woman's revolution on the other. He idolises the Garibaldi and the Sun Yat Sen of his own sex, and condemns the corresponding personages belonging to the other sex. Inconsistency, thy name is man!

Criticism of militant methods comes very inappropriately from Sir William Byles and the other gentlemen who have associated their names with his in this matter. They as Members of Parliament know by experience that the W.S.P.U. is right in saying that the Government have a Private Member's measure at their mercy. They know that if the Government (as this and previous Governments have repeatedly done) should this session torpedo any and every proposal for woman suffrage they, as Private Members, cannot, and at any rate will not, assert themselves to prevent it.

They know that in spite of the promises of facilities for the Conciliation Bill and an "opportunity" for the Reform Bill, the Government, by showing a divided and a sub-divided front, are trying to split the suffrage majority in the House of Commons into ineffectual fragments. They know that the Government, in direct breach of the Premier's pledges to suffragists, are prepared to allow, if they are not actually instigating the submission of Woman Suffrage to a Referendum, a scheme which Ministers themselves characterized as a "fair pretence to strike a fatal blow."

They know, in short, that if women are to get the vote the Government must, by dint of strong and irresistible pressure, be compelled to get the question settled—that only as a Government measure can a woman suffrage Bill be carried into law.

Now, if Sir William Byles and his friends had been willing, and also able, to exert the pressure necessary to bring the Government into line, and if, owing to their exertions, woman suffrage was now being

pressed forward as a Government measure, they might with some reason ask us to depend entirely upon them, and to refrain, for a time at any rate, from further militant action. But, unhappily, no such state of affairs exists. Sir William Byles, when he threatens to obstruct the enfranchisement of women if militancy continues, does not for a moment suggest that if militancy is discontinued women will be enfranchised. On the contrary, he says that to get Votes for Women will be a matter of great difficulty in any case. Why will it be a matter of difficulty? Sir William Byles knows the answer to this as well as we do. It is because the Government, instead of performing the function of leadership and discipline which it is theirs to perform, where this as well as other legislation is concerned, are not only holding aloof, which would be bad enough, but are actually sowing dissension and doing their best to render success impossible.

If, as these gentlemen assert, militancy is so harmful to the women's cause, why did they not carry that cause to triumph in the days before militancy had arisen, or even later, in the piping times of truce? It is never so easy to get a measure carried as when there is in support of that measure clamour and unrest in the country. This is such a political commonplace, such a truism, that to put it down in black and white seems superfluous. History shouts it for all to hear. Of course, the clamour and unrest must be great, but the degree to which they must attain in any particular case can only be discovered by experiment. That is what militant suffragists have been doing ever since their movement began. They have been experimentally moving forward, carefully, step by step, in the direction of greater militancy—always hoping that each new action would be strong enough. We militant Suffragists are exclusively concerned to get the vote, and while we would prefer to get it easily and peacefully, we are determined if need be to get it hardly and with suffering. Sir William Byles and his friends tell us our methods are wrong because they are too militant. If Sir William Byles wants to convince us of this he must show us a Woman Suffrage Act carried before further militancy is resorted to. Sir William Byles can neither frighten us nor charm us into acceptance of the old theory that "them as do not ask don't want, and them as do ask shan't have."

We entertain more than a suspicion that the Parliamentary critics of our methods are speaking with their tongue in their cheek, but such of our extra-Parliamentary critics, especially such as are women, chide us with an earnestness that betokens conviction, however mistaken. But again we come face to face with an amazing, a staggering inconsistency. Some of these ladies ardently approved and upheld the Boer War, and indeed took definite action which strengthened the Government of that day in carrying on the war. Now the Boer War was fought on a suffrage issue—for suffrage for men. It was pursued by methods of violence which involved destruction of much private property, the slaying of thousands of men, the expenditure of millions of money. How can any woman who supported the Boer War condemn on 'ethical grounds the militant methods of the Suffragettes? The basis of the Boer War was the same as the basis of the Suffragette campaign. The methods employed in the Boer War were similar (only infinitely and incalculably and unimaginably more terrible and violent) to those adopted by Suffragettes. Let us ask again, how can any woman who upheld the Boer War find anything morally wrong in the militancy of the Suffragettes? We await a reply, but can conceive of none. It cannot be argued that the Boer War was justified simply on the ground that it was an international and not a civil war. The women whose view we are challenging admire Cromwell. In what he deemed the cause of liberty, Cromwell not only destroyed the property but actually took the life of his own countrymen.

Again we demand to know what sin can be alleged against the Suffragettes which cannot be alleged also against those who are regarded as the mightiest and grandest figures in our history! Thinking of Suffragette stone-throwing always brings to the mind these lines— "Awake! for morning in the bowl of night Has flung the stone that puts the stars to flight." The stone has in very truth put to flight the dark hours of women's subjection. It gives the signal to women of awakening and emancipation. It lets in the free air of hope and liberty.

Since, and entirely because of, the last militant outbreak, a circular has been going round the House of Commons asking the opportunists to declare themselves. The information will be valuable; we have been wanting it badly, especially as regards those Members who support the Government and its Bill for Manhood Suffrage. If the Liberal majority for Women's Suffrage in the House of Commons is only an opportunist majority—a majority that is quite ready to secure unconditionally the extension of the vote to men, but will only vote, even for a small and insufficient measure of women's enfranchisement, on condition that all women "behave themselves"—if that is its character, from that majority we had nothing to hope, nor had its members any right to expect that we should trust their word.

Militancy was once suspended for months, but while it was suspended Liberal suffragists refused to give us any guarantee against the extension of the vote to men only, should all women's suffrage amendments fail. Yet many thousands of those men (who

MILITANCY: AND NO MISTAKE. By Laurence Housman.

The militant wing of the Women's Suffrage movement is always gaining fresh enemies for itself and for the Cause without thereby losing strength or ceasing to make headway. The reason is that those of whom it makes enemies were never its friends. No man of truth and honesty, having once admitted the existence of a great injustice, will ever cease working for its abolition on account of any mistakes (as he may choose to regard them) committed by those who lie under oppression. He will recognise that unremedied injustice is the greatest mistake of all, and that it stands answerable for all the rest. And so, when he is faced by extreme action with which he cannot agree, then is the test whether his advocacy comes of conviction and courage or whether it is merely cowardly and time-serving.

Courage and cowardice have both played their part in the advance and in the delay of the Women's Cause, and just as cowardice, or timidity, has been, in the past, a direct product of the age-long subjection of women, so has courage been a direct product of their revolt. Therefore, I would ask those who regard militancy at the present juncture as a mistake to consider whether the mistakes of courage are not a surer proof of the vitality of the movement than the mistakes of cowardice; and are they not, therefore, far more acceptable and far less likely to do harm to the cause? Which would they prefer, to see women arousing hostility by too much courage or laying it off by too much timidity? That is really a crucial question, and by their answer to it men will show what faith or understanding they have in the forces that have made the Women's Cause alive.

The reason is simple and obvious. Courage, though it may do inopportune things, can never in itself be a mistake; cowardice is always a mistake. Yet had the women, in their fight for political freedom, remained timid and cowardly, they would have raised no enemies to their Cause—only indifference and amused contempt. Had they been timid, the movement would not have been alive.

A good deal of indifference and amused contempt has died the death during the last fortnight; no doubt wrath and enmity have, in many instances, taken their place. But no friend of the Women's Cause has become an enemy. Not one. And something has already been gained. A fortnight ago a dark, difficult, and complicated situation was before us. Professions of friendship in high places had deceived even the elect; many, persuading themselves that no serious dangers lay ahead, were helping to make easy the concealment of treacherous intent. Already the ground has become clearer: it is difficult and rough, in all conscience, but it is less beset with traps. The militancy of only a few hundred brave women has revealed to another branch of the Suffrage army dangers which it assumed not to exist. In a word, the sincerity of nominal supporters of Women's Suffrage among Members of Parliament is now being put to the test, and we are likely to learn, early instead of late, what their professions were worth. It is all to the good that we should know quite soon in the session how very conditional is the support which some members of Parliament will give to the Women's Cause, and with what a different measure they weigh and estimate their debt to women of a reform unduly delayed, and their debt to man of a reform for which there is scarcely a demand. Has the great body of Women Suffragists throughout the country been depending on the pledges of mere opportunists or of honourable men? Is it as a matter of convenience or as a matter of principle that they have said, like Mr. Winston Churchill, when he was hard pressed for votes, "Ladies, I am your friend!"

Since, and entirely because of, the last militant outbreak, a circular has been going round the House of Commons asking the opportunists to declare themselves. The information will be valuable; we have been wanting it badly, especially as regards those Members who support the Government and its Bill for Manhood Suffrage. If the Liberal majority for Women's Suffrage in the House of Commons is only an opportunist majority—a majority that is quite ready to secure unconditionally the extension of the vote to men, but will only vote, even for a small and insufficient measure of women's enfranchisement, on condition that all women "behave themselves"—if that is its character, from that majority we had nothing to hope, nor had its members any right to expect that we should trust their word.

Militancy was once suspended for months, but while it was suspended Liberal suffragists refused to give us any guarantee against the extension of the vote to men only, should all women's suffrage amendments fail. Yet many thousands of those men (who

have been not troubled to agitate for the vote) have been rioters, looters, shopbreakers, disturbers of the public peace. In Liverpool, at Tonypanny, and elsewhere, these men, unsolicited for votes, will, under the Government Bill, find their way on to the Register (because it suits the party book to put them there), and not a voice has been lifted in the Liberal ranks to say that the rioting of those thousands shall be a reason for the refusal of the vote to four million. Yet precisely that threat is now being raised in the House of Commons against the women. A few hundred women, riotous because of justice delayed, are to be made a joyful excuse for refusing the franchise to any!

As directed against the Conciliation Bill, that threat gives little concern to the W.S.P.U., for it merely illustrates the Union's contention from a fresh point of view. If that is the mind of Liberal M.P.'s towards the political rights of women, never, without pressure on the Government itself, should we get enfranchisement from them. The conscience of these Government supporters shows itself as atrophied as ever in relation to the women's claim. Events have moved and made the moral obligation more urgent, but these members have not moved with events. The voting of women's money into their own pockets has not, apparently, done anything to increase their sense of obligation; the Government's proposal to extend by yet another 4,000,000 votes the political control of men over the lives of women has evoked from them no protest, and they give us no guarantee that it shall fail. In the face of this silence and this inaction they still expect the trust of the women, and when it is not given them, when passionate protest meets them instead, then they show that they regard all women as a herd to be driven into a compound together and taught to behave!

It is that fundamental immorality in the minds of our politicians which militant action has again brought to light. Yet that immorality is but a political reflection of what we find broadcast in the minds of men who would seek to deny to women individuality, liberty, or right of way. Always, when offence is given, women—the sex—are grouped for punishment as a herd without any individual rights or differing claims. How could we have clearer proof that the spirit which regards women as one great subject section of the community is still alive and strong in our midst?

It was that spirit which, many years ago, set up the grille before the "Ladies' Gallery" in the House of Commons. One woman, egged on by certain young Members of Parliament, created a disturbance, and from that day forward the whole "sex" was relegated to a cage. Many more have been the disturbances created from the Men's Gallery, but no cage was ever proposed to be put over them. We saw the same spirit again, only a few years ago, when a Liberal Member, because in the local London elections women had voted "Moderate," went down to the House and "talked out" a Bill for the general enfranchisement of women throughout the country, while at every turn of the Suffrage movement the acts of individual women or of groups have been held up by hostile critics as proof of women's unfitnes for the vote. This meeting out of punishment to the many because of the few has always characterised man's method in dealing with the unenfranchised, with subject races, and with slaves. It has disappeared when full citizen rights have been secured.

That process of condemnation "in the rack," which is now applied only to women, used, within my own recollection, to be applied to the working classes as well. No politician dares to do it now; the vote has given to each section of labour its distinctive and its individual rights. But if that way of regarding women as a herd still exists among our legislators, is it not well that it should be disclosed and made clear to the gaze of "Constitutionals"? That, it seems, is now being done, and the value of the material on which some of us were relying is being exposed.

That exposure is the result of militancy—militancy and no mistake.

A NON-MILITANT PROTEST. London Opera House, Kingsway, To-night.

A great public demonstration, under the auspices of the Actresses' Franchise League, the Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, the Church League for Women's Suffrage, the National Political Reform League, the Constitutional Society, and the Women Writers' Suffrage League, will be held at the London Opera House, Kingsway, to-night (Friday), at 8.15 p.m. Sir Alfred Mond will preside. We understand that the meeting is called for the purpose of protesting against the Government's policy with regard to woman suffrage, and to demand the immediate introduction of such legislation for the enfranchisement of women as will remove the just grievances and put an end to the existing disorder. Tickets, price 2s. 6d. (reserved), 1s., and 6d. (unreserved); boxes 21s. and 10s. 6d.; gallery free, may be had from any of the above societies. It is hoped that all our readers will do their utmost to attend. (N.B.—The address of the A.F.L. is 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.)

MRS. PANKHURST.

Readers of this paper will not require a denial of the statement that was current a few days ago to the effect that Mrs. Pankhurst broke down completely in the dock. Sensational reports of this kind are credited only by those who do not know the leader of the militant movement. They will, on the other hand, learn with indignation that she has been suffering from bronchitis, the natural consequence of confinement in a damp and unwarmed third division cell; but we are glad to be able to announce that as a result of strong representations made to the Home Office, she has been placed in more suitable surroundings, where she is being given better care and attention, though by no means her full rights as a political offender. That such representations should have to be made on behalf of a woman like the founder of the Women's Social and Political Union is only indicative of the remarkable attitude of a Liberal Government to the whole question.

So is the fact that proper facilities for the preparation of her defence in the trial that awaits her on the charge of conspiracy, are not being granted, on the ground that she is a convicted prisoner. She applied to the Home Secretary last Saturday for permission to see her secretary, offering to serve the rest of her sentence later on if the rights of a remand prisoner could be extended to her now. Up to the time of going to press Mrs. Pankhurst has received no answer to her application.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £250,000 FUND. March 2 to March 9.

Table listing names and amounts contributed to the £250,000 fund. Includes names like Mrs. M. S. Bevan, Mrs. Hart, Mrs. Alfred Hill, etc.

Fines in lieu of prison.

Table listing names and amounts of fines in lieu of prison. Includes names like Mrs. Helen M. Farley, Mrs. Elizabeth King, etc.

Self-Denial.

Table listing names and amounts of self-denial. Includes names like Mrs. Margaret Carey, Mrs. F. Walker, etc.

William Ball Fund.

Table listing names and amounts for the William Ball Fund. Includes names like Mrs. M. S. Bevan, Mrs. Blacklock, etc.

SOME PRESS OPINIONS.

NOT MILITANT TACTICS AFTER ALL.

The London correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian" makes the following interesting statement with regard to the rumoured loss of Irish support for the Conciliation Bill, the second reading of which will be taken on March 22.

The explanation of their action may largely be found in the speech of the Lord Chancellor at the anti-suffrage meeting at the Albert Hall. Rightly or wrongly, the Irish have got it into their head that Lord Loreburn is their strongest supporter in the Cabinet, and they dread any step that might drive him from the Government.

The positive delight displayed by the Liberal Press over the drastic measures being taken to stamp out the Suffragists affords one more instance of the cynical insincerity of the party of progress which always claims to have a special regard for the voice of the people, and to be particularly interested in the extension of the franchise.

Without in the least degree attempting to prejudge the very serious case brought against the leading members of the Women's Social and Political Union, it is not surprising to congratulate the Government on the firmness they have displayed on this occasion.

All the injury that the window-smashers have done could probably be made good by an expenditure of £5,000 at the outside. The damage is temporary, and capable of rapid repair.

The damage is estimated at thousands of pounds. And the reason? One lady told it to a Press representative last night. According to her, it was a protest against the Government's refusal to legislate in regard to the question of Women's Suffrage.

It is always unwise to do things in a hurry. The Government has acted thus in the case of the militant suffragists, and the result is a very serious blunder.

Up to the present, generally speaking, the miners have conducted themselves admirably. But their women folk are said to be, in many instances, infected with the spirit exhibited by the Suffragists, and to be showing sympathy with men who are now abroad seeking to inflame the passions of their fellows.

averted, and the raising of difficult and complicated questions as to the further extension of the franchise to women would have been staved off indefinitely. It is the Government policy of drift which has brought matters to the present pass, and it is not surprising that women who have given themselves and their means to the suffrage cause with self-sacrificing devotion should feel exasperated by the intolerable postponement of a measure of justice which the House of Commons has for years been ready to grant.

The defence which Mrs. Pankhurst offered at the police-court hearing on Saturday shows that the window-smashing outrages were a direct response to a very stupid remark reported to have been made by a member of the Cabinet, Mr. C. E. Hobhouse. His words, as quoted by the Suffragist leader, were to the effect that the women who are demanding the vote have not proved their desire, since "they have done nothing of the kind that characterised the men's agitation which led to the burning of Nottingham Castle and the pulling down of Hyde Park railings."

One is tempted to believe that the women are ridiculous because they content themselves with smashing windows instead of smashing heads! Amarryllis, in the "Middlesex County Times."

NATIONALISTS AND THE CONCILIATION BILL.

The Conciliation Bill comes on for its second reading in ten days, and it is reported—one of our London correspondents to-day confirms this—that it will receive not a single Nationalist vote.

All the injury that the window-smashers have done could probably be made good by an expenditure of £5,000 at the outside. The damage is temporary, and capable of rapid repair.

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Up to the present, generally speaking, the miners have conducted themselves admirably. But their women folk are said to be, in many instances, infected with the spirit exhibited by the Suffragists, and to be showing sympathy with men who are now abroad seeking to inflame the passions of their fellows.

1,000 NEW READERS WANTED!

To increase the circulation of VOTES FOR WOMEN should be the first aim of every member of the W.S.P.U. at this moment. Most of the members know that the leaders have given time, thought, and energy to the paper in the past, and now members must see to it that they shall have no cause for anxiety.

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In the House of Commons on Wednesday, March 6, Mr. Lansbury asked the Prime Minister if, in the event of the House of Commons carrying an Amendment to the proposed Manhood Suffrage Bill in favour of admitting women to the franchise, it is the intention of His Majesty's Government to bring in such legislation as will enable the question of granting the Parliamentary franchise to women being submitted to the present voters by means of the Referendum?

The women are displaying an uncanny ingenuity in tactics, and are exhibiting a persistence that nothing seems able to quell. "Midland Evening News."

One is tempted to believe that the women are ridiculous because they content themselves with smashing windows instead of smashing heads! Amarryllis, in the "Middlesex County Times."

NATIONALISTS AND THE CONCILIATION BILL.

The Conciliation Bill comes on for its second reading in ten days, and it is reported—one of our London correspondents to-day confirms this—that it will receive not a single Nationalist vote.

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OUR POST BOX.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Dear Editors,—What is the secret of the success of the militant policy of the W.S.P.U.? Why is it that to-day there are more men than ever before who are passionately concerned to secure votes for women? Why is it that men in the ranks of all professions, men whose professional existence depends upon their reputation for sobriety in judgment and righteousness in action, are proud to evince their profound respect for women who have been indulging in "orgies of riot"? Why is it that the religious leagues are steadily increasing their membership?

A correspondent writes: "We are immensely proud over our women, and whatever the Government may do to our leaders we have unlimited confidence and faith in them and all members of the W.S.P.U."

A correspondent writes: "You fill me with pride that I am a woman, and that my sex is the heroine of the hour. I would be glad to be. All success to our cause, and my deepest gratitude to you and your fellow-fighters."

A correspondent writes: "I enclose a Postal Order for 1s. and a fill-in membership card. You will be glad to know this lady has joined on account of militant methods, as she says she is ashamed to stay in a peaceful suffrage society and reap the rewards of what our splendid men are so nobly doing. Our hearts are filled with the deepest indignation at the way our well-loved leaders are being treated."

A correspondent writes: "My heart is with these brave women whose consecration can only be compared to the martyrs of old. We had supposed those days of injustice and cruelty to be forever passed away. Not so, at least in England; and I can but thank God I am an American. Every mail brings me letters denouncing the treatment of our British sisters. Here in Canada we have learned to honour and love, and the rest of the noble army of martyrs."

A correspondent writes: "The members of our family send their sincerest thanks to our beloved leaders for the great sacrifice they are called upon to make. God bless them, as also humanity will in days to come. Their persecution only rouses us to further efforts."

A correspondent writes: "For some time I have been thinking of joining the W.S.P.U., and the events of the past week have, so to say, determined my step. My heart is full of admiration for the wonderful heroism of your leaders in this so noble cause. My whole sympathy is on your side, and I feel absolutely miserable at the thought of Mrs. Pankhurst's and companions' present abode."

A correspondent writes: "The intention of the Government is, of course, quite apparent to everybody, and this last act of despotism shows only too plainly that we are dealing with men who are dead to a sense of justice. I am very sorry that I can take no active part in the movement; unfortunately, my whole time is taken up with working to keep the home together, otherwise you may rest assured I would leave nothing untried to help you further the cause. Please convey to Mrs. Pankhurst, and the others our sympathy and deep concern whenever you are writing."

A correspondent writes: "May I draw your attention to a remarkable coincidence in connection with the events of the past few days? At the banquet given on Friday last by the Eighty Club in honour of Mr. Deacon, the gentleman, without demer from the Cabinet ministers present, enquired the Fenians and the Land League, and justified the iniquitous outrages they perpetrated when they attracted the attention of the people of England to the grievances of the Irish. Now, if the Fenians were right in committing the most dastardly dynamic outrages, causing loss of life and injury to hundreds of people, and the Land Leaguers were right in inciting the people of Ireland to open rebellion and assassination, then the Suffragettes cannot have been so very much in the wrong by indulging in the comparatively harmless (or, at least, as human life was concerned) method of window smashing to call the notice of the Government and the people to the disabilities under which they conscientiously believe themselves to labour. The Government can't have it both ways. Either they should advance the movement for sex equality, and it is not for them now to criticise our methods. Women would indeed be greatly indebted to the Rev. Starritt if he could suggest to them more effective methods that are less violent. On Sunday afternoon I met a little boy, the son of a friend of mine, in the street, who asked me whether I was "one of those hoiligans in petticoats." I told him not to use that nasty expression, and he promptly replied, "But Mr. Starritt used it this morning in his sermon, so it must be all right." Fancy being told that by a child of eleven! No matter what the Rev. gentleman's opinion on militancy may be, it certainly does not become a clergyman to use such language from the pulpit. Will any member belonging to his congregation protest against the insult and refuse to work for the Rev. Starritt in the future?—Yours, &c., (Miss) K. KÖRÖ, 2, Aeolian Villas, Muswell Hill, London, N.

SOME FRENCH VIEWS.

The Paris correspondent of the "Observer" sends the following letter:—"Political Futurists" is a French friend's name for the militant Suffragettes. "But should one be surprised that they take these extreme measures?" he asked. "Have they not warrant for supposing that violence pays? We have heard in France of the Fenian outrages and the cruelties of the moonlighter. Those men have frightened the Government—have they not?—into giving them what they want. Why should that same Government be astonished that the female Suffragettes adopt the same tactics? Is it not logical? Is it not part of the anarchy that exists at the present moment?"

The Frenchman, who is a keen student of English affairs, says that the Suffragette raid and the coal strike would be sufficient to kill any Government in France, and he supposed that English Radicalism had received its "coup de grace." "It is singular for the foreign student," he continued, "to note the Radical adherence to outworn systems. The 'Manchester School,' for instance, is a monument to dead theories, still blindly cherished by the Liberal Party in England. Strangely enough, that party seems incapable of accepting a new position. Its handling of the Suffragette movement is particularly infelicitous."

One of my English friends has refused to see the woman, which, I understand, was M. Aquit's initial mistake, and provoked them at the outset. Nor, imagine, would he have raised his voice in their defence. "It is a la maniere," you know, even in politics; but your British Radicals do not appear to possess the same sense of occasion."

A Frenchwoman's View.

A Frenchwoman sends to the "Standard" a letter from which we quote:—"I have just arrived in John Bull's Island, filled with the romantic ideas we all share about our British sisters. Here it is my good or evil fortune to fall into the midst of the Suffragist trouble. What do I find? The Englishmen, Englishmen, shouldered and tall, shamefully ill-treating a lady, tearing her dress and bonnet and throwing sand over her protest. He tells me that she is a woman, and I, a woman. I retort that this should not make him forget he is a man, and then I have to be protected by your 'fine English' 'hobbies' to further efforts."

A correspondent writes: "The intention of the Government is, of course, quite apparent to everybody, and this last act of despotism shows only too plainly that we are dealing with men who are dead to a sense of justice. I am very sorry that I can take no active part in the movement; unfortunately, my whole time is taken up with working to keep the home together, otherwise you may rest assured I would leave nothing untried to help you further the cause. Please convey to Mrs. Pankhurst, and the others our sympathy and deep concern whenever you are writing."

AT THE LONDON PAVILION.

With three of their leaders in prison and a fourth undergoing sentence of banishment, it would not have been surprising had those at the London Pavilion showed signs of despondency. Such, however, was not the case. The hall was crowded, and the speakers, as they came on the platform, from several well-known statesmen, while the waiting audience which greeted every reference to "our young leader" must have dispelled any lingering illusions in the minds of the detectives present as to the prospect of Miss Pankhurst's whereabouts being betrayed by her friends.

Mrs. Massey, who was in the chair, began by remarking that at the present time, when so many stirring events were taking place, the highest title of honour which could be given to a woman was that of "a militant Suffragette." Referring to various agitations of the past, Mrs. Massey quoted from several well-known statesmen, and showed that every reform had been won by militant agitation, and remarked how singular it was that a Government which could sympathise with the revolutionaries in every other country under the sun failed to recognise the justice of the demands being made by the militant Suffragettes.

Mrs. Massey dealt chiefly with the militant agitation. "We are not here to vindicate window smashing," she said. "We agree it is outrageous, but," she added, "the blame for it must be placed upon the right shoulders." The Government, by their persistent refusal to listen to the demands of the women, had driven them to adopt militant methods, and it was upon the shoulders of the Government that the responsibility rested. When Mr. John Burns was arrested for his share in the Trafalgar Square Riots in the 'Eighties, the present Prime Minister acted as his counsel, and defence of his position on the ground that it was owing to the refusal of the Government of that day to listen to the just demand of the people, while as recently as last year Mr. Winston Churchill had telegraphed to the miners of Tonypandy, expressing regret at their violence, but promising sympathy, support and help. Was it any wonder, then, that women were driven to believe that militancy would avail in their own case?

Mrs. Massey, who was subjected to considerable interruption in the course of her speech from medical students and other potential electors, concluded with an eloquent appeal to the women in the audience who might be opposed to militant methods nevertheless to join hands with their sisters and help to end the long fight for political liberty.

MR. LANSBURY, M.P.

Mr. Lansbury, M.P., speaking at Blackburn, said that he, at any rate, would raise his hat to those ladies who were fighting for their emancipation in the only way that was effective. At least this could be said for them: they had not injured a single human being. They had the working classes party, and he wished the working classes of this country had a title of the spirit of these women.

Table with 3 columns: Name, Address, and a small number. Includes names like Mrs. E. Brown, Mrs. J. E. Brown, Mrs. A. G. Brown, etc.

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SUFFRAGIST CASES IN COURT.

As we go to press we are informed that there are at the present moment in Holloway 204 prisoners. In addition a number are on bail, and others are due to come up for trial at the assizes. The cases of the brave women who took part in the demonstrations of March 1 and 4 were continued at various courts last week. On Wednesday afternoon, March 6, Miss Margaret Haly, Miss Kitty Marlon, Mrs. Evelyn Jacob, Miss Amy Winter, Mrs. Ena Shallard, Miss Margaret Wallis, and Miss Lillian Freeth, all charged with window-breaking, were committed for trial on March 20.

Bow Street, March 7. On Thursday, March 7, the first case to be taken was that of Miss Sarah Bennett, for breaking windows at 101 and 103, Regent Street, value £2 and £2 10s. She said to the magistrate, "All reformers have to be rebels, and history will justify me." She was sentenced to two months' hard labour in the second case.

Mrs. Emily Duval came next, charged with breaking windows at 95a and 97, Regent Street, value £5 and £9. Defendant said she had been brutally knocked about and thrown on her back, and added, "I should like to say that I shattered the glass because I wish the Government to come to their senses, and money can replace broken glass, but it cannot replace the innocence of girls who are outraged daily." That is more precious than broken glass. She was sentenced to two months' hard labour in the second case, and one month's hard labour in the first case, and one month's hard labour in the second case.

Mrs. Helen Friedlander, for breaking the window of Messrs. Cooks', Post-office Agents, 83 and 89, Piccadilly, value £50, was committed for trial at the next sessions.

Mrs. Evelyn Hudstone, for breaking three windows in Chapel Court, value £40, was committed for trial at the next sessions.

The next three were Miss Mollie Ward, Miss Isabelle Potbury, and Miss Olive Wharry, who were charged with breaking windows at Messrs. Robinson and Cleaver, damage £100. The evidence against Miss Ward broke down, and the magistrate said that there was no actual evidence against her to warrant committing her for trial, on which account he should discharge her. The other two defendants were committed for trial.

Miss Constance Bryer was charged with breaking the windows of 189 and 195, Regent Street, value £46. The defendant said she did not wish to say anything except that the hammer produced was not hers. She was committed for trial.

Miss Nora Kathleen Lackey, when charged with breaking the window of No. 3, Regent Street (value £10), said, "I wish to tender my apologies to the Advertising Company, but at the same time on the next occasion, I shall consider it my duty to break his or anybody else's windows, should the occasion arise. I do not consider myself morally guilty at all. I plead not guilty." Mr. Curtis Bennett committed her for trial.

Miss Peggy Julian, charged with breaking the window of No. 111, Regent Street, value £2, said, "I simply wish to say that I did it as a protest, that is all." She was sentenced to one month's imprisonment.

Miss Agnes Buckton, for breaking window No. 66, Piccadilly, the damage being 4s. 6d., was sentenced to one month's imprisonment.

Miss Caroline Downings, case held over till the afternoon.

Miss Alice Lilla Durham denied breaking three plate-glass windows at 119, Regent Street. She was committed for trial.

A Fine Speech. The next case was that of Mrs. Sarah Conner. Constable Lewis said that on Monday morning, March 4, at 5.15, he was on duty in Katon Square. He heard a smashing of glass, and immediately afterwards he saw the defendant come out of the doorway of No. 8, the residence of the Lord Chancellor. She said to him, "I have been waiting for you, constable." He saw that there were two panes of glass broken in the glass portico. He said to her, "You have broken the window," and she said, "Yes, I have." He said that something fell from her near the window door, and after charging her he went out and picked it up. It was a bag, containing a piece of lead attached to some string. The value was put at £2. The defendant here said she did not believe the windows were worth more than 10s. Mr. Curtis Bennett said the amount would not alter the sentence he was about to pass on her, and the defendant said she understood that the case was prejudged. She then said, "In the first place, I deeply regret that I, who have such a beautiful home and live so happily, should be obliged to step out into the streets and break windows because men are keeping back the rights and privileges of women in this country. When I was at Cambridge, I paid money and money and money to men, who took it, and who gave me in return no degree, however high I came out above the men. Then I went to Dublin and I paid money, but I was not granted the privileges in return. I then took a house in the country and paid rates and taxes. My

man gardener, who could neither read nor write, went to vote, but I received no privileges in return for those rates and taxes. I then married, and ceased to pay rates and taxes. I have done a great deal of social work, and in Glasgow I have found that property is valued at a much higher rate than hundreds of girls of sixteen, and children of nine, ten, and eleven. I will fight until I get that law altered, if I die for it, and the whole of the women in the movement will do this. We want to pass laws to protect women, and the only people who will regenerate the country are the women. The responsibility of this rests upon the Government."

The magistrate passed a sentence of two months' hard labour. The defendant, before going out of the court, said, "In the next cell to mine is a lady who did precisely the same as I have done, and she got only one month, without hard labour." Mr. Curtis Bennett endeavoured to explain to her the reasons for her sentence, but she proceeded: "I have talked to you straight, my man. I am quite as good as you, and wait till I come out."

Mrs. Adelaide Redfern Wilde, charged with breaking windows value £20 at 129, New Bond Street, said: "It was one more blow for freedom." She was committed for trial.

On Thursday afternoon Miss Caroline Downing was recalled, charged with breaking windows value £50 at 221, Regent Street. She said it was part of a political protest for a purely political motive for gaining votes for women; this violence was as repellent to them as to the Government, but they were compelled to take these methods. As soon as the vote was granted this violence would cease automatically. She was committed to take her trial on the 20th, refusing bail.

The following were also committed for trial: **Miss Clara Civeen** and **Miss Violet Aitken**, breaking twelve windows at 245, Regent Street, Jays, Ltd. (£100), on Friday evening.

Mrs. Barbara Ayrton Gould, windows at 201, Regent Street, Morny Freres, chemists (£32 10s.).

Miss Dorothea Benson, of Birmingham, window at 92, New Bond Street, Mr. John Cooling, fine art dealer (£20).

Miss Emily Fern, windows at 130, New Bond Street, the National Linen Company (£10), and 133, New Bond Street, Smithson and Son, stationers (£5).

On March 7, Mrs. Eleanor Jacobs, of Feltham House, Loughton, Essex, was charged before Mr. Fordham at West London with wilfully breaking four windows at a post-office in Earl's Court Road, value £4. Mrs. Jacobs is the wife of Mr. W. W. Jacobs, the well-known novelist.

In reply to the magistrate Mrs. Jacobs said: "I have done my duty. I think it is my duty as the mother of five children. It is the only way we can protest against the action, or rather, the inaction, of the Government in refusing justice."

Mr. Fordham: Your statement is so absurd that I think I ought to have you remanded to have your state of mind inquired into.

Mrs. Jacobs (smiling): Oh, my mind is quite sound. I have done my duty to my children for twelve years. I think my daughters when they grow up should have equal rights and responsibilities and duties with my sons.

Mr. Fordham: I shall remand you for eight days for the doctor to report on the state of your mind.

On the hammer found in Mrs. Jacobs' possession was a label bearing the name "To Mr. Lloyd George—A protest from a Welshwoman against repression."

In the afternoon Mr. Leslie Smith, instructed by Mr. W. W. Jacobs, asked that Mrs. Jacobs might be allowed to go out on bail. He (Mr. Smith) was instructed to say that the lady's mental condition was quite right, but, probably through the influence of the ringleaders of this propaganda, she had conceived the idea that the action of herself and others in thus bringing their supposed grievances to the notice of the Government would be ultimately of benefit to the country.

Mr. Fordham: Well, really, the breaking of windows alone is some evidence of want of mental balance.

Mr. Smith: I do not agree, sir, with this agitation at all, but I am bound to say that there are large numbers of persons who do hold this lady's views.

Mr. Fordham: There are a number of mad persons, then, who ought to have been locked up.

Mr. Smith: Mrs. Jacobs has never had any suggestion against her. She is a devoted mother to her children.

Mr. Fordham: I need hardly say I am very sorry for her, and still more sorry for her husband and her people.

Mr. Jacobs here came forward and said, "I wish to say that I am bitterly opposed to this movement."

Addressing Mr. Smith, his worship observed that, since he was assured that the lady's mental condition was unaffected, he was prepared to deal with the case summarily. Defendant was thereupon brought back from the cells and ushered into the dock. Addressing her, the magistrate said: "I remanded you this morning because I thought from what you said that you were demented, and I think it is most

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BATH Exquisite Coatee in Black Taffeta, prettily trimmed with detachable white net collar, also silk cords and buttons. Lined throughout silk. Price 63/-

WHITELEYS, QUEEN'S ROAD, W

unfair that any demented person should be punished. I did not think that any woman of well-balanced mind could have acted and spoken as you did. I am assured now by your husband's solicitor that you are not mentally defective, and I have been asked to deal with the case."

Defendant: There is no reason at all to suppose that I am not quite sane. Mr. Fordham: Well, you know, it is a common experience that lunatics never think themselves insane, but I am assured in your case that there is no ground for supposing that you are not in your right mind. I must say that this morning you appeared far from well.

Defendant: I have slept very badly lately because I have been worrying about this difficult and expensive step I have taken, but I am perfectly sensible and in my right mind.

Called upon by Mr. Fordham, Mr. Jacobs said his wife had taken up this attitude because she conceived that it was her duty to her children that she should support this movement. He asked his worship to consider that for a long time before like his wife had been under the influence of the two leaders of the movement, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, the very great influence he might add, He could not speak too highly of her as a mother. He hoped that his worship would extend leniency to her, and would not inflict on her the hardships which, very properly no doubt, had been inflicted on many of these misguided women. His wife could not stand hardship, and if she were called upon to endure it, her health would be permanently affected. He wished to say that if the Government had not played with the question his wife and those other unhappy women would not have been brought to their present position.

Mr. Fordham: I think that what you have said is very proper. I am thoroughly sorry for your husband, Mrs. Jacobs, and I am quite sure that you are both of you devoted to your children. The fact is you have been led away—over-persuaded. You have been encouraged by the foolish leniency—as many of us deem it—extended to persons who have been doing this sort of thing for years. I think if they had been given to understand that what they did was not a political offence at all and had been punished like anyone else who commits willful damage, we should never have seen all this damage in the last few days—damage amounting to thousands of pounds. By the encouragement given by those in authority, these women, who, I believe, are not as we should wish them to be, would have been punished in the first instance, and this trouble would not have arisen. I believe it has been the rule and practice the last few days to pass an invariable sentence of two months' hard labour. I don't pass that sentence on you, but I sentence you to one month's hard labour.

The other cases heard before Mr. Fordham on Thursday were:

Miss Edith Hudson, 40, hospital nurse, of 8, Melville Place, Edinburgh, breaking three windows at John Barker and Co.'s shop, valued at £30, and one window at the Gas Light and Coke Co.'s shop, valued at £30.

Miss Ellen Gibb, 32, independent, of Elliott House, Hillhead, Glasgow, breaking six windows at Barker and Co.'s shop, valued £90.

Miss Emily Fussell, 28, independent, of 7, Bon Accord Street, Aberdeen, breaking two windows at Ponting's shop, valued £30.

Miss Lillias Mitchell, 27, independent, of 7, Bon Accord Street, Aberdeen, breaking four windows at Barker's shop, valued £48. They were all committed for trial.

Marlborough Street Court. Mrs. Alice Green, 40, giving an address in the Avenue Moliere, Brussels, and Mrs. Evelyn Arton, 24, of Kensington Gate, were charged on March 7 with wilfully and maliciously breaking windows at the premises of Messrs. J. R. Dale and Co. (Ltd.), Oxford Street, to the extent of £150 damage; and also at a shop of A. Stedall (Ltd.), Oxford Street, to the value of about £125.

They were both committed for trial.

Mr. Bennett, on behalf of Mrs. Arton, asked for bail, saying his client was in a delicate state of health. Mr. Mead refused bail for both prisoners.

West London Court. The last batch of suffragists who took part in Monday morning's demonstration in Kensington High Street came before Mr. Fordham at West London Police Court on March 8. Their names and addresses were:

Miss Maud Shipley, 42, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C., breaking windows at 9, High Street (H. F. Randall, Ltd.), and at 11, High Street (F. Wilkins, Ltd.); total value £40.

Miss Fanny Parker, 2, 502, Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow, breaking window at 33, High Street (London and North-Western Railway receiving office), value £50.

Mrs. Elizabeth Finlayson Gould, 59, matron, 8, Melville Place, Edinburgh, breaking windows value £50 in all at 37, High Street (Wholesale Fur Company), and at 39, High Street (Maison Legor, Ltd.).

Mrs. Gould appeared in the dock with her right arm bandaged, and the evidence was that she had severely cut herself while breaking one of the windows.

Bow Street, Saturday, March 9. On Saturday Mr. Curtis Bennett, who sat specially for the sixth time, disposed

of upwards of fifty cases. Nearly all the women told the magistrate that their conduct was a result of Mr. Hobhouse's speech at Bristol, where he referred to the agitators that led to the burning of Nottingham Castle and pulling down the Hyde Park railings.

Miss Maggie McFarlane was charged, on remand, with breaking a window, said to be one of the largest in London, at the offices of the Hamburg-America Line in Cockspur Street. The damage was estimated at £104. Defendant was committed for trial.

Miss Violet Bland and **Miss Ethel V. Baldock** were also sent for trial for damaging, to the extent of £10 a window at the offices of the Commercial Cable Company, Northumberland Avenue, and a similar course was adopted with Mrs. Hope Jones, charged with damage to the same extent at Parliament Chambers, Westminster.

Miss Bland said she was a law-abiding citizen. She had paid rates and taxes to the tune of nearly £1 a week for twenty years, and she had been working for her citizenship for a number of years. She did this in response to a challenge by a member of the Government.

Mrs. Marion Creen pleaded for the option of paying a fine. She was, however, sentenced to two months' hard labour for breaking a window at the Recruiting Office, Great Scotland Yard, with an exceptionally large hammer.

Miss Gaxton McAlpin was charged with smashing up two windows, damage 6s., and Mr. Curtis Bennett, refusing to depart from his rule in these cases, imposed two months' hard labour.

Mrs. Catherine Mary Richmond and **Mrs. Mrs. Spalding-Brown** were also accused of offences at the War Office. They received two months' hard labour.

Miss Kate Lilley and **Louise Lilley** were charged with breaking windows at the War Office, and a constable produced some flint stones as big as a man's fist. Counsel for the defence stated that his clients were the daughters of a well-known Essex gentleman, and they felt they had a deep grievance against the Government. Defendants were each sentenced to two months' hard labour.

Mrs. Charlotte Ireland, ordered to undergo a month's imprisonment in default of finding sureties, said she took the action she did in order to demand the franchise, which had been taken from women illegally since 1832, and it was to help the outcast women who were being sacrificed in this country. She was out for a better manhood and a purer womanhood, and God would defend the right.

Miss Loretta Lawless was charged, on remand, with breaking a window at London Road Police Station, where she had gone to see Mrs. Saul Solomon, who was in custody for doing damage at the House of Lords. She was not represented by counsel, who urged in mitigation that her action was unpremeditated. Five previous charges were mentioned against her. It was an impulse of the moment. Sentence of one month's hard labour was passed.

The husband of Mrs. Marie Louise Waller, one of three women charged with breaking windows at Bow Street Police Station, was accepted as surety for her during the good behaviour period.

Miss Emmeline Scott and **Miss Mary Fraser** were charged with breaking windows at Marlborough Street Police Court in St. John's Wood. Defendants were ordered to pay fines and costs amounting to £4 0s. 6d. Miss Fraser refused to do so, and was sentenced to one month's hard labour in default.

Miss Henrietta Löwy and **Miss Vera Swan** were charged with breaking a window at the residence of Mr. Lewis Harcourt in Berkeley Square. There was some dispute as to the facts, and the magistrate said it was not quite clear that the window was actually broken by a stone thrown by one of the defendants. He therefore gave them the option of paying a fine of 40s. each.

Mr. Ethel Smyth, charged with damaging the same window, said: "I heard the late Archbishop Benson and Mr. Spurgeon once discussing the number of the prostitutes in London, and I heard Mr. Spurgeon say that of the number in the streets of London less than one-third are there from vice, but through poverty and sweating and the white-slave traffic. When I became a suffragette, about eighteen months ago, I heard that appeal after appeal had been made to raise the age of consent above sixteen. A friend of mine, a member of Parliament, who was an anti-suffragist, said to me, 'You will not get that vote, because the women go to the polls, although not one of us men would like to see a young girl taken advantage of, yet, as a matter of fact, when it comes to altering a matter like that, well—we think things are very well as they are.' That is one of the things we women want to change, and if our leaders were to disappear below the earth, as Miss Pankhurst said on Tuesday, if we all disappeared, there are other people, and any one of these people are fit to lead others, and when we are put away they will get their opportunity. We none of us do it because we like it, we do it from the conviction that it is the only way of getting justice done to women. We do not expect men to feel as we do, because they are not in our skins. That is the reason we do what we do. It is not done from rebellious motives or from evil motives. Thank you for hearing me so long." Defendant was sentenced to two months' hard labour.

The following defendants were each sentenced to two months' hard labour for breaking windows at Government offices, the damage in each instance being not more than a few shillings: Misses Helen Mar- garet Spanton, Jane Murphy, Maggie Murphy, Caroline Morris, Jane Lomax, Kate Evans, Emma Fowler, Mary Carlyn, Grace Tollenmache, Mrs. Nancy Johns (Glasgow), Misses Marjorie Campbell (Dundee), Janet Barrowman (Dundee), Marion Harrison, Miss Fanny Campbell, Elizabeth Herrick, Mrs. Josephine Carter, Mrs. Annie Swan, Misses Leonora Tyson, Mary Boyd Dodgson, Flora Tull, Aubrey Wyatt, Agnes McDonald, and Elsie Evans.

Mrs. Norah York was sentenced to six weeks' hard labour (the reason given by the magistrate being that the hammer was a small one), and **Miss Jeanne Brown**, **Miss Mollie Hughes**, and **Miss Winifred Whitlock** to one month's hard labour.

Some cases of obstruction, amongst them **Miss Louisa Wilson**, **Miss Constance Bray**, **Miss Edith Clarence**, and **Miss Constance Chambers**, were also dealt with, defendants being ordered to find sureties or go to prison in default.

Bow Street, March 11. On Monday, March 11, the following cases were heard: **Mrs. Isabella Casey**, two months' hard labour for breaking a window worth £4 at the premises of Mr. Archibald White, brush manufacturer, of Oxford Street.

Miss Mary Jones, on a charge of insulting behaviour—she struck at a window in New Bond Street with a hammer attached to a cord tied round her neck, but failed to break it—was bound over in two sureties of £25, or in default two months' imprisonment.

The following were sent for trial on the charges stated: **Miss Elsie Howe**, for breaking two windows, value £20, at Messrs. Liberty's premises, Regent Street.

Miss Catherine Swaine, for breaking a window, value £15, at the premises of Mr. Jules Richard, a camera manufacturer, and a window, value £30, at the premises of Mr. Alfred Clarke, jeweller, New Bond Street. Bail applied for and allowed.

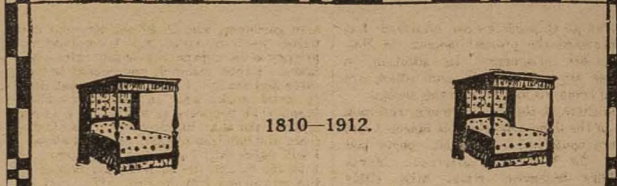
Miss Edith Downing, for breaking windows, value £26, the property of Mr. H. W. Gladwell, fine art dealer, and Messrs. Callard, Stewart, and Watt, Limited, Regent Street.

Miss Frances Williams, for breaking a window, value £8, at the premises of Messrs. Pountney and Co., trunk makers, Regent Street.

Miss Dorothy Evans, for breaking windows belonging to the following New Bond Street firms—Messrs. Chappell and Co., Limited (£20), Mr. Carlton White, florist (£25), and Messrs. Rymall and Allsopp, tailors (£25).

Miss Annie Humphreys, for damage in New Bond Street.

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breaking windows at Government offices, the damage in each instance being not more than a few shillings: Misses Helen Mar- garet Spanton, Jane Murphy, Maggie Murphy, Caroline Morris, Jane Lomax, Kate Evans, Emma Fowler, Mary Carlyn, Grace Tollenmache, Mrs. Nancy Johns (Glasgow), Misses Marjorie Campbell (Dundee), Janet Barrowman (Dundee), Marion Harrison, Miss Fanny Campbell, Elizabeth Herrick, Mrs. Josephine Carter, Mrs. Annie Swan, Misses Leonora Tyson, Mary Boyd Dodgson, Flora Tull, Aubrey Wyatt, Agnes McDonald, and Elsie Evans.

Mrs. Hilda Birkett, for breaking windows at the premises of Messrs. Joseph Lang and Son, Limited, gun-makers (£20), and Messrs. A. Ramsden, Limited, piano-forte dealers (£20), New Bond Street.

Miss Vera Wentworth, for doing £90 damage to the premises of Messrs. Brooks and Sons, florists, Regent Street.

Mrs. Sarah Cress, for doing damage to the premises of the London Soap and Candles Company, New Bond Street (£15).

Mrs. Alice Monck Mason, for doing damage to the premises of Messrs. Enthory, Limited, bootmakers, Regent Street (£20).

Miss Jane Terrero, £150 damage to the premises of Messrs. Alfred Stedall, Limited, Oxford Street.

Miss Nellie Neave, £25 damage to the premises of Messrs. T. J. Harries and Co., Limited, drapers, Oxford Street.

Miss Margaret Eleanor Thompson and **Miss Constance Louise Collier** were remanded on a charge of breaking five windows at Messrs. Lewis's establishment in Oxford Street. It was stated that at these premises thirteen out of seventeen windows were broken, the total damage being £150, which was not covered by insurance.

Bow Street, March 12. On Tuesday, at Bow Street, Mr. Curtis Bennett sat for the eighth day to hear the charges of wilful damage against the Suffragettes. The following prisoners were sent for trial:

Miss Margaret Eleanor Collier and **Miss Constance Collier**, damage done, £87.

Misses Emma and Barbara Wylie, sisters, for breaking windows at Messrs. Waring and Gillow's. The damage at these premises was stated to be £250. In answer to the statutory caution, Barbara Wylie said: "We have recently listened with great interest to a speech, the title of which was 'Wake up, John Bull,' and have adopted this method of arousing the John Bulls of this country. If we have knocked on the windows rather hard, you must blame the sleepers. When first aroused from sleep people are apt to be grumpy, but afterwards generally do their duty."

Miss Emma Casey and **Miss Olive Walton** were stated to have broken between two windows at Messrs. Marshall and Snelgrove's valued at £240.

A Brave Family. **Miss Georgina Brackenbury** was charged with obstruction. The constable said he took hold of her, not using any unnecessary violence, but she struggled violently, and fell down. He assisted her to her feet, and gave her what attention he could. She absolutely refused to go away.

The Defendant: I asked to see my mother, who had been arrested there. You

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[Property found at W.S.P.U. meetings should be sent to Miss Kerr, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.]

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MISS KERR (W.S.P.U.) has several umbrellas, a necklace, and a variety of other articles left at the Christmas Fair and Sale; a Muff found in room 72 after secretary's meeting; also a necklace and a pair of long gloves, found after the meeting at the London Pavilion.

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