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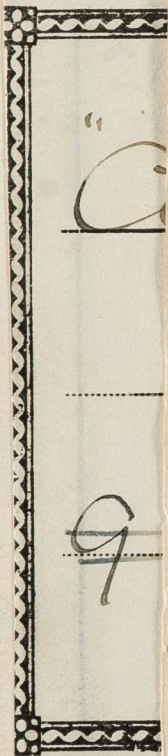
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FROM EAST TO WEST.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE IN RELATION TO
FOREIGN MISSIONS.

By **Helen B. Hanson, M.D., B.S.(Lond.)**,
Kinnaird Hospital, Lucknow, India.

"Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?"—LAM. i. 12.

The World's Missionary Conference in one of its pamphlets issued prior to its meeting in June, 1910, took upon itself the responsibility of suggesting that some inherent weakness of Christianity, as practised at home, might be the cause of its comparatively slow extension abroad. The exact quotation is:—"Whether the Christianity we are sending from land to land is not loaded with some disparagement that forbids its wide expansion." Thus the Church has been invited, on world-wide and pan-denominational authority, to examine itself as to its conduct of affairs at home; and coincident with this invitation, there is an ever-increasing belief amongst religious people that the attitude that the Church has assumed towards the most amazing movement of the present day, is a real stumbling-block in the way of its evangelization of the world. I refer to the manner in which it has officially totally ignored, and individually often bitterly opposed, each fresh development of the women's movement: *e.g.*, when women desired in the earlier days higher education, or the degree of a doctor, or now when they wish to serve their generation by means of the legal profession, or a participation in legislative power. It is all the more strange that it should be so, when one reflects that one of the Church's chief indictments against non-Christian religions is the low position they accord their women, but the melancholy fact remains, and the name of perhaps the greatest champion of women all down the centuries is not that of any distinguished Churchman, but of John Stuart Mill! To some, of course, the juxtaposition of a science which deals with the welfare of humanity as a whole (which is called politics), and one that deals with the good of humanity individually (a vital part of which

they consider religion) is a most undesirable anomaly. Yet I would ask them to remember that the Old Testament rings with appeals for civic righteousness, and also that it is missionaries in China who make most ado about the opium evil, and missionaries in Africa who had at first most to say about the Congo atrocities. Yet both these subjects are Parliamentary, political and even international.

So that one should be able to approach the subject in the confidence of a fair hearing: all the more, as in the pamphlet alluded to above, one day of preparation for the conference was set apart for prayer and confession concerning the work undone, and the social wrongs permitted in lands called Christian, and the blindness that fails to see the greatness of the present opportunity.

All the more again, because the following weighty words occur in the message sent out by the Conference as a whole after its close:—

“Our survey has impressed upon us the momentous character of the present hour. We have heard from many quarters of the awakening of great nations, of the opening of long-closed doors, and of movements which are placing all at once before the Church a new world to be won for Christ. The next ten years will in all probability constitute a turning-point in human history, and may be of more critical importance in determining the spiritual evolution of mankind than many centuries of ordinary experience. If those years are wasted, havoc may be wrought that centuries will not be able to repair. On the other hand, if they are rightly used they may be among the most glorious in Christian history.

“It is not only of the individual or the congregation that this new spirit is demanded. There is an imperative spiritual demand that national life and influence, as a whole, be Christianized: so that the entire impact, commercial and political, now of the West upon the East, and now of the stronger races upon the weaker, may confirm, and not impair, the message of the missionary enterprise.

“The providence of God has led us all into a new world of opportunity, of danger, and of duty. God is demanding of us all a new order of life, of a more arduous and self-sacrificing nature than the old. But if, as we believe, the way of duty is the way of revelation, there is certainly implied, in this imperative call of duty, a latent assurance that God is greater, more loving, nearer and more available for our help and conduct than any man has dreamed.

“Assuredly, then, we are called to make new discoveries of the grace and power of God, for ourselves, for the Church, and for the world; and in the strength of that firmer and bolder faith in Him, to face the new age and the new task with a new consecration.”

To begin therefore a brief examination into the subject—woman *qua* woman—is still governed in the west as she is in the east—without her consent, the very definition of slavery according to Swift. Man alone makes the laws that rule her, takes her money without her permission, and uses it without her advice (a state of affairs—taxation without representation—termed “robbery” and “tyranny” when practised by men on men), and decides what her work shall be.

Now St. Paul has commanded that “women should rule in domestic affairs” (1 Tim. 5-14, Weymouth’s translation), but notwithstanding this dictum, it is man alone, elected by man, who discusses and decides in Parliament how the infant shall be clothed, where it shall sleep, how the mother shall be attended in childbirth, when she shall be allowed to labour for her bread, etc. The woman is not, even in the eyes of the law, the parent of her own legitimate child; with the father rests the decision as to residence, religion, education, vaccination, and other things. This flagrant breach of God’s law lacks also, as might be expected, the merit of success, for no less than half the children of the working classes die under five years old.* Moreover, in the home (unless her husband actually desert her), a woman, however wealthy he may be, and however hard-working she may be, cannot claim maintenance for herself and her children. Her only remedy in case of inadequate provision is to break up the home and go to the workhouse, when the officials, to spare the rates and taxes, will recoup themselves by suing him for damages. But here, of course, the woman seldom sees her children and has no authority over them whatever.

Moreover, man, by depriving women of the protective power of the vote, prevents her from forcing the Government to standardise her wages; hence, pressed by hunger, she undersells man and consequently he loses his employment, and she is driven forth to the labour market to support the family, and has no time for domestic matters at all! The result of this state of affairs, as anyone with first-hand knowledge of the poor knows, is melancholy in the extreme. Thus are the words of God made of none effect by the traditions of men, all the while some of them ignorantly thinking they are doing God service.

Then again the laws of inheritance and divorce place woman at a great disadvantage. Even a Mohammedan woman was mistress of her own property, while the Christian woman up till 1882 had no control over hers. We condemn Mohammedanism, and rightly, for its polygamy, yet the English law allows a man to have another woman living in the same house as his wife and unless he is physically cruel to the latter she cannot even claim a magisterial separation.

* Whereas in Australia, infant mortality, which before women had the franchise was worse than in almost any civilised country, has now decreased till it is almost the lowest figure.

Early marriage is another crying evil of the East, yet what is the maximum sentence a man may receive for illegitimately forcing parentage on a child of 12 in England? Two years! Is there no beam to remove from our own eye? When has the Church officially—and on our Anglican Church especially rests a heavy responsibility—protested against these matters?

We are told that woman is sheltered and protected in a Christian country, yet, if accused of wrong doing, so far from being tried by her peers, she has a man judge, a man jury, a man counsel for and against, the trial is according to man-made laws, and she is often the only woman in court. Nay more, I have known even girl children—when they have had to give evidence in cases of immorality—who have been refused the supporting presence of their own mothers, and have seen them driven out of the court before the case has begun!

Then the sentences passed by magistrates on men convicted of assault on women and girls are notoriously inadequate. I give two instances. In one case, in December, 1906, a working man went to see a comrade. The wife, with a baby in her arms, opened the door and said her husband was out. The man had a difference to settle, he said, but the wife would do as well, so he proceeded to give the baby and herself three blows, injuring both of them. The magistrate gave the man a 5s. fine. More recently another man kicked his wife out of bed, bruised her till she was black and blue, and left her unconscious. For this he was fined 21s. Yet a hungry man for stealing 2d. worth of milk has been sentenced to as much as eighteen months' hard labour! Such is the legal preference for property over person—and yet no woman is allowed to be a magistrate!

It was a prosaic and matter-of-fact wardress who said that a few days in the police court was enough to convince anyone that women needed the vote! It was a New Zealander who, when asked at the 1910 election to sign a suffrage petition, replied in graphic language, "Not much! In New Zealand, where women have the franchise, you get 6 months for knocking your wife about, here you can do it for 5s.!" It was the Trades Unions of the country that, when towards the end of the life of the last Conservative parliament a judge gave an adverse decision against them, worked hard at the next election for the return of 40 Labour members, and who thus got the decision reversed in the early days of the new Parliament. It is a well-known city magistrate (Cecil Chapman) who says: "Half the crime and more than half the misery I come across professionally is due to the idea that man alone is lord." "And it's your fault," said an American working woman when addressing the Governor of an American State on the suffrage, "for filling his head so full of conceit."

Then we have the question of financial unfairness to woman. Woman *qua* woman is prevented from following most of the higher

professions. She is refused degrees after passing the requisite examinations; she is not allowed to engage in the more lucrative (though not by any means the more arduous) parts of many trades. She is paid solely *qua* woman again—less than man for equal work, by Government and by private firms. For instance, in the case of the Post Office, women's salaries range from £65 to £110, men's from £70 to £250. Boy pupil teachers in the L.C.C. schools begin at 7s. 6d. a week, girls at 4s. In the shoe trade men and women work side by side, receiving 29s. and 9s. a week respectively. The reason alleged is that "it is not right to pay a woman the same as a man." This, charitably interpreted, probably means that a man presumably has a family to support—a woman has not. But this argument breaks down theoretically and practically. First, men are not paid according to their needs, else a distinction would be drawn between married men and bachelors; and secondly, there are districts in London where 80 per cent. of the children are supported by their mothers. As a typical instance, I quote the case of a woman known to myself. Her husband was supposed to be employed in braiding army coats for the Government. In reality he was habitually drunk, and she did all the work. He died. She as usual went on with the business and took the work up to be paid. Her tale was met by incredulity, and not until the officials had seen her doing the braiding themselves did they graciously consent to let her do the coats at exactly half the old remuneration, because they had found out she was a woman!

Government, moreover, does not standardize women's wages as it does men's. In the case of her own work 90 per cent. of the sweated trades are run by her; and some of the work—shirt making and kindred industries especially undertaken by women—were notwithstanding irrefutable facts and figures, excluded from the influence of the recent Trades Boards Act which deals with sweated trades. So that women may still earn 3s. a week, working from morning to night, at skilled embroidery.

The sceptic may ask, what difference will the vote make? I can only give the authority of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, in the Albert Hall in 1908, stated that when women have the vote this double standard of Government pay can no longer be maintained. I can only give the authority of the son of the late Archbishop Temple, who, in one of the finest speeches of the recent Pan-Anglican Congress, concluded his address on social work by an impassioned appeal for all Christian men and women to work and pray for women's suffrage, for only so, he said, can this sweating iniquity be stopped. It is true that this fact is not widely known, for the papers that gave almost verbatim reports suppressed the final part of his speech!

I can only say that in those countries where women *do* have the vote—Australia, New Zealand, Norway, and in four States in America—the Government double standard is no longer maintained,

and not only so, but private firms are following in the Government wake. I can only say that at a Labour Conference in 1910, the question of the minimum wage came up, and it was decided that a woman's should be less than a man's, because the Government paid her on a lower scale, so why should they demand an equal! It has been calculated that in England the average wage of rich and poor women workers taken together is about 7s. a week. In Australia it used to be about 8s., but since women possessed the franchise it is 18s.

In view of these facts, we may continue to condemn the Hindu religion for its cruel treatment of widows, but would it not be more consistent for us to leave off thus devouring widows' houses first? Is this the fast God has chosen? Is this loosing the hands of wickedness, undoing the heavy burdens, letting the oppressed go free, and breaking every yoke? Is this dealing bread to the hungry and covering to the naked? Is this the way to carry out pure religion, visiting the fatherless and widows in their affliction, is this doing justice and loving mercy, as the Lord our God has required? It needs some very cogent arguments to prove that it is so, and some very weighty reasons to justify us in opposing, by indifference or opposition, the strenuous work of those who are labouring to remedy these ills.

Then again there is the terrible subject of immorality. Let us take first necessitous vice. Many women are driven on to the streets as the sole means of support for themselves and their children. There is the deadly alternative of the workhouse, but one must remember that there women are separated from their children, and the devotion of a great many of these mothers to their offspring—as I have seen it in a great many years daily contact with the poor—is a thing to admire and marvel at. Then there is the shop-girl class—not once, nor twice, nor three times have these women been told to supplement their insufficient earnings by means of the latch-key! What state of affairs is it in a Christian country, too poor, in its own estimation, to afford woman a living wage—that men can spend so much on their immoral pleasure as to make a trade in vice more lucrative than almost any other profession? If women had some share in the handling of the revenue, would this be so? Apart from the question of right and wrong, the actual physical results of immorality are terrible. Half the blindness in the world, thousands of gynaecological cases, and hundreds of thousands of cases of infantile disease and death, are due to the sins of the husband and father; while the more immediate victims of these men—driven often to their appalling existence by betrayal or poverty—seldom survive more than five years of street life. Meantime, too, hundreds of innocent girls are decoyed abroad by sham advertisements to a life of shame. Yet how slowly and inefficiently does legislation deal with these subjects!

It took Josephine Butler 17 years to get the Contagious Diseases Acts repealed in England, and the Cantonments Acts still disgrace us in India. How can we expect Indians to turn anything but a deaf ear to the claims of the superiority of Christianity, when they see a so-called Christian race sending to their villages for "attractive girls" to fill the "chaklas" (or bazaars) for their soldiers, and when they know that not many years ago a high military authority—a prominent anti-suffragist by the way—authorised this state of affairs.

Again one says: "Will the vote help?" Well, during the last Liberal Parliament, a deputation concerning the white slave traffic waited on Mr. Gladstone. He told them he fully sympathised with their aims, but that nothing could be done until sufficient pressure could be brought to bear on the Government. The women of our country, who, when they realise the state of affairs, care so much, are without the only means that the Premier, Mr. Asquith, has expressed himself as willing to recognise as indicative of the wishes of the electorate, viz., the ballot-box! There is corroboration of this view too in the dastardly remark of a recent member of the House of Commons, who said some time ago concerning this question, "that votes would make women too expensive!" They are cheap now and have little choice. There is also the evidence of our own colonies, where for 25 years the temperance party has worked for the raising of the "age of consent" in vain, but six months after women had the vote, they obtained their desire. When a somewhat similar Bill was being discussed in the House of Lords in England, one of the peers demurred to it on the ground that if it was passed (which it was not), the advantages of their sons would be curtailed. Is legislation with a moral aim likely to be sedulously striven after in a Parliament where any man can dare to give vent to such an utterance?

It is significant that this demand for enfranchisement comes not only in England, but all over the civilized countries of the world, from those who have had most experience of social work, the dwellers in slum settlements and sisterhoods, the members of the Salvation Army, etc. A large and ever increasing number of divines, bishops and nonconformists, educationists, and authors, are in favour of it, and 97 per cent. of medical women. Moreover the parliaments of countries where women have the vote are loud in the praise of its beneficial effects.

It is true that there are still many women that do not want it. Yes, but many slaves in the old days cried out against their emancipation, and many women in Indian Zenanas now regard their captivity as a compliment and an advantage. There are, too, people who maintain in the face of the above specific instances, that a Parliament elected solely by men will always safe-guard women's interests. But a member of Parliament—himself largely supported by women's wages—has before now admitted with regret

that he had no time to attend to their grievances, he must devote his energies to the men who, besides helping to pay him, also elected him. That his sorrow was genuine is seen from the fact that he is the introducer of the Bill now before Parliament. Moreover, it is now 40 years since a Bill for the enfranchisement of duly qualified women passed the second reading by a majority of 33; and from that day to this,—June 1910—though similar bills have reached that stage five times, the Commons have not found time to discuss the question on the floor of the House. As I write, we await the decision of the Government as to whether the members of Parliament are to take an extra week from the golf course or the grouse moor to finish the present Bill.

Take two very recent instances of legislation—the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill and the Bill for Old Age Pensions. We may agree with the former or not, but a pitiful Parliament now permits a widower to secure, if he considers so, the best possible mother for his orphaned children in the person of their aunt; but it has no pity for the widow, and it does not permit her to secure the best possible father for her orphaned children in the shape of their uncle! Yet such would only be in line with the Mosaic economy. Then again a respectable Englishwoman of 70, who has lived in England all her life, may not receive an old age pension if at eighteen she married a foreigner, even though she may have been a widow for 50 years. Thus does England repudiate her own honourable daughter. A man may marry a foreign wife, but he does not thereby lose his pension, yet the scriptural order is that a man should leave his father and mother and cleave to his wife, *i.e.*, that the husband should identify himself with his wife's people, not she with his.

Moreover, the history of the Factory Acts shows how necessary it is for women to deal with women's affairs. There were the usual objections to the appointment of women factory inspectors—the women workers, it was said, never made any complaints. But the first year women were appointed over a thousand legitimate complaints were lodged.

Some years' residence in India led me erroneously to imagine that one difference between a country ruled ostensibly by Christianity and one ruled by Hinduism or Mohammedanism was that, in the former as distinct from the latter, a proven lie carried with it some disgrace; but a return to England corrected this impression, for *The Times*, in July, 1910, published an article in which it said, that had voting on the Women's Bill been by ballot, the result (a majority of 109) would probably have been different. I have seen no official refutation of this statement, so it appears that the Commons acquiesce: and that they would have gone back on their pledged word to the men and women in their constituencies and lied about it afterwards again if the secrecy of the ballot had ensured their not being found out. At any rate they have not repudiated the charge, which appears to have been made

in a friendly spirit in order to excuse there being so large a majority in favour of women's suffrage.

There is a saying in the old Indian code of Manu: "It is not a sin causing loss of caste to swear falsely to a woman!" We can parallel that also in English politics. In 1884 over a hundred members of Parliament pledged themselves to support an amendment, carrying women's suffrage, to a franchise Bill. But they voted against it, at Gladstone's direction, and still continued members of the House of Commons. Manu also says, "Trust a thief, trust a murderer, trust a savage, but never a wife." This is sometimes quoted to show the inferiority of non-Christian religions, but we also say, "Trust an ex-criminal, trust a man who, by his immorality, has sown the seeds of death in his wife and children, trust a naturalised alien, but never trust a woman to vote."

There is, however, a broader aspect of the case. Is it not a moral anomaly, in a country called Christian, where we worship a God who is no respecter of persons, that we should so respect mere physical endowment that we choose to be ruled entirely by the sex who, as a sex, so far from fearing God most, commits five times more crime than the other, that drinks more, gambles more, swears more, and that, according to 7 out of 11 high legal authorities before the divorce commission, is so frail morally that it is only common-sense to allow it a little license? Has the church at home advocated Christian principles? Are her hands clean? Has she protested where a protest is due, or, while ostensibly offering to humanity abroad the liberty that is in Christ Jesus, has she by silence connived at the restriction of that liberty at home whereby women are not free to serve their generation either by the legal defence of the poor and the oppressed, or by a participation in legislation, as well as other ways? Has she not rather permitted the binding on their shoulders of burdens too grievous to be borne?

It must be remembered, too, that without one word of official protest the Christian church has heard the highest court of appeal in this land—one in which Bishops sit—state that in law women are not to rank as persons; she has heard the judicial bench compare them with cattle (for on the finding of one judge only and on that argument rests the whole of their disability which Parliament really removed in 1867), it has seen the highest legislative body class them with criminals and lunatics, and the country generally in all its fervid appeals to the populace in January, 1910, virtually deny that they are people.

Now amongst these 12 million women, so vilified, are multitudes of living temples of the Holy Ghost. To them has a human personality been denied, and while the Body of Christ does not protest at hearing His temples thus traduced, is it to be wondered at that God withholds His blessing from her work for Him abroad?

While we compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and yet refuse our moral support to the enfranchisement of women at home,

are we not in danger of meriting our Lord's contemptuous terms of reproach, "pharisees, hypocrites?"

This unworthy estrangement, too, of Christian Missions from the suffrage movement is responsible for the loss of sympathy on the part of people at home, and is creative of difficulties in the mission-field abroad.

At home we have thousands of capable, educated, devoted women and men, who to such an extent love their neighbours as themselves, and who so greatly hunger and thirst after civil righteousness, that they will stand incredible amounts of fatigue, insult and suffering in pursuance of their object. What is their attitude to the women of the East? Sympathetic enquiry. Now when the vote is theirs and they apply themselves effectively to the solution of these Eastern problems—are they to act without the co-operation of missionaries? Are we not already regretting the secular character of advancing Eastern education, and yet I believe no missionary society has even as much as passed a resolution in favour of the object and aim of these splendid women, whereby we may bind them to us for united service when the opportunity shall arise! May I give one personal instance? Not long ago the committee of a huge international (non-religious) congress was in process of formation. Those composing it were foremost in the professional, philanthropic and social world. To my intense surprise I received a request to interview the secretary and join the committee. I did so. I had over an hour's conversation on things Indian. I was asked for models of women's mission hospitals and lists of operations. The Secretary wanted, he said, all the evidence of women's work in India he could gather to show at the exhibition. I wondered still how he had discovered my insignificant name, and at last found that, at some Anglican meeting for women's suffrage, I had sat next a prominent professional woman, a friend of his, had discoursed to her on India, and she had told him about me. Now if that can happen to the least of missionaries, what interest could not accrue from the interest of Mission Boards and Councils? As a matter of fact, when we do not treat women's suffrage with silence we generally treat it with contempt.

There are, unhappily, still Christians in England not interested in missions, still people in England not in favour of Christianity. Are these people likely to change their convictions when they know that inside an Anglican Missionary meeting they may listen to appeals for pity for the low and degraded position of woman abroad, and outside they may see a woman also pleading for woman—by the distribution of notices of an Anglican suffrage meeting—treated with scorn and contempt by the clergy that have supported the meeting?

When non-Christians at home ask how the Church is dealing with this great reform the reply must be given with shame and humiliation.

Yet again. Continually in missionary magazines do we see reports of Zenana women who were eagerly listening to their Gospel lessons, but who had suddenly, with tears, to cease to have any more lessons from their Miss Sahib because the men of the house had forbidden it, and they were thus completely cut off from all missionary effort! Is that nothing? Yet when you have at home a Christian man who is such a tyrant in his own house that, for the sake of scenes before the children, the wife dare not mention the subject of suffrage—or work for it much as she longs to—when you have that, can you expect public opinion, which for all legislative purposes is man's opinion—to urge forward any wise schemes to remove the helpless women of India from the undisputed control of their men relatives? These may and do often treat them kindly it is true, but they may, as at home, cut them off from their children and all that life holds dear, and they may, as I know full well, do them to death with poison, without fear of discovery or retribution.

What we need is the ardour and the tact of women who have chafed under restraint themselves and seen their highest powers of service thwarted by artificial and man-made restrictions, to press for reforms in these matters.

Then the hindrances to mission work abroad. We approach the Indian man and demand in the name of Christianity a more enlightened treatment of his women. Is he so stupid as not to see the illogicality of our own "thus far and no further." He maintains, *i.e.*, that his own womenfolk are well enough off without learning to read. A century or so ago this Christian country maintained much the same. 75 years ago we were aghast at the idea of their receiving higher education. 50 years ago nursing and doctoring horrified us. 25 years ago the presence of women on public bodies, and now we still vehemently oppose women in law or women with political power.

What is the educated Hindu to think? He can see a Prime Minister during the entire length of his tenure of office in one Parliament—a Prime Minister that has leisure to interview bodies of working-men—refuse after repeated requests to receive a deputation of English women, though amongst those that wait on him are peeresses of the realm, wives of cabinet ministers and colonial statesmen, the first woman mayor of England, the earliest and the foremost women educationists, well-known authoresses, distinguished women doctors and prominent social workers.

We can hear a Member of Parliament publicly state that thousands of the best women of England are engaged in a grossly immoral movement (woman's suffrage), can hear him refuse to justify his statement publicly, and see no man man enough to make him retract his words.

We can learn also that a great pro-consul of Empire can state at a public meeting that women are corrupting and corruptible, and, therefore, unfit to vote.

Alas! we know what the educated Hindu does think! In a letter, circulated in tens of thousands all over the world, he asks, where is the superiority of Christianity in its treatment of women? All the pioneers—the leaders of every step in woman's advancement—Josephine Butler, Florence Nightingale, Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell—have met with opposition, misrepresentation, and often foul abuse.

Therefore, as a matter admitting of no delay, I entreat all who are interested in the extension of the Church of Christ abroad, and the advancement of His Kingdom, to give their warmest moral support to the advocates of the enfranchisement of women.

July, 1910.

(2)

THE TRIAL OF THE SUFFRAGETTE LEADERS.



Photo by Schmidt, Manchester.

MRS. PANKHURST.

(Founder of the Women's Social and Political Union.)

INTRODUCTION.

The intense interest evoked by the trial of the Suffragette leaders, Mrs. Pankhurst, Christabel Pankhurst, and Mrs. Drummond, calls for a full account of the case in an accessible form. To this only a few words by way of introduction are necessary.

The Women's Social and Political Union had for some time selected October 13, 1908, as a day on which to make a special effort to enter the House of Commons and approach the Prime Minister. This date was chosen because it was the third anniversary of the initiation of the militant methods by Christabel Pankhurst, and also the day following the opening of Parliament for the autumn after the summer recess. On several previous occasions the women had sent a deputation from Caxton Hall to the House of Commons. Sometimes these deputations had been arrested shortly after emerging from Caxton Hall; at other times they had been conducted by the police to the very doors of the House of Commons, and there turned away. Generally the women had not called upon the public to assist them in any way, but on this occasion it was decided to invite the populace to attend in large numbers to give their support to the women. Accordingly, a few days previous to October 13, it was decided to issue a special bill in the following terms:—

“Women's Social and Political Union, 4 Clements Inn. Votes for Women. Men and Women, Help the Suffragettes to Rush the House of Commons on Tuesday Evening, October 13, at 7.30.”

In support of this request Mrs. Pankhurst, Christabel Pankhurst, and Mrs. Drummond all spoke at a public meeting in Trafalgar Square on Sunday, 11th, explaining what they wished the people to do, emphasising the fact that they wished them to come unarmed, and without sticks or stones, but to give the women their support.

On Monday morning, October 12, Mrs. Pankhurst, Christabel Pankhurst, and Mrs. Drummond were each served with a summons, which read as follows:—

Information has been laid this day by the Commissioner of Police for that you in the month of October in the year 1908 were guilty of conduct likely to provoke a breach of the peace by initiating and causing to be initiated and publishing and causing to be published a certain handbill calling upon and inciting the public to do a certain wrongful and illegal act—viz., to rush the House of Commons at 7.30 p.m. on October 13 inst.

You are, therefore, hereby summoned to appear before the Court of Summary Jurisdiction, sitting at the Bow-street Police Station on Monday, October 12, at the hour of 3.30, to answer to the said information, and to show cause why you and each of you should not be ordered to find sureties for good behaviour.

(Signed) H. CURTIS BENNETT.

Instead of obeying this summons, however, they attended a great meeting at the Queen's Hall, and there addressed the audience, informing them of the steps that were being taken by the Government in the matter. At the close of the meeting they were served with a further summons, calling upon them to attend the following morning at Bow Street. This also they refused to comply with, and a warrant was at once issued for their arrest. Superintendent Wells and Inspector Jarvis came to Clements Inn forthwith to serve this upon them, but they found the women absent. A note, however, had been left for Inspector Jarvis to the effect that Mrs. Pank-

hurst, Christabel Pankhurst, and Mrs. Drummond would return to the office at 6 p.m., and would then be ready to go with them to Bow Street. The police then endeavoured to trace the whereabouts of Mrs. Pankhurst and the others without avail, and sat down to wait till six o'clock.

At that hour the prisoners entered the office, the warrant was read to them, and they were taken away to Bow Street. Bail was refused, and they were compelled to spend the night in the cells at the police-court. Meanwhile, the streets in the neighbourhood of the House of Commons had been carefully guarded by large masses of police, who kept the public at all points half a mile from the House. Twenty-four women were arrested on a charge of obstructing the police, and in addition twelve men were taken into custody. One woman, Mrs. Travers Symons, succeeded in entering the Chamber and addressing the House of Commons.

On Wednesday all the prisoners were brought before the magistrate at Bow Street, and the evidence of the police was given, the prisoners cross-examining in person. After taking the evidence of the police, Christabel Pankhurst asked for an adjournment in order to take legal advice and prepare a defence. This was granted for one week. During this interval Miss Pankhurst secured the assent of the Right Hon. Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Right Hon. Herbert Gladstone, the Home Secretary, as witnesses for the defence. The adjourned hearing of the case lasted the whole of October 21, the magistrate for a long time refusing a further adjournment, and keeping the prisoners in the dock from 10.30 to 7.30 at night, with only two very short intervals. At this point he asked Miss Pankhurst how many more witnesses she had to call, and on hearing that she had fifty, decided to adjourn the case until Saturday, October 24, at twelve o'clock. On the resumption of the case on Saturday the magistrate announced that he would not allow all the witnesses to be called. He consented, however, to hear three of them, and after that insisted upon the prisoners making their speeches. This they did under protest. These speeches made a profound impression upon the Court. The magistrate then gave his judgment, refusing to suspend it for a point of law to be taken to a higher court. In the account given below the speeches are printed first; following upon these is given an account of the general conduct of the case; the cross-examination of the police evidence and the examination of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Gladstone is given in full, but the other evidence has had to be much abridged in order that the book might not be too bulky.

In the annals of history this trial will play an important part. The brilliant conduct of the case by Christabel Pankhurst, the startling evidence given concerning a police magistrate, the presence of two Cabinet Ministers as witnesses, the profound speeches for the defence—all these will attract attention, but far beyond all in importance will be remembered the direct attack of the Government upon the leaders of the women's movement and their futile attempt to break down by coercive measures the agitation for constitutional right.

F. W. Pethick Lawrence.

I.—SPEECHES OF THE PRISONERS.

Christabel Pankhurst.

In the first place, I want to point out that the proceedings that have been taken against us have been taken out of malice and for vexation. I think I shall have little difficulty in proving this, because of the attitude which the authorities have taken against us from the beginning of the agitation, which has been in progress for the past three years. But before I come to this point, I want to draw your attention, and the attention of the general public—the Magistrate: Never mind the general public—*your* attention, sir, to the very serious scandal which has been unearthed in the course of these proceedings. We have had it sworn to in the witness-box that one of the justices, Mr. Horace Smith, has allowed himself to be coerced by the Government, and has settled in conjunction with them whether a certain lady, charged in connection with this agitation, was guilty, before the evidence was heard, and Mr. Horace Smith and the Government had, moreover, decided beforehand what term of imprisonment should be inflicted upon that lady.

Now, this policy of the Government of weighting the scales against us is not of interest only to us, but is of interest to the whole community. In the course of British history we have seen many struggles for the purification of our judicial system. It is within your knowledge, sir, that in days gone by the judges have had many a fight against the King, in order to maintain their independence and to vindicate the purity of their office. It has been left to the twentieth century—it has been left to these so-called democratic days—to see our judicial system corrupted for party ends. I am glad that we have been able to perform the public duty and service of doing something to attack this evil while it is in the bud. I am quite sure that if we had not been privileged to unearth this very serious scandal, the process of corruption would have gone on until a fair trial was absolutely impossible in the case of those charged with political offences. And if injustice creeps in in political cases, it would not be long before the same corruption was prevalent in every law court in the land, and in the case of every person brought up under some charge, no matter of what kind.

I think too much attention cannot be paid to the disgraceful action of the Government; the Home Secretary and his colleagues have disgraced and degraded themselves. They have been false to their duty, they have tried to destroy the liberties which it has taken so long to build up. It is worth while standing in this dock if we have been able to do no more than do something to check a state of affairs which is going to reduce this country below the level of any other civilised country if it is not stopped and stamped out now. The Liberal Government have outdone the monarchs of old times in their attempt to corrupt the fountain of British justice; and both they and the magistrate who has allowed himself to be made a tool, who has so far forgotten his duty to us, his duty to the public, his duty to his profession, deserve to be hounded out of civilised society. I know that this action the Government have taken in corrupting the justices will not be forgotten, and will be remembered against them when next they face the verdict of popular opinion.

A Malicious Prosecution.

I shall now proceed with my argument that these proceedings have been taken against us out of malice and in order to lame, in an illegitimate way, a political enemy. Take the form of the summons. We are not openly charged with the offence of illegal assembly. If we have in any way broken the law, we have broken it in that way. The only charge that could possibly be preferred against us is that of illegal assembly. Now, why have the authorities, why have the Government feared to take this course? The reason is that they want to keep us in the police-court. They believe, rightly or wrongly, that by this means they will succeed in prejudicing the public against us. We know perfectly well that up till recently the general public shunned the police-court as a disgraceful place. The fact of having been proceeded against in a police-court was in the eyes of the ordinary man or woman a stain upon the character which could hardly be wiped out in later days. Well, I think that by our presence here we have done something to relieve the police-court of that unenviable reputation. We have done something to raise its status in the public eye, and we have also done something to throw light upon the obsolete procedure and the unsuitable procedure which obtains in courts like this. But even if the procedure which we find here is suitable for committing "drunks," I am sure every reasonable person will agree that it is no place for the political offender. But political offenders are brought here in order that something may be done to smirch their character, and to prejudice them in the public eye.

Another reason why the authorities have feared to charge us with unlawful assembly is that they dare not see this case come before a jury. They knew perfectly well that if this case were heard before a jury of our countrymen we should be acquitted, just as John Burns was acquitted years ago for taking action far more serious, far more dangerous to the public peace than anything that we have done. Yes, I say they are afraid of sending us before a jury, and I am quite sure that this will be obvious to the public, and that the Government will suffer by the underhand, the unworthy, and the disgraceful subterfuge by which they have removed this case to what we can only call

a Star Chamber of the twentieth century. Yes, this is a Star Chamber, and it is in order to huddle us into prison without a fair trial that these proceedings have been taken in their present form. I daresay it was not anticipated by the prosecution that this case was ever to be defended. I am quite sure it has come to them as a surprise; they are accustomed to see us disposed of and sent to Holloway Gaol very much as the animals are dealt with in the Chicago stockyards. Prisoners are brought up here and disposed of at the rate of one a minute, or, perhaps, three in two minutes! That sort of thing has been the rule; we are accustomed to that. But those days are gone for ever. We are going to make this time a fight for our liberty. We owe it to ourselves, we owe it to our country that we should not let the disgraceful proceedings of this court go on any longer. Yes, we are deprived of trial by jury. We are also deprived of the right of appeal against the magistrate's decision. Very, very carefully has this procedure been thought out; very, very cunningly has it been thought out to hedge us in on every side, and to deprive us of our rights in the matter!

We will not be Bound Over.

Then, we are also rendered liable to six months' imprisonment, and yet we are denied the privileges in making our defence that people liable to three months' imprisonment alone enjoy. We shall be told in the House of Commons no doubt—we have been told the same thing before now—that we are only bound over, we need not go to prison, if we go to prison we have only ourselves to thank. Well, if Mr. Herbert Gladstone were in the dock that would be perfectly true. He would be very willing, as a Member of Parliament* was only yesterday, to be bound over, to express his repentance, to say he will not repeat the conduct that he has pursued up to now. But we are not prepared to betray our cause; we are not prepared to put ourselves in a false position. If the case is decided against us, if we are called upon to be bound over, it must be remembered that that amounts to imprisoning us, and that therefore the authorities cannot possibly escape their responsibility for sending us to prison by saying that we could be at liberty if we liked.

To sum up what I have just said, Magna Carta has been practically torn up by the present Government. We are liable to a term of so long as six months' imprisonment, and we have had no fair trial. We protest against that with all the force at our disposal. We think it is a disgrace; we think it is a scandal; we think the way in which we have been proceeded against disgraces the Government, and when we add to that the fact that they have attempted—and possibly still attempt—to corrupt justice, and decide the sentences upon us before we come up for trial, when we take these two facts in conjunction, I think you will agree with us that it is not we who ought to be in the dock to-day, but the people who are responsible for such a monstrous state of affairs.

* Will Thorne, M.P., in the same Court had been charged with calling upon the unemployed to "rush the bakers' shops," and had been bound over for twelve months to be of good behaviour.

I want now to deal with the reasons for issuing this bill. We do not deny at all that we issued this bill; none of us three here wishes to deny responsibility. We did issue the bill; we did cause it to be circulated; we did put upon it the words "Come and help the Suffragettes to rush the House of Commons." For these words we do not apologise; for our action we do not apologise. We had good reason for taking it, and what is more, at the first opportunity—on the first occasion when we think it desirable—we shall do it again!

Why We Issued the Bill.

Now, it is very well known that we take this action in order to press forward a claim, which, according to the British Constitution, we are well entitled to make. After all, we are seeking only to enforce the observance of the law of the land. The law of the land is that taxation and representation must go together. The law of the land is that who obeys laws must have a share in making them. Therefore, when we claim the Parliamentary vote, we are asking the Government to abandon the illegal practice of denying representation to those who have a perfect right to enjoy it. For forty years women have claimed that the law should be obeyed; for forty years Governments have been called upon to cease from unconstitutional action, and to carry out the law of the land—to obey Magna Carta. Our agitations peacefully conducted, our petitions, our public meetings have been disregarded. Now we have in power a Liberal Government professing to believe in that principle, but refusing to carry it into practice. We have appealed to them, we have called upon them for justice, we have demanded of them that they do what we ask them—without the smallest success. We have a Prime Minister who will not even receive a deputation. Time after time have we wended our way to the House of Commons with a view to asking him to see us. Sometimes—generally—we have not called upon the general public to be with us at all, we have not asked them to come in their thousands to give us their support, we have gone alone; but that has made absolutely no difference in the case. We might go 3, we might go 6, we might go 13, we might go 60,000 strong, but the result is the same. We are sometimes escorted to the House of Commons, but we are arrested if we insist upon our right to enter. Well, what has happened? We have been arrested, and we have been imprisoned without trial—for I will not dignify these proceedings in the police-court with the name of trial—we have been imprisoned without trial. Sometimes the police have arrested us on our emerging from the Caxton Hall, sometimes they have escorted us to the door of the House of Commons, and there we have been arrested. The result has always been the same. We have been deprived of our constitutional right to see the Prime Minister, and we have been arrested for attempting to do so.

A Constitutional Right.

Now, I want here to insist upon the action which we have taken in these proceedings. We have a perfectly constitutional right to

go ourselves in person to lay our grievances before the House of Commons, and as one witness—an expert student of history—pointed out to you, we are but pursuing a legitimate course which in the old days women pursued without the smallest interference by the authorities. Now, the principal point we had in view in issuing the handbill for the 13th of October, was to call upon the House of Commons to carry into law a Bill, the second reading of which has already been carried. We have met with many refusals already to carry that Bill, and therefore we thought it necessary to make some demonstration of popular support. The Prime Minister has challenged us to do it. We gathered together in Hyde Park on June 21 an immense, a vast audience, but that meeting in Hyde Park was absolutely ignored. It remained for us then to summon our friends to meet us nearer the House of Commons itself. We did this on June 30. No proceedings were taken against us. No harm was done then, as no harm was done on October 13. We were allowed to do without opposition in June what we are punished for doing—or, at least, prosecuted for doing—on October 13. Well, this handbill we felt to be necessary in order to put the final pressure upon the Government, with a view to getting the measure carried this Session. The time now remaining is short; a firm stand we felt must be taken. The time of the House is being occupied by matters far less important than that which we have on hand. Juvenile smoking, the Education Bill—which nobody is eager upon—the Licensing Bill, which the Government hardly expect to carry. With these matters the time of the House is being wasted, while a far greater measure awaits their consideration. We felt we must bring pressure to bear upon the Government with a view to getting the Bill carried, but before we took the action of which the prosecution complain, we desired to make our position clear, and we therefore wrote to the Prime Minister as follows:—

I am instructed by the Committee of the National Women's Social and Political Union to write you as to the intentions of His Majesty's Government with regard to the measure introduced by Mr. Stanger, M.P., which passed second reading by a large majority.

At many very large demonstrations, held all over the country, resolutions have been carried, with practical unanimity, calling upon the Government to adopt this Bill, and pass it into law this year. At a succession of by-elections the voters have shown unmistakably their desire that the Government should deal with the question without further delay.

We shall esteem it a favour if you will inform us whether it is the intention of the Government to carry the Women's Enfranchisement Bill during the Autumn Session of Parliament.

To that letter we had an unfavourable reply, and it was in consequence of the unfavourable nature of that reply that the arrangements for October 13 were proceeded with. In consequence of the unsatisfactory attitude of the Government, our plans went forward, and I would remind you that in making these arrangements we were but acting literally upon the advice given by John Bright in 1867. I do not know how it was that John Bright escaped being prosecuted by the Government of his day for inciting the public to the commission of an unlawful act, for he called upon the people of London, called upon the men who wanted votes, if

they hoped to succeed, to gather in their thousands in the space which extends from Trafalgar-square to the Houses of Parliament. I cannot imagine why, if this Government think it necessary to proceed against us, that earlier Government should not have done the same thing. I can only suppose that the Government of that day had more sense of proportion, more sense of their own duty, were less panic-stricken and more courteous, and more disposed to do their duty to the public, because in view of such words as John Bright used (with the possibility that the action he counselled would be taken), they resolved to give the men of this country their political rights, and the Reform Bill of 1867 was carried into law. In passing, I would suggest that to take such a course as that in regard to our movement would be more creditable to the Government than the course of instituting legal proceedings against us.

The Word "Rush."

Now, I want to deal with the meaning of the word "rush." You have stated, sir, that the meaning of this word is a matter of law, but you have been good enough to allow us to ask a large number of witnesses the meaning of the word "rush," and all these witnesses have told us that, according to the British interpretation of the word "rush," no violence was counselled. Now, the word "rush" appears to be very much the rage just now. Nobody can get away from its use. We find that at a meeting of the League for the Preservation of Swiss Scenery, Mr. Richard Whiteing, discussing the question of Swiss railways, said they ought not to be too hard on railways. Under certain atmospheric conditions a railway was the most beautiful thing in the world. He made other remarks about railways, and then he proceeded to suggest that a general rush to the Italian Alps might induce the Swiss to listen to reason. Well, I do not think that anyone here would suggest that Mr. Whiteing meant to offer any violence to the Swiss in his use of the word "rush." He meant to imply that a speedy advance should be made to the Italian Alps. Then we have Mr. McKinnon Wood counselling the electors to rush the County Council, and get a lady elected to that body. I want to submit that "rush" as a transitive verb cannot mean "attack," "assail," "make a raid upon," or anything of that kind. The "Century Dictionary," which is the largest and most authoritative completed dictionary of the English language, gives numerous instances, all of which imply "hurry" or "hasten," it may be to unduly hurry—although, of course, we have waited so long that undue haste is not to be wondered at. "To unduly hurry" or "hasten," but never "to assail." Now, I have in my hand a little leaflet, which someone has been good enough to send to me. It is used in America, and it is put upon parcels which are expected to reach their destination in good time; when a parcel is wanted to be sent by an express train, they put this label, "Rush by first train leaving." Well, as our witnesses have one and all testified, the interpretation they placed upon the word "rush" was that they should make haste. We have heard various meanings attributed to the word "rush" by dictionaries. "Rush" equals "an eager

demand"; "urgent pressure" (as of business); a "rusher" is "a go-ahead person"—so says Chambers' English Dictionary. "Rush" means "an eager demand"—this we find in Ogilvie's Imperial Dictionary. "Rush" means "to go forward over-hastily"; for example, a number of Bills are rushed through Parliament—or a case is rushed through a law court. Then we have "on the rush," meaning "in a hurry." "Into modern colloquial language," says Farmer and Henley's Dictionary of Slang, "rush" enters largely. As a substantive, it means "extreme urgency of affairs," "an eager demand"; as a verb, it means "to hurry," "to force," or "to advance a matter with undue haste." "On the rush," or "with a rush," means "with spirit," "energetically." "On the rush" means "on the run," "hard at it." One witness told us that, in her opinion, the word "rush," used as we have used it, might be compared with the word "dash," as we have it used in the expression, "a dash for the Pole." Everybody knows that you cannot get to the Pole in a hurry, but you can try to get there in a hurry, and that is what "a dash to the Pole" means. Everybody knows that with a timid Government like the present one in power, having at its service the entire Metropolitan Police force, if one woman says she is going to rush the House of Commons, there will be an immense number of police to prevent her from doing it. Nobody, then, having regard to the facts I have mentioned, thought the women would rush the House of Commons, but that they would be there—it may be there with their supporters—to show their indignation against the Government, and I am glad to say that they were there. It may mean six months' imprisonment, but I think it is worth it.

Now, if we had used the expression "*storm* the House of Commons," I could understand that a little fear would creep into the heart of Mr. Herbert Gladstone, because we know he is a rather timid person. It was all very well for him to say in the witness-box that he knows no fear, but the facts are against him. I know perfectly well that when we are in any physical danger, as we sometimes are at meetings, owing to the kind and considerate remarks of Cabinet Ministers, no such elaborate police precautions are taken for our protection as are taken for the House of Commons in general, and Cabinet Ministers in particular, when there is thought to be any demonstration contemplated.

An Illegal Act?

Now, the next question I want to raise is this: Is it, as a matter of fact, an illegal thing to rush the House of Commons? The only woman who has done it has gone scot free. Mrs. Travers Symons rushed the House of Commons. She got in by strategy. She eluded the police, she got in, and she rushed the House of Commons. Nobody seems to mind her having done it at all; no proceedings have been taken against her. There she is! We who have not rushed the House of Commons are in the dock! Is her action illegal? She did it as the consequence of words that we had written and spoken—she is the only person who has actually succeeded in carrying out the mandate we are considered

to have given to the public. She is the only person who has rushed the House of Commons, and yet she is not supposed to have broken the law of the land. Still, if she who has done it, is not to be punished, it is an extraordinary thing that we, who have not done it, are liable to imprisonment at the present moment.

We can take another instance of someone who not only "rushed" the House of Commons, but stormed the House of Commons, and sent the members of the House of Commons flying in all directions. We have the case of Cromwell. I am not aware that he was ever made the subject of legal proceedings. It may be that by seeking to enter the House of Commons we have infringed the Speaker's regulations, but we have certainly not infringed the law of the land. We are told in our summons that it is not only illegal, but it is both wrongful and illegal. Well, you may say it is wrongful according to some moral law. We do not. It is rightful according to every law. But we want to know how it can be said that it is an illegal act. We are anxious to know by what statute it is illegal to go to the House of Commons, walk up the steps, and make our way to the strangers' entrance? We should like to know whether that is an illegal thing to do, and if it is not illegal to go at a slow pace, we should like to know whether it is illegal to go at a quick pace, because that is what the word "rush" means. "To rush the House of Commons" is to go with all possible speed inside the House of Commons, and I hope that we shall be told what statute we have contravened by doing it ourselves, or sending anybody to do it, or inviting others to do it.

Now, the prosecution have drawn attention to the speeches made in Trafalgar-square on October 11. We do not in any way object to their doing this. I do not think what we have said there is strictly relevant, but I am glad they have raised this point, because it is all in our favour. We have called a number of witnesses, who have told us that they heard the speeches on that occasion, that they heard us interpreting the bill, because the speeches made there were made in interpretation of the famous bill. They have heard our speeches, and have one and all said that there was nothing inflammatory in those speeches, that there was no incitement to violence whatever. I am quite content to abide by the story of the other side in regard to this matter. The witnesses called by the prosecution all say that we used the following words, and I am sure no rational person can find in these words anything which incites to violence, and if the meaning of the word "rush" is to be drawn from these speeches, then it will be a monstrous miscarriage of justice if we are sentenced to imprisonment. Here are the words spoken by Mrs. Pankhurst:—

On Tuesday evening, at Caxton Hall, we shall ask those who support women to come to Parliament Square. There will be a deputation of women who have no right in the House of Commons to a seat there, such as men have. The Government does not know its own mind, it changes so. But we do know that we want the vote, and mean to have it.

Then we have my own remarks:—

I wish you all to be there on the evening of the 13th, and I hope that that will be the end of this movement. On June 30 we succeeded in driving Mr.

Asquith underground. He is afraid of us, and so are the Government. Years ago John Bright told the people that it was only by lining the streets from Charing Cross to Westminster that they could impress the Government. Well, we are only taking a leaf out of his book. We want you to help the women to rush their way into the House of Commons. You won't get locked up, because you have the vote. If you are afraid, we will take the lead, and you will follow us. We are not afraid of imprisonment. We know we shall win because we are in the right.

These are the very dreadful words uttered on the platform that day; but what is even more important, because it comes direct from the pen of Mrs. Pankhurst, and ought to be listened to and taken into account far more than anything that we are reported to have said, are these words, written by Mrs. Pankhurst as an order to our members and to the general public:—

On the 13th, in Parliament Square, there will be many thousands of people to see fair play between the women and the Government. Let us keep their support and co-operation by showing them, as we have done before, with what quiet courage, self-restraint, and determination women are fighting against tyranny and oppression on the part of a Government which has been called the strongest of modern times. It is by the exercise of courage and self-restraint and persistent effort that we shall win in this unequal contest.

Now, returning to the question of the Trafalgar-square meeting, we have been able to get evidence from a Cabinet Minister, and he tells us that he heard nothing of an inflammatory nature in Trafalgar-square. He did not hear us counsel people to do violence, he did not hear us counsel the people to do harm, he did not hear us say that we ourselves should do anything violent; in fact, if the matter were to rest upon words that he has spoken, it would certainly appear to everybody that we have said nothing to the public which could be taken as inciting them to do anything violent or illegal. We are quite prepared to take our stand upon what Mr. Lloyd George said of the words we spoke in Trafalgar-square.

The Events of the 13th.

Now, let us come to the events of the 13th of October. The prosecution suggested—it was in some way raised by them—that Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, the chairman of the Caxton Hall meeting, had counselled violence to the women who were going forth into the streets to seek an interview with the Prime Minister. Well, we were able to call a great deal of evidence to show that that was an absolute fabrication. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence did not counsel the use of force; she urged the women to meet physical force with spiritual force; to show determination, and to make their way forward so far as they could, and not to be deterred lightly from entering the House; but as for the use of force directed against the police, directed against property, directed against Members of Parliament or Cabinet Ministers, she deprecated the use of such force, and discountenanced it. So that we have been able to clear ourselves of any suggestion that wild or inflammatory language was spoken in the Caxton Hall on the 13th.

Now, as to what happened outside on the 13th. We have heard over and over again that this was the most orderly crowd that has ever been known within the memory of living people to assemble in the streets of London. Mr. Lloyd George thought so little of

its dangers that he actually brought with him his young daughter of six years. It is all very well for him to say that he relied upon the police arrangements. It is obvious to any intelligent person that 6,000 police are no match for 60,000 people if they really desired to force a way through the police lines. If there had been a violent spirit in the crowd, the police would have been as nothing, they would not have been able to restrain the crowd, and Mr. Lloyd George and his daughter, and even the police line would have been brushed aside, had the people been incited by us to do any violence. As a matter of fact, they knew what we wanted them to do, and they did it, and the fact that this child was brought into the crowd by her father shows that there was no apprehension in anybody's mind of any harm being done. But it is not because of anything serious that occurred on that night, or was expected to occur, that we are here; we are here in order that we may be kept out of the way for some months, and may cease from troubling the Government for as long a period as they can find it in them, or for which the public will allow them, to deprive us of our liberty.

We have had Mr. Herbert Gladstone telling us that he was not afraid on that night. Well, if there had been any danger, he would have been afraid. It was because he knew perfectly well that the public had no hostile intention, and that we had no hostile intention, that he ventured to come into the streets. If there had been a riot, if there had been a violent mob, he would have kept very carefully in the House of Commons, and it is perfectly absurd to argue that he thought the crowd was a disorderly one.

While we can show from our evidence that this was an orderly crowd, what have we got on the other side? We have two police officers. That has been the only evidence that has been brought against us. I think it is a monstrous thing if the evidence of two police officers, however reliable, however worthy they may be, is to be believed against the host of witnesses that we have already called, and the large number of witnesses that we could have called to say the same thing. It seems to me that there is no justice in this court if the word of the police is to be believed against the public. I want to call your attention to the fact that the prosecution have been unable to bring forward any impartial person to say that the events of the 13th were a danger to the public streets. This state of affairs must end. It is in the public interest that it should. It is not right that police evidence should be the only evidence upon which we are to be judged. It seems to me that the prosecution, the witnesses, the authorities, the magistrates, are all on one side, they are all in the same box, and the prisoner charged with an offence is absolutely helpless whatever facts he may bring forward. Those facts are set aside. It is indeed a waste of time to bring forward evidence in a police-court. Over the doors of this court ought to be the motto: "Abandon hope all ye who enter here." We do not care for ourselves, because imprisonment is nothing to us; but when we think of the thousands of helpless creatures who come into this monstrous place, and know perfectly well that they are found guilty before they have a chance of defending themselves, it is almost too terrible to think of the horrible injustice that is done day after day in these courts. Nobody

to help them, nobody to plead for them. But I am thankful to think that we have been able, by submitting ourselves to the absurd proceedings that are conducted here, to ventilate this fearful wrong.

Well, I say that the crowd was orderly, and nobody could compare it with other crowds. The Eucharistic Procession drew together a far more disorderly crowd than that which we assembled, and yet, who has been proceeded against for that? Nobody has. Somebody ought to be in the dock, because they brought together a crowd which might possibly have led to riot and bloodshed. As for the Protestants who threatened that if they did not get their own way there would be bloodshed, no proceedings have been taken against them. Why are they not bound over? How anybody can say that we are treated with fair play I do not know. These things will be written up against the Government in the time to come.

Take the crowd which assembled for the C.I.V.'s, and the crowd which assembled on Mafeking night—we all know, and our witnesses have said, that there was a disorderly crowd, yet nobody was proceeded against. Why, even at the Churchill wedding the crowd was far more violent than that of the 13th. The crowds that try to get in and hear a popular preacher are more disorderly than the crowd which came to support us on the 13th. Of the Jubilee procession the same thing has been said. The crowds at Lord Mayor's Shows, too, are more disorderly, while at a meeting in Trafalgar-square some years ago bloodshed was narrowly averted, and yet the man who was responsible for it was acquitted by his countrymen.

Now, the prosecution have said that owing to the crowd brought together by us on the 13th forty watches and purses were stolen. Are we to take the responsibility for that? Are we to be responsible for the stealing of forty watches and purses? Why, I daresay sixty watches are stolen when the King goes to open Parliament!

There is not a single arrest which is traceable to the issue of our bill. Are we to understand that, once arrested, you are deemed guilty before you are tried? We know that in the higher courts the assumption is that a prisoner is innocent before he is proved to be guilty, but in this Court the assumption is that the prisoner is guilty before he is tried, and in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred he has no chance of getting off. People would have been there whether there had been a bill or not. Members of our Union would have been there whether there had been a crowd or not. The arrests have nothing to do with our action on the 13th, and therefore we deny absolutely the statement that because we issued that bill arrests were made. We are not responsible for pickpockets, they may be arrested whether we have a bill or not; we are not responsible for "drunks," and we are not responsible for the unemployed; we are responsible for ourselves, and as for the deputation, they were arrested not because we had issued a bill, but because they wanted to see the Prime Minister.

It is very interesting to notice what very elaborate police arrangements were made on the 12th. It just shows that members of the Government are afraid of their own shadow. I am glad they are reduced to this state of panic, because we shall get justice out of them. At present they are in fear lest they be a little inconvenienced,

lest they be unable to get home and back again because of the crowds round the House of Commons.

Following the Advice of Statesmen.

Now I come to another point—that in taking the course we are taking we have been encouraged by statesmen, and especially by Liberal statesmen. The whole of our liberties have been won by action such as ours, only of a far more violent kind. We have not broken the law, though we have offended certain persons who seem to think they can do injustice and escape with impunity. They seem to think they can have their cake and eat it. Well, we are prepared to show them that they cannot.

Therefore, we repudiate the charge that we are law-breakers. Still, we are prepared to say that even if we were law-breakers, we should be justified in doing so. Magna Carta itself was won by a threat of a breach of the peace. Hampden, whom we all honour now, was a law-breaker. Charles I., because he did not rule in a manner acceptable to his subjects—just as Mr. Asquith is not ruling to-day in a manner acceptable to us—was beheaded. Revolution after revolution has marked the progress of our country. The Reform Bills were got by disorder. We are told that, prior to 1832, the Mansion House, the Custom House, the Bishop's Palace, the Excise Office, three prisons, four toll-houses, and 42 private dwellings and warehouses were burnt. There was a general rebellion, but as a consequence the Reform Bill of 1832 was won. Then we have the Reform Bill of 1867. That was won in consequence of the breaking down of the Hyde Park railings. In 1884 we had the Aston Park riots. They made it impossible for the legislators or any section of them to withstand the enfranchisement of the agricultural labourers.

I think I have already quoted the example set us by John Bright. Although he got off scot-free, we are now liable to a long term of imprisonment. Then there were the Fenian outrages, the killing of a policeman in Manchester, and the blowing up of Clerkenwell Gaol.

Mr. Gladstone himself said:—

The whole question of the Irish Church was dead; nobody cared for it, nobody paid attention to it in England. Circumstances occurred which drew the attention of people to the Irish Church. When it came to this, that a great gaol in the heart of the metropolis was broken open under circumstances which drew the attention of English people to the state of Ireland, and when a Manchester policeman was murdered in the exercise of his duty, at once the whole country became alive to Irish questions, and the question of the Irish Church revived.

And in a subsequent explanation he said:—

When at an election you say that a question is out of the range of practical politics, you mean it is not a question likely to be dealt with in the Parliament you are now choosing. That is the meaning of it. It was said, and truly said, that in the year 1867 there happened certain crimes in England—that is to say, a policeman was murdered in circumstances of riot and great excitement at Manchester; the wall of Clerkenwell Prison was blown down in a very alarming manner—in consequence of which, it was said, I changed my mind about the Irish Church.

To explain how the matters referred to had had the effect of drawing the attention of the people of this country to the Irish question, he says that agitation of this kind is like the ringing of the church bell; it reminds those who are forgetting to go to church, that it is time they were up and doing, to perform their religious duty.

Mr. Chamberlain.

Then there was Chamberlain threatening to march one hundred thousand men on London. Now, what difference is there between his action and ours, except that his action was far more likely to lead to law-breaking than any action we have taken? He proposed to bring a mob to storm the House of Commons. Was he prosecuted? No! The Gladstone of those days was a less absurd and hesitating and cowardly and peaceful person than the Gladstone of this time and the colleagues of the present Gladstone, and therefore Mr. Gladstone took the statesmanlike action of pressing forward the Reform Bill instead of taking proceedings against Mr. Chamberlain. And so Mr. Chamberlain was not legally proceeded against, and when a vote of censure was moved in the House of Commons, even that was defeated. On that occasion Mr. Gladstone said that if no instructions had been issued to the people of this country in political crises save only to remember to hate violence and love order and exercise patience, the liberties of this country would never have been attained.

Then there was Lord Randolph Churchill, who spoke words which were literally disgraceful for a public man addressing those who were voters. He counselled the voters—and, mind you, those who have votes have not the excuse for violence that those who have not got votes have—he counselled the voters to resort to the supreme arbitrament of force. He said, "Ulster will fight, and Ulster will be right," and as a consequence of what he said, dangerous riots, increasing in fury until they almost amounted to warfare, occurred in the streets, firearms were freely used by the police and by the combatants. Houses were sacked, and men and women were killed. So savage, repeated, and prolonged were the disturbances, breaking out again and again in spite of all efforts to suppress them, that they became in the end the subject of a Parliamentary Commission. But the author of these riots was not made the victim of prosecution. He was not placed in the dock; he was not proceeded against. What a monstrous thing it is that we who have led to no trouble, who have not caused the loss of a single life, who have not caused damage to property, who have not done any harm at all, we should be imprisoned, or threatened with imprisonment, while a man who spoke those words, who counselled action which resulted in the death of his fellow countrymen, should be allowed to escape without even a vote of censure. If the Government had been as vindictive as the present one, penal servitude for life would have been the fate of Lord Randolph Churchill because of his encouragement to murderous attacks. He certainly was deserving of some punishment. But we, who have broken no law, or urged others to do so, we are threatened with this long term of imprisonment.

Then there was John Burns, who was far, far more violent; who was absolutely unrestrained in his language, which was utterly irresponsible—this man was brought up at the Old Bailey, and acquitted. If we were at the Old Bailey, I feel sure we should be acquitted; that is why we are not allowed to go there. He said in his speech that he was a rebel, because he was an outlaw. Well, that fact will support us in all that we have done. If we go to far greater lengths than we have done yet, we shall only be following in the footsteps of a man who is now a member of the Government.

We have been told by Mr. Haldane that we are entitled to fight the Government, but were fighting them with pin-pricks. Why not use weapons? We do not want to use weapons, even though we are taunted in this way with our restraint. They know that if we have a fault, it is that we are too gentle—not formidable enough. How, then, can anybody contest my statement that we have been incited to real violence, which we have not yet committed.

Mr. Herbert Gladstone himself, though in the witness-box he denied that he counselled our action, yet in a speech which I read to him, told us that the victory of argument alone is not enough. As we cannot hope to win by force of argument alone, it is necessary to overcome the savage resistance of the Government to our claim for citizenship by other means. He says: "Go on. Fight like the men did." And then, when we show our power and get the people to help us, he comes forward in a manner which would be disgraceful even in the old days of coercion, and in a manner which would be thought disgraceful if it was practised in Russia.

Then there is Mr. Lloyd George, who, if any man has done so, has set us an example. His whole career has been a series of revolts. Even as a child he counselled the breaking of school regulations. Then he incited the Welsh Councils to disobey the law. He has authorised the illegal and lawless action of the Passive Resisters, and even to us he has given counsel that we should break the law. He has said that if we do not get the vote—mark these words—we should be justified in adopting the methods which men had to adopt, namely, in pulling down the Hyde Park railings.

Then, as a sign of the way in which men politicians deal with men's interests, we have Lord Morley saying: "We are in India in the presence of a living movement, and a movement for what? For objects which we ourselves have taught them to think are desirable objects, and unless we can somehow reconcile order with satisfaction of those ideas and aspirations, the fault will not be theirs; it will be ours; it will mark the breakdown of British statesmanship."

Apply those words to our case. Remember that we are demanding of Liberal statesmen that which for us is the greatest boon and the most essential right. Remember that we are asking for votes, that we are demanding the franchise, and if the present Government cannot reconcile order with our demand for the vote without delay, it will mark the breakdown of their statesmanship. Yes, their statesmanship has broken down already. They are disgraced. It is only in this Court that they have the smallest hope of getting bolstered up. It is only by keeping us from the judgment of our countrymen that they can expect to be supported in the action that they are taking.

We make no Apology.

Whatever be the result of the proceedings to-day, we know that by public opinion we shall be acquitted, and I do not want you, sir, to suppose that in all I have said I have wished to make any apology. Far from it. We are here to-day to say that if you call upon us to be bound over we shall go to prison, because our honour forbids us to do anything else, and if we go to prison, when we come out, we shall be ready to issue another bill calling upon the public to compel the House of Commons and compel the Government to do us justice.

Mrs. Pankhurst.

Sir, I want to endorse what my daughter has said, that in my opinion we are proceeded against in this Court by malice on the part of the Government. I want to protest as strongly as she has done. I want to put before you that the very nature of your duties in this Court—although I wish to say nothing disrespectful to you—make you perhaps unfitted to deal with a question which is a political question, as a body of jurymen could do. We are not women who would come into this Court as ordinary law-breakers, and we feel that it is a great indignity—as have felt all the other women who have come into this Court—that for political offences we should come into the ordinary police-court. We do not object to that if from that degradation we shall ultimately succeed in winning political reform for the women of this country.

Mrs. Drummond here is a woman of very great public spirit; she is an admirable wife and mother; she has very great business ability, and she has maintained herself, although a married woman, for many years, and has acquired for herself the admiration and respect of all the people with whom she has had business relations. I do not think I need speak about my daughter. Her abilities and earnestness of purpose are very well known to you. They are young women. I am not, sir. You and I are older, and have had very great and very wide experience of life under different conditions. Before you decide what is to be done with us, I should like you to hear from me a statement of what has brought me into this dock this morning.

Why I am in this Dock.

I was brought up by a father who taught me that it was the duty of his children, boys and girls alike, to realise that they had a duty towards their country; they had to be good citizens. I married a man, whose wife I was, but also his comrade in all his public life. He was, as you know, a distinguished member of your own profession, but he felt it his duty, in addition, to do political work, to interest himself in the welfare of his fellow countrymen and countrywomen. Throughout the whole of my marriage I was associated with him in his public work. In addition to that, as soon as my children were of an age to permit me to leave them, I took

to public duties. I was for many years a Guardian of the Poor. For many years I was a member of the School Board, and when that was abolished I was elected on to the Education Committee. My experience in doing that work brought me in contact with many of my own sex, who in my opinion found themselves in deplorable positions because of the state of the English law as it affects women. You in this Court must have had experience of women who would never have come here if married women were afforded by law that claim for maintenance by their husbands which I think in justice should be given them when they give up their economic independence and are unable to earn a subsistence for themselves. You know how inadequate are the marriage laws to women. You must know, sir, as I have found out in my experience of public life, how abominable, atrocious, and unjust are the divorce laws as they affect women. You know very well that the married woman has no legal right of guardianship of her children. Then, too, the illegitimacy laws; you know that a woman sometimes commits the dreadful crime of infanticide, while her partner, the man who should share her punishment, gets off scot-free. I am afraid that great suffering is inflicted upon women because of these laws, and because of the impossibility that women have of getting legal redress. Because of these things I have tried, with other women, to get some reform of these laws. Women have petitioned members of Parliament, have tried for many, many years to persuade them to do something to alter these laws, to make them more equal, for they believe, as I do, that in the interests of men quite as much as of women it would be a good thing if laws were more equal between both sexes. I believe it would be better for men. I have a son myself, and I sometimes dread to think that my young son may be influenced in his behaviour to the other sex by the encouragement which the law of the land gives to men when they are tempted to take to an immoral life. I have seen, too, that men are encouraged by law to take advantage of the helplessness of women. Many women have thought as I have, and for many, many years women have tried by that influence we have so often been reminded of, to alter these laws, but we have found for many years that that influence counts for nothing. When we went to the House of Commons we used to be told, when we were persistent, that Members of Parliament were not responsible to women, they were responsible only to voters, and that their time was too fully occupied to reform those laws, although they agreed that they needed reforming.

I have tried Constitutional Methods.

Ever since my girlhood, a period of about thirty years, I have belonged to organisations to secure for women that political power which I have felt was essential to bringing about those reforms which women need. I have tried constitutional methods. I have been womanly. When you spoke to some of my colleagues the day before yesterday about their being unwomanly, I felt that bitterness which I know every one of them felt in their hearts. We have tried to be womanly, we have tried to use feminine influence,

and we have seen that it is of no use. Men who have been impatient have invariably got reforms for their impatience. And they have not our excuse for being impatient.

You had before you in this Court yesterday a man who has a vote, a man who had been addressing other men with votes, and he advised action which we would never dream of advising. But I want to say here and now, as a woman who has worked in the way you advised, that I wonder whether this womanly way is not a weakness that has been taken advantage of. I believe that Mr. Will Thorne was right when he said that no action would have been taken against him if his name had not been mentioned in this Court, because it is a very remarkable thing that the authorities are only proceeding against him when goaded to it by the observations which women made here.

Now, while I share in the feeling of indignation which has been expressed to you by my daughter, I have lived longer in the world than she has. Perhaps I can look round the whole question better than she can, but I want to say here, deliberately, to you, that we are here to-day because we are driven here. We have taken this action, because as women—and I want you to understand it is as women we have taken this action—it is because we realise that the condition of our sex is so deplorable that it is our duty even to break the law in order to call attention to the reasons why we do so.

I do not want to say anything which may seem disrespectful to you, or in any way give you offence, but I do want to say that I wish, sir, that you could put yourself into the place of women for a moment before you decide upon this case. My daughter referred to the way in which women are huddled into and out of these police-courts without a fair trial. I want you to realise what a poor hunted creature, without the advantages we have had, must feel.

I have been in prison. I was in Holloway Gaol for five weeks. I was in various parts of the prison. I was in the hospital, and in the ordinary part of the prison, and I tell you, sir, with as much sense of responsibility as if I had taken the oath, that there were women there who have broken no law, who are there because they have been able to make no adequate statement.

You know that women have tried to do something to come to the aid of their own sex. Women are brought up for certain crimes, crimes which men do not understand—I am thinking especially of infanticide—they are brought before a man judge, before a jury of men, who are called upon to decide whether some poor, hunted woman is guilty of murder or not. I put it to you, sir, when we see in the papers, as we often do, a case similar to that of Daisy Lord, for whom a great petition was got up in this country, I want you to realise how we women feel; because we are women, because we are not men, we need some legitimate influence to bear upon our law-makers.

Now, we have tried every way. We have presented larger petitions than were ever presented for any other reform, we have succeeded in holding greater public meetings than men have ever had for any reform, in spite of the difficulty which women have in

throwing off their natural diffidence, that desire to escape publicity which we have inherited from generations of our foremothers; we have broken through that. We have faced hostile mobs at street corners, because we were told that we could not have that representation for our taxes which men have won unless we converted the whole of the country to our side. Because we have done this, we have been misrepresented, we have been ridiculed, we have had contempt poured upon us. The ignorant mob at the street corner has been incited to offer us violence, which we have faced unarmed and unprotected by the safeguards which Cabinet Ministers have. We know that we need the protection of the vote even more than men have needed it.

I am here to take upon myself now, sir, as I wish the prosecution had put upon me, the full responsibility for this agitation in its present phase. I want to address you as a woman who has performed the duties of a woman, and, in addition, has performed the duties which ordinary men have had to perform, by earning a living for her children, and educating them. In addition to that I have been a public officer. I enjoyed for ten years an official post under the Registrar, and I performed those duties to the satisfaction of the head of the department. After my duty of taking the census was over, I was one of the few Registrars who qualified for a special bonus, and was specially praised for the way in which the work was conducted. Well, sir, I stand before you, having resigned that office when I was told that I must either do that or give up working for this movement.

I want to make you realise that it is a point of honour that if you decide—as I hope you will not decide—to bind us over, that we shall not sign any undertaking, as the Member of Parliament did who was before you yesterday. Perhaps his reason for signing that undertaking may have been that the Prime Minister had given some assurance to the people he claimed to represent that something should be done for them. We have no such assurance. Mr. Birrell told the woman who questioned him the other day that he could not say that anything would be done to give an assurance to the women that their claims should be conceded. So, sir, if you decide against us to-day, to prison we must go, because we feel that we should be going back to the hopeless condition this movement was in three years ago if we consented to be bound over to keep the peace which we have never broken, and so, sir, if you decide to bind us over, whether it is for three or six months, we shall submit to the treatment, the degrading treatment, that we have submitted to before.

Although the Government admitted that we are political offenders, and, therefore, ought to be treated as political offenders are invariably treated, we shall be treated as pickpockets and drunkards; we shall be searched. I want you, if you can, as a man, to realise what it means to women like us. We are driven to do this, we are determined to go on with this agitation, because we feel in honour bound. Just as it was the duty of your forefathers, it is our duty to make this world a better place for women than it is to-day.

I was in the hospital at Holloway, and when I was there I heard from one of the beds near me the moans of a woman who was in the

pangs of child-birth. I should like you to realise how women feel at helpless little infants breathing their first breath in the atmosphere of a prison. We believe that if we get the vote we will find some more humane way of dealing with women than that. It turned out that that woman was a remand prisoner. She was not guilty, because she was finally acquitted.

We believe that if we get the vote it will mean better conditions for our unfortunate sisters. We know what the condition of the woman worker is. Her condition is very bad. Many women pass through this Court who I believe would not come before you if they were able to live morally and honestly. The average earnings of the women who earn their living in this country are only 7s. 6d. a week. There are women who have been driven to live an immoral life because they cannot earn enough to live decently.

We believe your work would be lightened if we got the vote. Some of us have worked, as I have told you, for many years to help our own sex, and we have been driven to the conclusion that only through legislation can any improvement be effected, and that that legislation can never be effected until we have the same power as men have to bring pressure to bear upon our representatives and upon Governments to give us the necessary legislation.

Now, sir, I do want to say this, that we have not wished to waste your time in any way; we have wished to make you realise that there is another side of the case than that put before you by the prosecution. We want you to use your power—I do not know what value there is in the legal claims that have been put before you as to your power to decide this case—but we want you, sir, if you will, to send us to trial in some place more suitable for the trial of political offenders than an ordinary police-court. I do not know what you will do; I do not know what your powers are; but I do think, speaking as a woman to a man, I do say deliberately to you—I think your experience has been a large one—I come here not as an ordinary law-breaker. I should never be here if I had the same kind of power that the very meanest and commonest of men have—the same power that the wife-beater has, the same power that the drunkard has. I should never be here if I had that power, and I speak for all the women who have come before you and the other magistrates.

This is the only way we can get that power which every citizen should have of deciding how the taxes she contributes to should be spent, and how the laws she has to obey should be made, and until we get that power we shall be here—we are here to-day, and we shall come here over and over again. You must realise how futile it is to settle this question by binding us over to keep the peace. You have tried it; it has failed. Others have tried to do it, and have failed. If you had power to send us to prison, not for six months, but for six years, for sixteen years, or for the whole of our lives, the Government must not think that they can stop this agitation. It will go on.

I want to draw your attention to the self-restraint which was shown by our followers on the night of the 13th, after we had been arrested. It only shows that our influence over them is very great, because I think that if they had yielded to their natural

impulses, there might have been a breach of the peace on the evening of the 13th. They were very indignant, but our words have always been, "be patient, exercise self-restraint, show our so-called superiors that the criticism of women being hysterical is not true; use no violence, offer yourselves to the violence of others." We are going to win. Our women have taken that advice; if we are in prison they will continue to take that advice.

Well, sir, that is all I have to say to you. We are here not because we are law-breakers; we are here in our efforts to become law-makers.

Mrs. Drummond.

I want to point out to you why I came into this Court. I think, if you wished to find out, you will not find that I have ever been in this Court as an ordinary law-breaker; in fact, I am proud to say that I never entered a police-court until I came here to fight for my liberty.

I am charged with issuing a bill. I wish to say here, and now, that I do not want to apologise for circulating that bill. I want to say that we did circulate it because we had lost all faith in the Government, and because we trusted the people. We knew that if we could get the people to the House of Commons there would be a better chance of getting what we have been asking for so many years. Mrs. Pankhurst has pointed out to you how women have tried to get the vote in a quiet way, and have been no nearer gaining it.

Superintendent Wells has told you that I am an active organiser of this Union, and I rather think that is the reason why I have been included in these proceedings. The Government find that this organisation is becoming so powerful, and so determined, and that women are coming in in every way, coming forward to us, giving all their lives to gain this point. The Government can see for themselves that this agitation is extending all over the country.

Now, I want to say why I am an organiser in this Union, and why I am in this position to-day. It is because I want my sex to be recognised as a person in the eyes of the law. To-day, if I had appeared to you as a mother asking for exemption from vaccination of my child, I should have been told by you and your colleagues that I was not a person in the eyes of the law, and that you could not deal with me. Now, I stand before you on another charge, and in that position you will deal with me. I want my political rights, and I am not sorry at all that I caused that bill to be published, because I made up my mind that nothing else would gain that for which we have been fighting.

It has also been brought to your notice that I spoke in Trafalgar-square. I want to tell you that our two leaders, Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, restrained us. They said: "No, you must not be impatient; you must be prepared to try some peaceful means." Now, I say to you that in our speeches we have done what we could to instil into the minds of the people the fact that we did

not want them to practise violence. If the people who were round the House of Commons had believed that we had invited them to violence, not even 6,000 policemen would have prevented those people from getting into the House of Commons.

You say we have broken the peace. I should really like you to tell us what is meant by breaking the peace. Mrs. Pankhurst left the Caxton Hall with twelve other women; she was arrested and imprisoned for six weeks. Later on, under the same circumstances, that same number of women left the Caxton Hall, and they were not arrested. Now, in the first place, they broke the peace; in the second place, they did not. We women are fairly at sea as to what is a breach of the peace.

Do you realise what I, as a wife and mother, am wanting? I want women to be looked upon as human beings in the eyes of the law. I do not want the little boy in the street—and I put it down to the status of women legally—to say: "Votes for women, votes for dogs!" I want you to realise, you men, that we want to look after our own interests, and we want justice to be done to our sex.

It is not that we go out into the streets to break the law. I should say that you know that you would never see us before you in any other circumstances.

I do not know what you intend to do to us, but whatever you intend to do, whatever sentence you intend to give us, we look only upon the sentence, we shall take no notice whatever of the binding over to keep the peace. I want to say to you that the agitation will go on—and I can speak on good authority—that it will go on stronger than it has ever done before, because the action which the Government have taken has fired the bosoms of women, who are determined to take up the flag that we women have had to lay down to-day.

I have been twice to prison, and I am prepared to go as many times as necessary; and I say again, we women are prepared to do it for this agitation. I am glad to say, also, that we have left everything in working order, and that the agitation will go on, and we shall find it stronger than it was when we left it. I should like to assure you that whatever you do, it will not stop the agitation that is going on at the present time.

II.—THE HEARING OF THE CASE.

The first hearing of the case was on Wednesday, October 14, before the magistrate, Mr. H. Curtis Bennett. Mr. Muskett appeared for the Commissioner of Police (the prosecutor).

Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and Mrs. Drummond were placed in the dock at the outset.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst, addressing the magistrate, said she wished to apply that this case should be sent for trial, and not be dealt with summarily. They were informed that under Section 17 of the Summary Jurisdiction Act, 1879, they were entitled to the option of being tried where they desired, and they desired that the case should go before a jury.

The Magistrate: Yes; but we will go on.

Miss Pankhurst: Can I have your answer at once, sir?

The Magistrate: I cannot say what is in my power until I have heard the case.

Miss Pankhurst: Then I apply for an adjournment, in order that we may be properly legally advised and represented.

The Magistrate: That will come later on. We must go on with the case at present.

Mr. Muskett said the defendants were all prominent leaders in the agitation which had been disturbing the metropolis for so long, and they were brought up upon warrants for having disobeyed a summons to appear on Monday, October 12, charging them with having been guilty of conduct likely to provoke a breach of the peace. It was alleged that they had circulated, and caused to be circulated and published, a certain handbill calling upon members of the public to "rush" the House of Commons on Tuesday evening, October 13. When process was issued, it was only known to the police authorities that the conduct of which the defendants were alleged to have been guilty was likely to lead to a breach of the peace, but now it was known as a fact that an actual breach of the peace had occurred owing to the incitement to riot, for which the prosecution said these ladies were responsible. The fact that between thirty and forty persons were to come before the Court that morning in connection with the demonstration was sufficient evidence of the fact that a serious breach of the peace had occurred.

On October 8, Inspector Jarvis had occasion to attend at the offices of the Union, and he saw Mrs. Drummond, who was a very active agitator, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst. That young lady said to the inspector, "What about the 13th? Have you seen our new bills?" and she produced a handbill which, in substance, formed the foundation of the present charge. It was worded:

"Votes for Women.—Men and women, help the Suffragettes to rush the House of Commons, on Tuesday, October 13, at 7.30 p.m."

With regard to it, Miss Pankhurst said that the words "to rush" were not in sufficiently large type, and they were going to have them made much more distinct. On Sunday last, October 11, a meeting of these ladies took place in Trafalgar-square, causing an enormous amount of additional labour to be thrown upon the shoulders of the police.

At this meeting speeches were delivered by Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughter and others, inciting the people who were present in the square to carry out the programme of rushing the House of Commons. The magistrate would agree that such conduct as that could not be tolerated in this country, and the authorities accordingly set the law in motion. It was not necessary to adduce any legal authority for the general proposition, which was submitted on behalf of the Commissioner of Police, namely, that all persons who were guilty of such conduct as was attributed to these three ladies might, and ought to be ordered to

find sureties for their future good behaviour. It could not be allowed with impunity that persons should incite other people to riot.

Evidence of Superintendent Wells.

Superintendent Wells then went into the witness-box, and spoke as to what took place upon the occasion of his visit to the offices of the Women's Social and Political Union. He was given a copy of a letter which had been addressed to Mr. Asquith, and Mrs. Pankhurst said their action would depend upon the reply they received to it. If it was a satisfactory reply, there would be nothing but a great cheer for the Government, but if it was unsatisfactory there would be a demonstration, and they would try to get into the House of Commons. Witness said, "You cannot get there, because the police will not allow you unless you come with cannon." Mrs. Pankhurst said no lethal weapons would be used, and no breaking of windows would form part of the programme, but witness pointed out the great danger of bringing so large a concourse of people into the vicinity of



"Generalissimo Drummond."

Parliament. Mrs. Pankhurst replied, "Mr. Asquith will be responsible if there is any disorder and accident." Witness, however, expressed the opinion that the Suffragists would be responsible. They then discussed the window-breaking matter, and Miss Pankhurst said that although it was not in their programme, they could not always control the women of their union. This was the substance of the interview reported to the Commissioner.

In the course of the meeting in Trafalgar-square on Sunday last Mrs. Drummond was distributing the handbills complained of. She was an active leader of the Suffragists, and she wore a uniform with the word "general" or "generalissimo" on the cap. (Laughter.) Witness told her that she and Mrs. Pankhurst would be prosecuted.

Mr. Muskett: Did a very large demonstration take place last evening in the vicinity of the House of Commons?

Witness: Yes; the traffic was wholly disorganised for four hours, and for three hours the streets were in great disorder. At ten o'clock I had to clear them.

Did this entail the employment of a very large body of police to maintain order?—A very large body indeed. Ten persons were treated at Westminster Hospital, and seven or eight constables and sergeants were more or less injured.

Miss Pankhurst's Cross-examination.

Mr. Wells, I should like in the first place to ask you whether you are aware of our having given any undertaking to appear at the Court either on Monday or Tuesday? You are not aware of any promise to come in answer to the summons, are you?—Your mother and Mrs. Drummond left me under that impression.

They gave you a definite undertaking to appear?—Not in actual words.

And then, in the second place, I should like to ask you whether you are in the habit of reading our official organ, VOTES FOR WOMEN, and whether you read that issue which appeared on October 8.—I do not read it.

Then you are not aware that Mrs. Pankhurst wrote the following words:—

On the 13th, in Parliament-square, there will be many thousands of people to see fair play between the women and the Government. Let us keep their support and co-operation by showing them, as we have done before, with what quiet courage, self-restraint, and determination women are fighting against the tyranny and oppression on the part of a Government which has been called the strongest of modern times. It is by the exercise of courage and self-restraint and persistent effort that we shall win in this unequal contest.

There is nothing very inflammatory in those words, which were the official statement. Does it occur to you that those words were calculated to incite to riot?—I am not complaining of that article, I am complaining of those bills.

Well, I submit to you that the whole of our utterances ought to be taken together.

Now, I want to ask you further a question about the crowd in Trafalgar-square. Was it a disorderly crowd?—It was quite an orderly crowd.

Are you aware that any member of the Government was there?—I don't know that I should answer that.

The Magistrate: You can say: "Yes" or "No."

The question was repeated, and witness said: "I saw one there."

Was it Mr. Lloyd George? (Laughter.)

Witness did not answer, and the magistrate said the defendant must be satisfied with the answer.

Was there anything inflammatory in anything?—No reply.

At a later stage I shall have to require the presence of Mr. Lloyd George as one of the witnesses. But that is another matter. Now, I should like to ask one or two questions about the nature of our speeches in Trafalgar-square. That has not been brought out in evidence yet. On Sunday last was there anything inflammatory in anything that these speakers said?—I am not dealing with any speeches, but with the pamphlets.

Oh, but you see, I must press this question. . . . We must take the whole thing together. Was there anything in our speeches which was inflammatory? Did we incite the people to do personal violence, or to do damage to property?—You asked them to come within the vicinity of the House of Commons, and to rush the House of Commons.

Now, what do you understand by the word "rush"?—To attempt an unlawful entry.

But do we say that violence may be used? Could it not be said to imply a request to enter, and if that request was denied, that pressure should be used?—I fully explained to you that your action in bringing people to the House of Commons—

Oh, yes, but then you see, that is rather different from inciting to riot?—What I am complaining of is your bringing them there.

But does not all hang upon the word "rush"? I think I am right in saying that it was not until the handbill was issued that it was decided to take proceedings? You did not propose to take proceedings until you thought it possible to say we intended to do violence, and to incite to riot. Before the word "rush" was used no proceedings were intended?—You don't know what was in my mind.

But I know the people above you—the Government. Do you think it was their dilatoriness, such as was displayed at the time of the Eucharistic Procession, which induced them to delay these proceedings so long, or was it the word "rush" that decided the matter?—I do not know.

I should like to ask you whether your mind takes you back to the meeting in Trafalgar-square at which John Burns was present many years ago. Did you ever hear the speeches made by Mr. John Burns?—I did not.

I see. You did not hear the speeches. But are you aware that the words he used at that time were very much more inflammatory—were very much more calculated to lead to destruction and damage to property than anything we have said?—I am not aware of it.

You are aware, however, that John Burns is a member of the present Government, and is responsible jointly with his colleagues for the action that has been taken against us?—Yes.

You are aware of that. That the law-breaker is now sitting in judgment upon those who have done far less than he did himself? You are aware of that?

Were you in Trafalgar-square when Mr. Thorne, M.P., made a speech? Did you hear him call upon the people to rush the bakers' shops?—I did not hear it, but it was reported to me.

Well, does it occur to you that his language was far more dangerous to the public peace than the language we have used?—I am not complaining of your language, I am complaining of the bills.

Well, the language that was used on the bills, he used. He spoke the word. He used the word "rush," and he incited people to riot and violence. Does it occur to you that his action is more reprehensible than ours?—It occurs to me that he might be prosecuted the same as you are.*

You are not aware whether proceedings will be taken? Can you tell me anything now as to whether—(Question interrupted).

You have seen Mr. Gladstone's reply in the House of Commons to the effect that these proceedings are not instituted by the Government, but by the police, and that the police are responsible?—You have kept me so busily engaged that I have not had time to look at the papers this morning.

I am sorry, but we are really not responsible for that. Can you tell me whether Mr. Gladstone and other members of the Government were consulted before these proceedings were taken?—I cannot.

Can you tell me whether the Government considers we should be tried by jury or not?—I cannot say.

You cannot say. Can you tell me whether anything has been decided already as to the length of the sentences to be imposed upon us?—I cannot.

Are you aware that in a London drawing-room Mr. Horace Smith asserted that in sentencing one of our members to six weeks' imprisonment he was only doing what he had been told to do?—I cannot say.

You are not aware of it. Can you tell me now what our letter to Mr. Asquith contains? Do you desire me to read it?—Yes. (The letter given on page 9 was read in Court by Mr. Wells.)

Now, Mr. Wells, is it not a fact that we assured you, on our word of honour, that if a satisfactory reply were forthcoming to that letter the attempt to rush the House of Commons would not be made?—The Magistrate: Well, he has already said that you said that.

Have you had time to peruse the columns of the morning papers for to-day?—I have not.

You have not. Then you have not seen a leading article which appears in the *Daily Chronicle*, which, I believe, is contempt of Court, prejudging this issue, and calling upon the magistrate to give us drastic punishment?—I have not seen that article. Do you wish me to express an opinion upon what is in a newspaper?

What can you tell me as to the demeanour of the crowd last night? Did they show any inclination to attack people, and injure them, or to destroy property?—They were rowdy.

Rowdy, but not violent or menacing?—They were violent in a measure.

In a measure, but there was nothing seriously wrong?—There were two or three policemen badly hurt.

Were there any persons at all detained in hospital?—No.

The injuries were, then, so slight as to make it possible to discharge them?—One man had his head bandaged this morning.

There was practically no danger to life or loss of property?—There was a window broken.

* A summons was issued for Mr. Will Thorne on the following day.

A window broken. But no serious consequences have followed upon yesterday's demonstrations, having regard to the enormous number of people?

Cross-examination by Mrs. Pankhurst.

You have recognised from the beginning that this is a political movement?—I have.

Well, it is quite a matter of opinion how far a political movement can go. But perhaps, although you have not had time to read the daily papers, you may know that in previous franchise demonstrations Mr. John Bright and Mr. Gladstone have advised us to do exactly what we have done?—To a certain extent.

But farther than that. To assemble in Parliament-square, from Parliament-street down to Charing Cross, if the Government continued to resist their just demands. Well, now, throughout the whole of this movement, I think you will admit that, though a large number of people feel a very great interest in this movement, yet self-restraint has been exercised by the women engaged in the agitation, and exceedingly little damage has been done?—There has been great inconvenience.

No doubt. We regret that exceedingly, but it is necessary. Now, on the occasion when Mr. John Burns came to Trafalgar-square, was there not a great deal more violence shown by the crowd—fighting and stone-throwing—and was it not really a very much worse demonstration in every way, although not so large in number, as anything in which we took part?—Yes, more violent.

I just want to ask this last question: You have recognised, Mr. Wells, that this is a political movement?—Yes.

Cross-examination by Mrs. Drummond.

Mr. Wells, you said that you heard Mrs. Pankhurst and myself speaking in Trafalgar-square. Do you remember what I said in my speech regarding the gathering on the 13th? Can you take your mind back to what I said? It was this: I asked the people to bring no weapons, to go there without weapons of any kind, but to carry their argument, which argument is that taxation without representation is tyranny, and that if the women were refused, then the men should be admitted, as voters. Was not that what I said?—No, I did not hear it.

Was there anything else in my speech which you thought inciting to riot?—There was nothing in your speech to take particular exception to.

Further Cross-examination by Miss Pankhurst.

The fact that these proceedings are taken by the Commissioner of Police is no proof that the Government is not pulling the strings in the background?—The proceedings are instituted by the Commissioner of Police, and they may be made without referring, as far as I am aware, to any Government official. The Commissioner of Police has certain duties to perform, and in a breach of regulations, he has orders to proceed.

But the fact that the proceedings are nominally instituted by the Commissioner of Police is no proof that the Government are not the moving spirit in the matter?—The Commissioner of Police can institute proceedings.

He can do so, but does not. Yes, quite so, but in some cases they do go to the Government. Is not that so?—I do not know it.

You do not know it. But you are aware that this is sometimes the case?—I should suspect that it was.

Yes, and so would everybody else.

Evidence of Inspector Jarvis.

Inspector Jarvis said that he called at the offices of the Union and saw Miss Pankhurst.

"Miss Pankhurst said, 'What about the 13th?' I said, 'Yes, what are you going to do?' and she said, 'What are you going to do?' Then she said, 'Have you seen our new bill?' I said, 'No, what about that?' She said, 'I will fetch you one,' and went into another room and came back again with a bill."

Mr. Muskett: Were you present at the meeting in Trafalgar-square on Sunday afternoon last?

Yes.

Did any of these three defendants address the public?

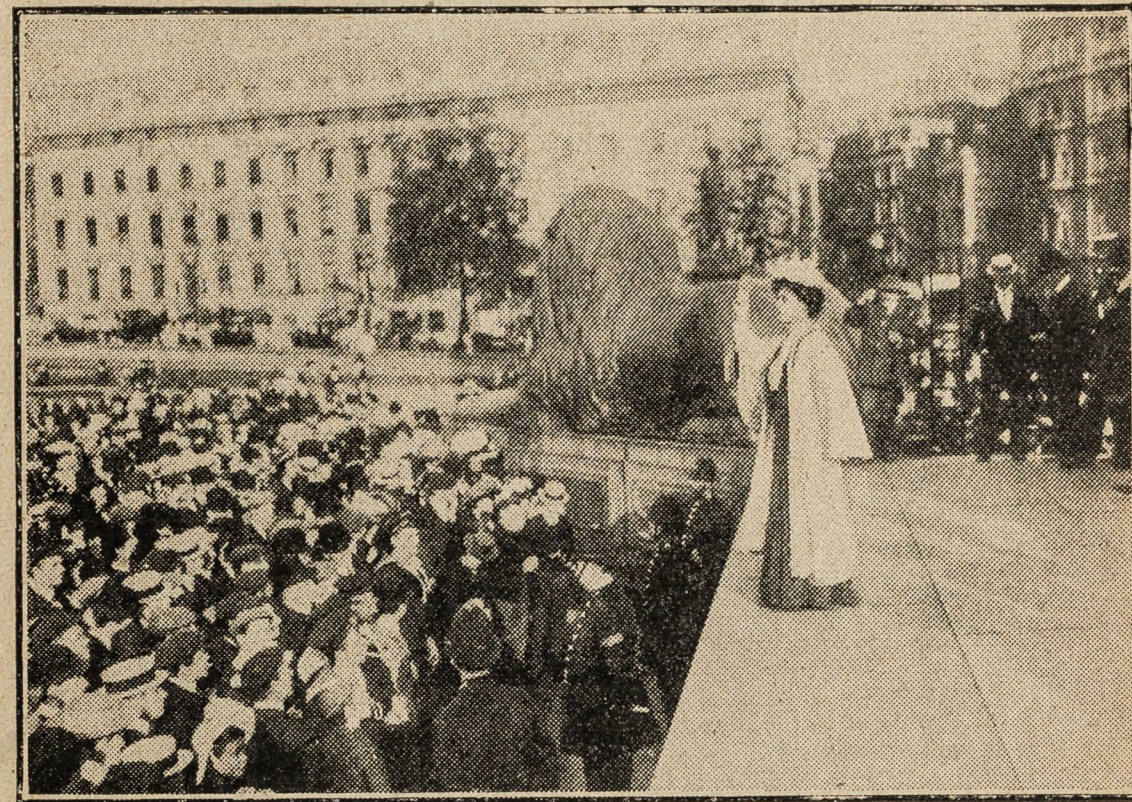
Yes, sir, all three of them.

Did you particularly notice what Miss Christabel Pankhurst said?—Yes, sir, amongst other things, she said:—

I wish you all to be there on the evening of the 13th, and I hope that that will be the end of this movement. On June 30 we succeeded in driving Mr. Asquith underground. He is afraid of us, and so are the Government. Years ago John Bright told the people that it was only by lining the streets from Charing Cross to Westminster that they could impress the Government. Well, we are only taking a leaf out of his book. We want you to help the women to rush their way into the House of Commons. You won't get locked up, because you have the vote. If you are afraid, we will take the lead, and you will follow us. We are not afraid of imprisonment. We know we shall win, because we are in the right.

And Mrs. Pankhurst? Did she address the crowd? Did you take any note of what she said?—She said:—

On Tuesday evening, at Caxton Hall, we shall ask those who support women to come to Parliament Square. There will be a deputation of women who have no right in the House of Commons to



Mrs. Pankhurst at Trafalgar Square.

occupy a seat there, such as men have. The Government does not know its own mind, it changes so. But we do know that we want the vote, and mean to have it. When the people in Parliament Square—

Mr. Muskett interrupted: Did Mrs. Drummond address the meeting?—Yes, sir. She is one of the active leaders?—Oh yes, very active.

I only want this fact. We summoned the defendants to appear in the morning, and you served that summons that morning for them to attend here on Monday afternoon at half-past three?—Yes.

I want to know about this question as to whether they promised to attend here or not?—Well, Miss Christabel. I saw her alone, and she said, "We are not afraid. We shall be there."

Then they were served with a summons to appear on the following morning at eleven o'clock?—Yes.

And as they did not put in an appearance then, a warrant was issued?—Yes. And you had to wait there for them until they surrendered to you?—Yes.

Cross-examination by Miss Pankhurst.

Miss Pankhurst began by questioning Mr. Jarvis as to whether they had promised to attend the police-court on the summons being served, and eventually drew from him the admission that they had made no definite statement to that effect, though the impression that they were coming had existed in his mind. He added that he regarded the word of the Suffragettes as reliable.

Miss Pankhurst: Well, now, with regard to this bill. Are you aware that the bill which we gave you was a proof, and that when we spoke of enlarging the word *rush* we were referring to an instruction to the printer?—Very likely that was so.

Now, you were in Trafalgar-square on Sunday. You saw the crowd? It was an orderly crowd?—It was an orderly crowd.

Don't you think it was a more orderly, more respectable crowd than most crowds which assemble there?—I don't know about that. As a rule they are orderly.

But still, it was a very orderly crowd? Did you see Mr. Lloyd George amongst the crowd?—I did not see him.

But you heard he was there?—Yes.

You heard the speeches. Did you think them very inflammatory in their character?—You meant to get everybody down to Parliament-square to rush the House.

Did we advise them to use weapons, to throw stones? Did we advise them to attack any persons? Did we advise them to destroy property?—No.

We did not advise them to rush private premises or damage any property. We simply urged them to come and rush the House of Commons. Now, did the word "rush" convey to your mind the idea that we wanted to get inside the House?—Yes.

And it was obvious to you that if no resistance were offered we should make a peaceable entry? We expressed no desire to do damage to property?—No.

Very good. I wonder if your memory goes back, Mr. Jarvis, to the days of the riots in which Mr. John Burns was concerned?—No, it does not.

But, of course, you are familiar with the facts, and you know that the crowd on that occasion was far more disorderly than that which assembled in Parliament-square. Compare the actual damage done—I mean on the 13th—with John Burns' Trafalgar-square meeting, and you agree that there was far more violence, more damage done?—I did not hear his speech.

You did not hear his speech, but, of course, it is a matter of common knowledge that he incited people to violence, and you know, of course, that he is in the Government to-day, and from being a law-breaker he is now a law-maker? Does it occur to you that we may follow the same course?—I beg your pardon?

Does it occur to you that we may become law-makers—at the ballot-box? (No answer.)

Did you hear Mr. Thorne, M.P., advise people to make a rush? Now, does it occur to you that it is because this gentleman is a member of Parliament that (on the principle of there being honour among thieves) the Government would not proceed against him? Or do you think the reason rather is that because he is a man and a voter the Government have less courage in dealing with him than with us?

Can you say that the crowd last night showed any feelings of great anger?—They threw themselves upon the police in the usual way. Some of them were very fiery indeed.

But less violent than they were in Trafalgar-square in the days of '86?—Yes. Now, as to the injuries. Is it within your knowledge that 10 people were injured and taken to hospital?—Yes, there were 10 went to the hospital.

On the whole, however, very little permanent trouble has ensued as the result of that demonstration?—Well, the police were very lenient.

As a matter of fact, no damage was done worth mentioning, either to person or property?—That is so.

Cross-examination by Mrs. Pankhurst.

I should like to ask one question about the report of my speech. You said that I said "women had not seats in the House of Commons"—was it not that I said "women had no representatives in the House of Commons?"—I am not sure.

Now, with regard to the serving of the summons. You are no doubt aware that I was in the office, and that I had been there to take full responsibility, so that proves that I was not likely to evade in any way. Now, when you finally served the summons upon me at Clements Inn, I did not say that I should or should not go, did I?—No, but the impression I formed was that you were all coming in the afternoon.

But nothing that I said to you led you to form that impression?—Except what I have just said.

Well now, do you remember on the occasion of the Trafalgar-square meeting addressed by John Burns there was stone throwing in Northumberland-avenue?—I have heard of it.

You did not see it yourself?—No.

Like Mr. Wells, you have known this agitation, and have seen a great deal of it. We have never either threatened or shown any desire to do damage to property or person?—No.

Cross-examination by Mrs. Drummond.

With reference to my speech on Sunday, I should like to ask you, did you find that my speech was more violent or inciting to violence than the unemployed



Christabel Pankhurst at Trafalgar Square.

speeches on the Saturday before?—Well, at any rate, it was quite illegal to ask them to come and rush the House of Commons.

You do not think that my efforts were to incite the people to violence and destroy property?—You wanted to get as many people as you possibly could in Parliament-square and rush the House.

Of course, you remember that we acted on the advice of John Bright?—(No reply.)

Do you remember the remarks made by Mr. Lloyd George in Swansea the other day? He incited his stewards to "ruthlessly fling the women out." Do you not agree with me that this is inciting to violence?—I cannot say.

Don't you really think that it was more inflammatory than my speech on Sunday?—As a matter of fact, I never heard Mr. Lloyd George.

Well, I am just telling you. Do you not think that he was inciting to violence more than I did in my speech on Sunday?—(No reply.)

Well, I think the Court will agree with me that he was. After a further inspector had been called whose evidence was not material, the case for the prosecution closed.

Miss Pankhurst again applied for an adjournment, which was granted for a week. Bail was allowed; £100 from each person with two sureties of £50 each.

The Hearing on Wednesday, October 21.

On Mr. Curtis Bennett, the magistrate, taking his seat, Mr. Muskett said the case for the prosecution was concluded last week. The magistrate, addressing the defendants, said: I would just make one suggestion. It may be for the benefit of two gentlemen who are here, that before you make any remarks their evidence should be taken, because they have, I know, important engagements elsewhere.

Miss Pankhurst: I desire first to submit that, as a matter of law, you ought not to bind us over at all, having regard to the form of the summonses and the nature of the evidence that has been adduced by the prosecution in support of them.

The Magistrate: Won't you submit that afterwards?

Miss Pankhurst: I think, with your permission, it might be well to submit it now.

The Magistrate: I am only suggesting that you should call these two gentlemen first.

Miss Pankhurst: Do I understand that if I take their evidence now it will be open for me to raise this later?

The Magistrate: Certainly.

Mr. Lloyd George's Evidence.

Mr. Lloyd George then went into the witness-box.

Miss Pankhurst: You are Mr. Lloyd George?—Yes.

Privy Councillor and Chancellor of the Exchequer?—Yes.

Were you present at the meeting addressed by Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Drummond, and myself in Trafalgar-square on October 11?—I think I was there for about ten minutes. I believe I heard Mrs. Pankhurst—partly.

Did you see a copy of the bills which were being distributed to members of the audience?—Yes. A young lady gave it to me the moment I arrived—it invited me to rush the House of Commons.

How did you interpret the invitation conveyed to you as a member of the audience? What did you think we wanted you to do?—I really should not like to place an interpretation upon the document. I don't think it is quite my function, Miss Pankhurst.

Well, I am speaking to you as a member of the general public.—I heard what Mrs. Pankhurst said, and I thought she placed the interpretation you desired to be put upon the document.

I want to deal with the matter in this way. First of all to get the meaning conveyed by the bill, quite apart from anything you may have heard said; and then we must throw some light upon the meaning of the bill by examining the words which were spoken on the platform. Let us take the bill itself. Imagine you were not at the meeting at all, but were walking up the Strand, and someone gave you a copy of this bill, and you read it—"Help the Suffragettes to rush the House of Commons." And suppose you forgot you were a member of the Government and regarded yourself just as an ordinary person like myself—quite unofficial. You get this bill. What would you think you were called upon to do?—Really, I should not like to be called upon to undertake so difficult a task as to interpret that document.

Now, this word "rush," which seems to be at the bottom of it all. What does it mean?—I understood the invitation from Mrs. Pankhurst was to force an entrance to the House of Commons.

No, no. I want you to keep your mind centred on the bill. Let us forget what Mrs. Pankhurst said. What did the bill say?—I really forget what the bill said.

I can refresh your memory. The bill said, "Help the Suffragettes to rush the House of Commons."—Yes; that's it.

I want you to define the word "rush"?—I cannot undertake to do that. You can't offer any definition of the word "rush"?—No, Miss Pankhurst, I cannot.

Well, I will suggest some to you. I find that in Chambers' English Dictionary one of the meanings of the word is an "eager demand." Now, what do you think of that?—I can't enter into competition with Chambers' Dictionary. I am prepared to accept it.

"Urgent pressure of business." That is another meaning. Ogilvie gives the same meaning—"eager demand." Now, if you were asked to help the Suffragettes to make an eager demand to the House of Commons that they should give votes to women, would you feel we were calling upon you to do an illegal act?—That is not for me to say.

The Magistrate: The witness is perfectly right. That is for me to say on the evidence. I have not interfered so far.

Miss Pankhurst: Here is another sense in which the word "rush" is used, and I think it will be of some interest to you. We use it in this connection—to rush bills through Parliament.

Witness: Yes, I think I have some experience of that!

Miss Pankhurst: "On the rush," we are told in another dictionary, means in a hurry. There is nothing unlawful in being in a hurry?

The Magistrate: I have already said you must address those remarks to me afterwards.

Miss Pankhurst: Did you understand we asked you to go in a hurry to the House of Commons to make this eager demand for enfranchisement? Was which the bill cannot express any I can only give evidence as to what I really saw. You can't tell me of the public, the meaning conveyed to you?—I opinion as to that. dence as to what

You can't tell me of the public,

The Magistrate: must take my ruling.

Miss Pankhurst you tell me at all you heard Mrs. Trafalgar-square?—

Miss Pankhurst. If giving my vague do so.

I should like to recollection is that

sisted upon the right access to the House she said if that was

to force an entrance, crowd to assist her.

vague impression of used.

Did you hear this: "On Tuesday evening, at Caxton Hall, we shall ask those who support the women to come to Parliament-square. There will be a deputation of women, who have no rights in the House of Commons such as men have. The Government does not know its own mind, it changes so; but we know we want the vote and mean to have it"?—Yes; I was there when Mrs. Pankhurst said that.

She was the only speaker you heard?—Yes.

Now, what impression did you form from the demeanour of the crowd in Trafalgar-square as to whether they were likely to respond to this invitation to rush the House of Commons?—I thought they were a very unlikely crowd to respond.

You didn't think they would come?—Not from the demeanour of the crowd—certainly not.

You thought that although we issued the invitation it would not be accepted?—Not by that particular crowd.

Did you think on other grounds that there would be a large public response to this invitation?—That I should not like to say.



Mr. Lloyd George cannot define the word "rush."

which the bill cannot express any I can only give evidence as to what I really saw.

what you, as a member understood?

Miss Pankhurst, you please.

(to witness): Can what were the words Pankhurst use in I really could not, you insist upon my recollection I shall

have it.—My vague Mrs. Pankhurst in-

of women to have of Commons, and refused they meant and she invited the I am only giving a the words that were

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Did you hear the speaker threaten any violence to you or to any member of the Government?—Oh, no, Miss Pankhurst.

She didn't invite others to attack you in any way?—Oh, no.

She didn't urge the people to come armed?—Oh, no; I never heard anything of that sort.

There was no suggestion that public or private property should be in any way damaged?—Oh, I do not suggest anything of that sort.

You heard nothing of that kind?—No, Miss Pankhurst.

What did you anticipate that the consequence would be to you yourself personally if the public responded to the invitation to rush the House of Commons?—Well, I didn't think it was very formidable.

You didn't think you would be hurt?—(The witness smiled and shook his head.)

Or that any of your colleagues would be hurt?—Oh, there was no suggestion of any personal violence to anybody.

No suggestion of violence at all. Then you are able to tell me that the speeches were not inflammatory. They were not likely to incite to violence?—I should not like to express an opinion as to what the result would be of inviting a crowd of people to force an entrance to the House of Commons. I should not have thought it possible to do that without some violence.

You didn't hear any violence advocated?—Except to force an entrance to the House of Commons.

You didn't hear the word "force"?—I have only a very vague impression as to the words used. If Mrs. Pankhurst says she didn't use the word force I would not contradict her.

There were no words so likely to incite to violence as the advice you gave at Swansea, that women should be ruthlessly flung out of your meeting?

Mr. Muskett: That is quite irrelevant.

The Magistrate: That was a private meeting, and not of the same character.

Miss Pankhurst: A public meeting.

The Magistrate: Well, it is private in a sense.

Miss Pankhurst: They are private nowadays. That is quite true. (To witness): You didn't hear any speeches made by myself or by Mrs. Drummond?

The Magistrate: The witness has already said he only heard Mrs. Pankhurst.

The Witness: I only heard Mrs. Pankhurst for about ten minutes or a quarter of an hour.

Am I right in assuming that you read the official organ of our society?—Well, I only read, I think, one copy that was kindly sent me by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

You didn't read the copy in which Mrs. Pankhurst issued a manifesto dealing with the plans for the 13th?—No; I don't think it was included in that.

Listening to the speeches in Trafalgar-square, what did you gather as to the object we had in view in planning a rush to the House of Commons?—I was not quite clear.

You were not quite clear as to the object?—No, except to force an entrance to the House of Commons; that is all I heard.

Did you gather for what reason this rush had been planned?

The Magistrate: You are not entitled to cross-examine your own witness. I am loth to stop you. I should have stopped counsel before this.

Miss Pankhurst: I rather anticipated this difficulty; and I looked up "Taylor on Evidence," and I saw words which I thought gave me a good deal of latitude.

(To witness): Were you in the neighbourhood of the House of Commons on the evening of the 13th?—I was in the House of Commons, Miss Pankhurst.

Before you reached the House of Commons you were necessarily in the street, and you saw something of what took place?—Yes, I saw a little bit.

You were not alone, I think?—No, I had my little girl with me.

How old is she?—She is six.

Did you think it safe to bring her out?—Certainly. She was very amused.

You thought it was quite safe for a child of those tender years to be amongst the crowd?—I was not amongst the crowd.

You thought that, in spite of the contemplated rush, you were safe to have her inside and outside the House of Commons?—Yes, considering the police arrangements.

Were the streets crowded?—Not by the House. You see I only brought her from Downing-street to the House, and I think that was clear.

Were you in the crowd yourself?—No; it was quite clear.

Did you see any women you supposed to be members of our Union?—I don't think I did.

Did you see any women arrested?—I was not anywhere near that.

Had you any opportunity of noticing the attitude of the crowd?—I don't think there was much of a crowd by the House of Commons. I think it was on the Embankment; so I heard.

Had you any opportunity of seeing any arrests or what was going on in the crowded part?—No, Miss Pankhurst, I did not see the crowd at all.

Were you yourself attacked or assaulted in any way?—Oh! dear me, no.

Did you apprehend any attack or assault?—No.

Can you tell me, according to your own knowledge, what harm has resulted from the events of the 13th?—I don't think I can tell you that.

You can't tell me?—No, Miss Pankhurst.

Do you know of any serious injury having taken place?—I should not like to express any opinion. It is hardly my function in the witness-box.

The prosecution asserts that a serious breach of the peace took place. Do you concur with that statement?

The Magistrate: The Chancellor of the Exchequer would have nothing to do with that.

Miss Pankhurst: I believe you are a lawyer?—Well, I hope I am.

Don't you think the offence alleged against us would be more properly described as unlawful assembly?—There again, I was not put in the witness-box to express an opinion of that sort.

The Magistrate: That has nothing to do with Mr. Lloyd George.

Miss Pankhurst: Of course, I am subject to your guidance, your worship. (To witness): You have seen the form of summons issued against us?—No.

You don't know with what we are charged?—No, I don't really.

The Magistrate: Have you any other question?

Miss Pankhurst: Well, I think it is desirable he should know. But I am subject to your guidance.

Witness: I have nothing to do with it.

Miss Pankhurst: You know we are asked to show cause why we should not be bound over for having incited people to commit an unlawful act?—I take it from you, Miss Pankhurst, but I don't know.

Miss Pankhurst: Yet the result of the summons being in this form is that we are denied the right of trial by jury.

The Magistrate: The witness has nothing to do with that. That is the law of the land.

Miss Pankhurst: Does it occur to you that the authorities, in choosing this form of procedure against us, deliberately wished to deprive us of the right to trial by jury?

The Magistrate: That, again, is not a question for the witness.

Miss Pankhurst: May I put the question if you think it a very serious thing—this proposal to rush the House of Commons?

Witness: Oh, yes. I should have thought you would have thought that too, Miss Pankhurst.

Still, it is in the nature of a political offence?—Well, I should not like to say anything about that. In fact, I am simply here as a witness to give evidence of what I saw. I really cannot go into the political aspect of the matter.

You are aware that we argue that, as we are deprived of a share in the election of Parliamentary representatives, we are entitled to go in person to the House of Commons?—That was a point put by Mrs. Pankhurst.

Do you agree with that point of view?—I should not like to express an opinion.

The Magistrate: It is not for the witness to express an opinion.

Miss Pankhurst: I should like to put this question, Do you think that coercion is the right way of dealing with political disturbers?

The Magistrate: That, again, is not for the witness.

Miss Pankhurst: You refuse to answer?

Witness: I don't refuse to answer, but I must obey the decision of the Bench that I cannot express an opinion about things in the witness-box.

Miss Pankhurst: Am I to understand that an answer must not be given to that?

The Magistrate: No.

Miss Pankhurst: Not even if the witness would like to do so?

The Magistrate: No.

Miss Pankhurst: Well, is it likely to be a successful way of dealing with political disturbances?

The Magistrate: That, again, is not admissible.

Miss Pankhurst: But for these restrictions, your worship . . . ! (To witness): Can you tell me whether any interference with public order took place in connection with previous movements for franchise reform?—I should have thought that was an historical fact, Miss Pankhurst.

Have you yourself taken part in any such movement? Does your mind go back to 1884?

The Magistrate: That is cross-examination. Your witness cannot go into that.

Miss Pankhurst: In a sense, he is my witness.

The Magistrate: In every sense at present.

Mr. Lloyd George's Encouragement.

Miss Pankhurst: Have we not received encouragement from you, or, if not from you, from your colleagues, to take action of this kind?

Witness: I should be very much surprised to hear that, Miss Pankhurst.

You would be surprised to hear that?—Very.

You deny that we have been encouraged by Liberal statesmen to take action of this kind?—I simply express astonishment at the statement.

Miss Pankhurst: Have you ever heard these words spoken by us at Trafalgar-square or by any Liberal statesman? "I am sorry to say that if no instructions had ever been addressed in political crises to the people of this country, except to remember to hate violence and love order and exercise patience, the liberties of this country would never have been attained"—have you heard these words before?—I cannot call them to mind.

Miss Pankhurst: These were the words of William Ewart Gladstone.—I accept your statement, Miss Pankhurst.

Miss Pankhurst: Is not that encouragement to such actions as we have taken?—You ask me a question of opinion again. I am not competent to express an opinion in the witness-box.

Were you present in the House of Commons when Mr. Herbert Gladstone gave advice to the women of this movement, while addressing the House on women's suffrage?—No, Miss Pankhurst.

Miss Pankhurst: You were not present.—When was it?

In this present Parliament?—I don't remember.

You don't know, then, that he encouraged us to action of this kind?

The Magistrate: He says he doesn't remember.

Witness: I don't think I heard him on the subject. I was probably attending to the duties of my department.

Miss Pankhurst: Is it not a fact that you yourself have set us an example of revolt?

The Magistrate: You need not answer that question.

Miss Pankhurst: Well, your worship, my point of view was—

The Magistrate: You must not attack your own witness.

Miss Pankhurst: My point of view was that, when it comes to the moment when you make your decision, you will inquire a little into the motive.

The Magistrate: Yes, but you must not attack your own witness.

Mr. Lloyd George: I certainly never incited a crowd to violence.

Miss Pankhurst: Not in the Welsh graveyard case?—No.

You did not tell them to break down the wall and disinter a body?—I gave advice which was found by the Court of Appeal to be sound legal advice.

Miss Pankhurst: We think we are giving sound legal advice, too. Are you aware that in planning the action of the 13th we were carrying out literally the advice given by Liberal statesmen?—Oh, I could not tell you.

You don't know that John Bright advised the people to take a precisely similar course?—No, Miss Pankhurst.

Are you aware that Mr. Chamberlain in 1884 threatened precisely the same action?—I did not know.

You don't know that he threatened to march 100,000 men on London?

The Magistrate: He has answered the question—he never heard of it.

Miss Pankhurst: Do you know what action was taken against him by the Liberal Government? Was he prosecuted?

Witness: Miss Pankhurst, I have already said that I do not remember the incident you refer to.

You might remember Mr. Chamberlain being in the dock?—I don't know.

You don't know what action the House of Commons took? Your mind is a blank upon the subject?—Since you put it to me, I don't believe Mr. Chamberlain ever threatened to use violence and break the law.

I must refer you to the pages of Hansard.—Certainly.

Do you know what advice another eminent statesman gave? Do you know that Lord Randolph Churchill urged the men of Ulster to fight, and said they would be right? He advised them to use the arbitrament of force?—Yes.

Did he ever stand in the dock? Was he prosecuted? Yet are you not of opinion that he incited to violence more than we have done?—Well, I think I have already told you, Miss Pankhurst, I cannot express opinions here in the witness-box.

Miss Pankhurst again quoted from "Taylor on Evidence" as to the discretion of the magistrate in allowing questions to be put to a witness who obviously appeared to be hostile or interested for the other party.

The Magistrate: I have seen neither one nor the other.

Miss Pankhurst: Or unwilling to give evidence.

The Magistrate: I think the witness is giving his evidence most fairly.

Miss Pankhurst: I think I need not trouble him with any further questions.

Questions by Mrs. Pankhurst.

Mrs. Pankhurst: I should like to ask Mr. Lloyd George one further question about his being present with his little girl. You remember you told my daughter that you anticipated no danger for your little girl, and that you were rather amused?

Mr. Lloyd George: I said the little girl was amused.

You took her out to be amused by the sight of the crowd?—She wanted to see the crowd, and I took her out.

Don't you think that from that fact we might gather that probably if it had been less possible for your little girl to go out to be amused that the people with whom you are associated would have taken the thing a great deal more seriously? That the very self-restraint which allowed your little daughter to go out and be amused—I am not sure as to the question you are putting, but I think you are asking me for an opinion again. I am here to give evidence as to facts.

I want to ask you a question about what you heard me say on Sunday. Did I ask the crowd to help the women get into the House of Commons because it was the people's House of Commons; women formed part of the people, and they had as much right to be represented there as men?—Yes, that seemed to be the argument.

Then perhaps you remember I said that since women were not in the position of men, and could not send representatives to press their claim on the Government, they had a constitutional right to go there themselves?—Now that you remind me, I remember your saying that.

And that they were unlawfully shut out from the House of Commons?—Yes, that was the argument.

Mrs. Pankhurst: Now, I put it to you, Mr. Lloyd George, to show cause why we should not be bound over.

Mr. Lloyd George: Well, you have asked me to come here and go into the witness-box to say what I have seen, that is all.

The Magistrate: Yes, that is the only thing a witness can do.

Mrs. Pankhurst: I want to ask you whether we can ask Mr. Lloyd George some questions—

The Magistrate: You have asked him a great many.

Mrs. Pankhurst (to the magistrate): Questions which would show you cause why we should not be bound over?

The Magistrate: No, that is for me.

Mrs. Pankhurst: My point is that the evidence he would give would assist you.

The Magistrate: Well, the evidence he has given will assist me.

Mrs. Pankhurst: But we want him to give more. I want to ask him some further questions about what he and other Liberal statesmen have advised people to do.

The Magistrate: We have had a great deal of that from your daughter. Do you wish to have it again?

Mrs. Pankhurst: I want to ask you whether, in your opinion, the whole of this agitation which women are carrying on, very much against the grain, would not be immediately stopped if women got their constitutional rights conceded to them?—I should think that is very likely.

I want to ask you whether, in your opinion, the women who are in the dock here to-day are women who are ordinary law-breakers, or who would have occasion to come into this Court for any other than political reasons?—No, of course not.

Questions by Mrs. Drummond.

Mrs. Drummond: When you received the bill in Trafalgar-square, did you say anything to the lady who gave it you?—No; I took it from her.

Did you not consider it would rather be your duty to draw attention to the bill to the lady who gave it to you?—It is not my business. Certainly not.

Mrs. Drummond: Well, I am asking you as a responsible member of the public.—Well, the Commissioner of Police would be the person to attend to that.

Mrs. Drummond: Did you draw the attention of the police to the bill?—No.

Mrs. Drummond: I should like to ask Mr. Lloyd George this question. Many times he has refused to answer me. When do you intend to put a stop to these things by giving us the vote?

The Magistrate: That is not a question.

Mrs. Drummond: Perhaps he cannot answer me; but there is one thing, he cannot run away. You refuse to answer?

The Magistrate: You cannot ask it.

Mrs. Drummond: You and your colleagues are more to blame for this agitation.

The Magistrate: You must not make a statement.

Mrs. Drummond: You see, we ladies don't get a chance.

Mr. Lloyd George (smiling): Indeed, you do.

Mr. Muskett did not cross-examine the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Miss Brackenbury and Mr. Horace Smith.

Mr. Curtis Bennett at this point wished Miss Pankhurst to call Mr. Herbert Gladstone, but Miss Pankhurst asked leave to call one other witness first. The magistrate demurred, and Miss Pankhurst said: "I have only one question to put to this lady."

The Magistrate: Very well, then, *one* question.

Miss Marie Brackenbury, in reply to Miss Pankhurst, said she had suffered six weeks' imprisonment in connection with the votes for women agitation.

Miss Pankhurst: Did Mr. Horace Smith tell you that in sentencing you to that term he was doing what he was told?

"You must not put that question," said the magistrate; but the witness had already replied, "He did."

Miss Pankhurst: The witness has said "Yes" upon oath.

Mr. Gladstone's Evidence.

Mr. Herbert Gladstone, the Home Secretary, was next called, and questioned by Miss Pankhurst.

By virtue of your office as Home Secretary have you not immediate control over the Metropolitan police?—No, not exactly immediate control.

Then who has immediate control?—The Commissioner.

And he is responsible to you?—To me.

You also appoint the police-magistrates in the metropolis, and the regulation of the business of their courts is entirely in your hands?

The Magistrate: You must not go into questions of State, you know. That is clearly laid down.

Miss Pankhurst: You are, therefore, ultimately responsible for the proceedings which have been taken against us?—The responsible department.

Did you not, as a matter of fact, instruct the Commissioner of Police to take the present proceedings?

Mr. Muskett: I object to that.

The Magistrate: That question cannot be answered.

Miss Pankhurst: Are the Government as a whole responsible for these proceedings?

Mr. Muskett: I object to that.

The Magistrate: That, again, you cannot put.

Miss Pankhurst: Did you instruct Mr. Horace Smith to decide against Miss Brackenbury and give her six weeks?

The Magistrate: You cannot put that question either.

Miss Pankhurst: It is a pity that the public interest should suffer on that account. (To witness): Did you ever give any instructions to Mr. Horace Smith?

Mr. Muskett: I object to this. It is contempt of Court to continue putting these questions.

Miss Pankhurst: The public will answer them. (To witness): What do you suggest is the meaning of what Mr. Horace Smith has said?

The Magistrate: The same ruling applies. This witness is here to answer any question you have got to ask him about what he saw when he was in Parliament-square on the day in question.

Miss Pankhurst: Is this question permissible? Did you see a copy of the bill issued by us inviting the public to the House of Commons?—I have seen it.

The Magistrate: If it was shown to you in your official capacity it is not admissible.

Witness: I am under your ruling, sir.

Miss Pankhurst: Was it given to you as an ordinary member of the public in the street?—No, certainly not.

Can you define the word "rush"? What impression has it made on your mind?—I can hardly give any definition of it, but a rush implies force.

Do you deny that it implies speed rather than force?—Speed generally involves force.

Miss Pankhurst: Suppose I am standing near the door of the House, and I run up the steps—I have rushed the House of Commons?—Yes, but I should say you must exert a considerable amount of force to do that.

Energy, perhaps, but I should not offer any force to anybody or anything?—I hope not.

—I suggest that it is possible to rush the House without attacking anybody or hurting anybody?—If you ask me that, I don't think it is possible.

Miss Pankhurst: Not according to present regulations, perhaps. There are so many people in one's way. We did not know what amount of force would be directed against us.

Mr. Muskett: Put questions, please.

Miss Pankhurst: I think it is important we should ascertain how this is understood.

The Magistrate: He has told you he thought it meant force. You must take the answer.

Miss Pankhurst: Were you anticipating you would be in bodily danger as a consequence of the issue of this bill?—I didn't think of it at all. I didn't think whether the possibility existed or not.

You are like us. You are above those considerations. You were not in fear?—No, not at all.

Did you think public property was in danger as a consequence of this bill having been issued?—Do you mean on the 13th?

Yes, as a consequence of this bill.—I thought it was quite possible.

You thought the public would be violent?—I thought there would be danger from the crowds.

Then you were agreeably disappointed on the morning of the 14th, when you found no harm had been done?—No, I was not. The police measures were sufficient to stop any serious accident or danger.

You were in the street on the 13th?—Yes.

Did you see the public make any attack on anybody? Do you think that, but for the action of the police, they would have assaulted you?—I was in the street for a very short time.

During the time did you form the impression that, but for the protection of the police, your life would have been in danger?—Not my life. Certainly the

situation required very strong and careful action by the police.

You were in the street on the 13th. Did you see the public make any attack on anybody?—I was only in the street for a short while.

Do you assert that the crowd showed a hostile spirit?—I was only in one or two places.

But you can speak for that portion of the crowd that you did see?—I saw a certain crowd at six o'clock when I went out.

Was their demeanour violent or hostile? Did you feel that but for the line of police protecting you they would have rushed upon you and attacked you?—The police were not protecting me.

Had it not been for the presence of the police, do you think you would have been attacked by the crowd?—I don't know what object the crowd would have in attacking me. I didn't consider it.

You didn't feel in fear?—I felt no personal fear.

Did any other person seem in danger of attack?—The police gave them very little chance.

What made you think them a dangerous or hostile crowd?—Of course, I am quite accustomed to seeing these crowds, and I know what has happened before. What has happened?—Disorderly scenes.

You mean in connection with our demonstrations?—It is not for me to connect disorder with your demonstrations. I am referring to crowds which have assembled during the last two years.

What harm have they done?—Very little, as it happened.

What harm have they attempted to do?—That is not for me to answer.

Have they attempted to do more than secure an interview with the Prime Minister?

The Magistrate: That is not a question for him to answer.

Miss Pankhurst: We will get back to the 13th. Do you think anyone was obstructed in their passage to the House?—I cannot speak for other people.

You saw no attempt to waylay members or Ministers?

The Magistrate: He hasn't said he did. You must not cross-examine your own witness.

Miss Pankhurst: Well, but for the presence of the police do you think you would have been attacked by the crowd?—I do not know what object the crowd would have had in attacking me.

Did you see the crowd do any harm whatever?—I did not.

Now you saw a portion of the crowd. Did you see them attack property?—No, certainly not.

Did you see them attack any person?—Not where I was.

Did you see them do any harm whatsoever?—No, I did not.

What were these people doing?—There was a great crowd.

But a great crowd assembles when the King goes to open Parliament.—Presumably they were waiting to rush the House of Commons.

Did you see any women whom you identified as Suffragists?—I didn't see many women.

Did you see any women wearing our colours, purple, white, and green?—I did not notice any.

Did you see any arrests?—I saw no arrests.

Did you see anyone injured?—No.

Did you hear of anyone being injured?—I have seen it stated that certain police-constables were injured.

You did not hear that ten people were received in hospital, but discharged?—I know nothing about that.

Will you tell me what harm has resulted from what took place?—All I can say is that there were thirty-seven arrests and over forty complaints of losses of purses and watches.

Comparing that with the net result of a Lord Mayor's Show crowd, or any sort of procession, really less harm resulted?—I could not say that.

I suppose I may not ask how many policemen were on duty?

The Magistrate: I don't suppose the Home Secretary knows that.

Miss Pankhurst: I suppose I may not ask these questions either. This would have been more suitable to the other witness (Mr. Lloyd George). What has been the cost to the country?

The Magistrate: We cannot go into these questions.

Miss Pankhurst: Will you tell me why we were not charged with unlawful assembly?—I cannot tell you.

You know the consequence to be that we are deprived of trial by jury?—You tell me. I am not acquainted with the particular part of the law you are referring to.

If I say that the reason is that the Government are afraid to send us to a jury . . . (Continuing) What have you to say with regard to our contention that the offence with which we are charged is a political offence?

The Magistrate: You must not put that question.

Miss Pankhurst: How do you define political offence?—I wish you would give me a good definition. I am often asked that question in the House of Commons.

Well, with the Magistrate's permission, I will. A political offence is one committed in connection with political disturbances and with a political motive.—I don't think that a sufficient explanation.

If I am at liberty after this day's proceedings are over, I shall have pleasure in sending you a fuller account. Do you recollect that when a deputation of women went to the House of Commons, instead of being allowed to enter they were arrested?—I have no immediate knowledge of that. I have a general recollection.

Do you remember that when a deputation went to the House of Commons to see the Prime Minister instead of being allowed to enter they were arrested?

The Magistrate: That does not arise on the issue.

Miss Pankhurst: It throws a little light on it.

The Magistrate: Please do obey, otherwise I shall have to stop it altogether. I have given you much more licence than I should give counsel.

Miss Pankhurst: In the action we took on the 13th, is it within your knowledge that in taking that action we were acting on advice given by yourself?—I wish you would take my advice.

We are trying to take it. What did you mean when you said men had used *force majeure* in demanding the vote?—If you hand me the speech I daresay I can tell you.

I have a copy of the speech.

The Magistrate: How is this material as to what Mr. Gladstone saw? You are cross-examining your own witness, Miss Pankhurst, and you must not do that.

Miss Pankhurst: May I not ask any explanation whatever as to the counsel given to us?

The Magistrate: No, you may not.

Miss Pankhurst: We never have any other opportunity. May I ask whether he made certain statements? (To witness): Did you say it was impossible not to sympathise with the eagerness and passion which have actuated so many women on this subject?—Yes.

Did you say you were entirely in favour of the principle of woman's suffrage?—Yes.

Did you say men had had to struggle for centuries for their political rights?—Yes.

Did you say that they had to fight from the time of Cromwell, and for the last 130 years the warfare had been perpetual?—Yes.

Did you say that on this question experience showed that predominance of argument alone—and you believed that had been attained—was not enough to win the political day. Did you say that?—Yes.

Predominance of argument alone will not win the political day. Did you say that we are in the stage of what is called "academic discussion," which serves for ventilation of pious opinions, and is accompanied, you admit, by no effective action on the part of the Government, or of political parties, or of voters throughout the country?—Yes.

Did you say that members of the House of Commons reflect the opinion of the country, not only in regard to the number of people outside, but in regard to the intensity of the feeling in support of a movement, and that the Government must necessarily be a reflex of the party which brought it into being?—Yes.

Did you say this, "There comes a time when political dynamics are far more important than political arguments"? You said that?—Yes.

And that "Men had learned this lesson"?—Yes.

And that they know the necessity for demonstrating that *force majeure* which

actuates and arms a Government for effective work?—Yes. I think it a most excellent speech. (Laughter.)

I agree with you. Did you say that that was the task before the supporters of this great movement?—Yes.

Did you speak of people assembling in tens of thousands in the 'thirties, 'sixties, and 'eighties, and do you know that we have done it on Woodhouse Moor and in Hyde Park?—Yes.

Why don't you give us the vote then? (Laughter.) Are you aware of the words your distinguished father spoke on the matter?—I heard the quotation.

Do you assent to the proposition he laid down?—Yes.

Then you cannot condemn our methods any more?—That is hardly a matter for my opinion.

It is a very interesting question, though. I think I need not trouble you further.

Questions by Mrs. Pankhurst.

Mrs. Pankhurst: I want to ask Mr. Gladstone if he is aware that the consequence of our being ordered to be bound over is that we cannot consent and we shall go to prison?

The Magistrate: law, not for the

Mrs. Pankhurst: us, if we go to prison, stone will see that prisoners.

That you must not

Mrs. Pankhurst: Gladstone this—if the City-square in night 10,000 people, assembled, and dissentients, a resolute Government to Bill during this

Mr. Muskett: for Mr. Gladstone.

Well, Mr. Gladstone o.h.r political ques-

(Continuing) I Gladstone whether morning that this is—I suppose it is a get the franchise for women.

Do you think we should be likely to break the criminal law if we had the same means of representation as men?—I am sure your motive is excellent. It is a hypothetical question which I cannot answer.

Mrs. Pankhurst: I will ask Mr. Gladstone whether in his opinion he thinks we should be treated as ordinary criminals—searched, stripped, and put into the cells, as though we were drunkards or pickpockets?

The Magistrate: You must not put that question.

This concluded Mr. Gladstone's evidence, and as he and Mr. Lloyd George were about to leave the Court Miss Pankhurst said: May we tender our warm thanks to these two gentlemen who have done us the favour of coming forward as witnesses?

Miss Pankhurst proceeded to quote numerous authorities in support of her contention that the charge should have been one of unlawful assembly, and that the magistrate had no power to bind the defendants over.

Mr. Curtis Bennett said he would give his decision later.

A Succession of Witnesses.

Miss Pankhurst then produced a great number of witnesses in support of her contention that the crowd on the night of the 13th was an orderly one, and that no violence was done.



Mr. Herbert Gladstone:—"I think it was a most excellent speech."

That is a matter of witness.

If that happens to I hope Mr. Gladstone go as political

The Magistrate: ask.

But may I ask Mr. he is aware that in Leeds on last Friday at six hours' notice, carried, with two lution calling upon pass Mr. Stanger's session?

That is not a question

Mrs. Pankhurst: has answered some tions, sir.

should like to ask Mr. he recognises this a political agitation? political agitation to

Colonel Percy H. H. Massy stated that he was in Victoria-street on the evening of October 13, and in his opinion the crowd was perfectly orderly. He saw nobody attacked or injured.

Lady Constance Lytton said she considered the crowd was remarkably well-behaved and respectable.

Miss Annie Moor stated that she had been more roughly treated at society weddings than she was in this crowd. She was in the crowd on the occasion of Mr. Winston Churchill's marriage, and was much more jostled than on the evening of the 13th.

Mr. Henry Wood Nevinson and Dr. Louisa Garrett Anderson both agreed that the crowds sympathised with the suffragists, and that there was no disorder.

In cross-examination, Dr. Anderson, after some hesitation, said she approved of the bill containing the invitation to "rush" the House.

Mrs. May, replying to Mr. Muskett, said she worked as actively as possible for the cause, but she did not speak or organise. She compared the use of the word "rush" with that of "dash" in a "dash to the pole."

Spiritual Force.

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst said the suffragists' instructions were to meet physical force with spiritual force.

After the luncheon adjournment several witnesses testified that there was never any intention to make use of violence, and that the demeanour of the crowds which collected was perfectly orderly. It was also frequently stated that the people appeared to sympathise with the women more than they had done upon any previous occasion.

Miss Evelyn Sharp, the well-known writer, said she regarded the bill as an invitation to go to the House of Commons, and if possible not to turn back. Witness herself "doubled," and got past the biggest policeman she ever saw. She was, however, afterwards caught by an inspector, and sent back. It was like a rush at hockey.

Albert Rettick said he looked upon the bill as an invitation to the public to support the women in going to the House, and possibly to see fair play.

Miss Florence Elizabeth Macaulay gave historical instances of women going to the House of Commons for the purpose of presenting petitions.

Miss Pankhurst: It appears that we were within our constitutional rights in going to the House?

Witness: I have been a student of history for many years, and I think you were only reviving an ancient custom.

Mrs. Celia M. McKenzie thought the common sense of Mr. Asquith would have caused him to receive a deputation of thirteen quiet ladies.

Sidney Dillon Shallard, a journalist, said the police made a desert of about a quarter of a mile round the House of Commons.

Miss Pankhurst: They made a desert, and called it peace.

At seven o'clock the magistrate, who had constantly refused up to this point to allow any adjournment, agreed to allow an interval of ten minutes. Miss Pankhurst then recalled Superintendent Wells, who admitted considerable police precautions were taken on Monday, October 12, though no Suffragist "rush" was anticipated. At 7.20 the magistrate asked how many more witnesses there were for the defence.

Miss Pankhurst: About fifty. We are sorry to take up the time of the Court, but we are fighting for our liberty.

The hearing was then adjourned until Saturday, the defendants being released on the same bail as before.

The Case Resumed.

Upon the three ladies being brought into Court on Saturday, October 24, the magistrate said: I have carefully considered what steps should be taken by me to prevent the conduct of this case being so continued as to become a serious obstacle in the administration of justice at this Court. I may at once state that simple repetition of the same class of evidence given by the last twenty-four witnesses will not affect my judgment, and therefore I must refuse to hear a continuation of that class of evidence. If you wish me to hear any

particular person or persons on even the same lines of evidence as that already given I will consent now to hear them, but not more than two or three of such witnesses. If the defendants have evidence of a different nature which they wish me to hear I am quite willing to do so, provided it is limited to what is absolutely relevant to the matter before me, and is admissible in point of law. As this may take you a little by surprise I give you half an hour to consider what further evidence you may desire me to hear.

Miss Pankhurst: Would you kindly give us some definition of what evidence you think admissible?

The magistrate repeated that he was not going to take the same class of evidence as that of the witnesses he had already heard. He was willing to hear witnesses who could speak to a different state of facts, if their evidence was relevant.

Mrs. Pankhurst: Would you say what evidence you consider relevant?

The Magistrate: I cannot say more than I have done.

James Murray, M.P.

The case was then put back for a while. Upon resuming, Miss Pankhurst said the first witness they wished to call was Mr. James Murray, M.P. for East Aberdeen. That gentleman went into the witness-box, and was asked by Miss Pankhurst whether he was present at the Suffragists' meeting in Trafalgar-square on the 11th inst.

Witness: I was going into the National Gallery, and saw a congregation of well-dressed people in the square. I think your mother was speaking, but I could not hear anything. What struck me was that the crowd listening to her was composed of exactly the type of men and women who go to Church on Sunday in Scotland.

Miss Pankhurst: Then they must have been very respectable. Did you get a copy of the bill?—No.

I dare say you saw it in the papers?—I saw a statement in the paper.

How did you understand the word "rush"?—I didn't take the matter seriously at all.

The Magistrate: That really is for me, Miss Pankhurst, as I have told you.

Miss Pankhurst: Did you resolve to act on the invitation?—I could not very well, you see, because I was inside the citadel.

The Magistrate: He has the right of entry.

Miss Pankhurst: Were you near Westminster on the 13th?—I was in the House, and sitting down to dinner when I got a telegram sent from the neighbourhood of Bow-street from your mother, asking me to come across here.

The Magistrate: This cannot be relevant.

Witness: In coming here I drove in a hansom up Parliament-street. The whole place was like a besieged city, except that we had police-officers instead of soldiers. A little beyond Dover House the crowd was held back by a cordon, but I had not the slightest difficulty in getting through in a hansom. Afterwards I returned to the House by the Strand and the Embankment, and had very little difficulty in getting back.

Miss Pankhurst: Was it a disorderly crowd?—No; I should think you could say an ordinary London crowd.

Mrs. Pankhurst: Did you come to the conclusion that the persons who had called the meeting desired to incite the crowd to disorder or damage?—No. I thought if it was for any purpose at all it was simply to advertise the cause.

Mrs. Pankhurst: You know something of the women who are conducting this agitation?

Witness: Yes; and I have the highest admiration for them for their earnestness of purpose, ability, and general management of the whole scheme. I don't say I approve of everything they do, but most of it I approve of.

You know they have tried every other political method?—Yes; and if they had been men instead of women they would not have been in the dock now, judging by the past.

Mrs. Pankhurst: Do you agree with Mr. Lloyd George when he said that if the Government would give us what we were asking for this agitation would cease?—I have no doubt it would. I go further than Mr. Lloyd George, and say you are entitled to it.

The Remaining Witnesses.

Dr. Miller McGuire stated that he was at the Trafalgar-square meeting, and heard nothing that anyone could object to. He spent most of the 13th looking at the "performance." There was nothing remotely approaching disorder of any kind.

Miss Agnes Murphy, of Hampstead, said the crowd in Victoria-street was the most orderly she had ever seen. She attributed this to the goodwill of the people towards the women, who had been ill-treated and grossly misrepresented in the Press.

The Magistrate: Those are three witnesses on exactly the same lines as the others.

Miss Pankhurst: We shall be delighted to follow other lines, with your permission.

The Magistrate: If you have any witnesses on different lines I will hear them.

Miss Pankhurst: I can call witnesses on different lines, but I don't know that the lines will be admissible. We can call witnesses to show that in taking this course we are taking the only possible course.

The Magistrate: That will not do.

Miss Pankhurst: We can call witnesses to show that we have been incited to this kind of action by our political opponents, the members of the Government.

The Magistrate: No; that you must not.

Miss Pankhurst: We can call witnesses to testify to our good character.

The Magistrate: That has not been raised in issue.

Miss Pankhurst: Then, if you will permit us to call no further evidence, I will proceed to address the Court.

The luncheon adjournment was then taken, and afterwards Miss Pankhurst stated that some fresh witnesses were forthcoming. One lady had travelled 50 miles to give evidence.

The Magistrate: Is it on the same lines?

Miss Pankhurst: I think that will appear when she is in the box.

The Magistrate: No; I will not hear it.

Miss Pankhurst: I have now to ask you to state a special case.

The Magistrate: Not at present.

Miss Pankhurst then applied for an adjournment, in order that she and her companions might be in a position to do themselves full justice when they addressed the Court.

The Magistrate: You have had a long time to take this matter into consideration. I think you must either address me now or not at all.

Miss Pankhurst: I can only do it under protest, and I want to point out that you are rushing this case through the Court. (Laughter.) You are not setting us at all a good example. I want again to insist upon our right to call further witnesses.

The Magistrate: I have decided that point once and for all. Are you going to address me or not?

The three prisoners then delivered their speeches from the dock. These speeches, which roused great feeling in the Court, are reported verbatim above.

At the close of the speeches, Mr. Muskett, in reply to the magistrate, said Mrs. Drummond had been convicted twice, and the other two defendants had each been dealt with once.

The Magistrate's Decision.

Mr. Curtis Bennett said there could be no doubt that it was for that Court, and that Court alone, to deal with the offence for which the defendants were in the first place summoned. The case of *Wise v. Dunning*, argued in the King's Bench Division on November 19 and 20, 1901, absolutely decided the point, to his mind, as to whether these proceedings were right or wrong. As to the facts, the defendants admitted that they were responsible for the distribution of this handbill, and although they were warned of the danger and difficulty which might arise in consequence of it, they persisted in going on. He had heard the very able speeches of the defendants, but he did not wish to make any further observations upon them, because it was not for him to discuss political

matters. He was simply there for the purpose of endeavouring to carry out the law in order to preserve the peace and well-being of the metropolis, and there could be no question that that handbill, which was circulated, was by its contents liable to cause something to occur which might and probably would end in a breach of the peace. The Chief Commissioner of Police was bound to keep Parliament-square and the vicinity free and open, and he felt that it would be impossible to do that if crowds assembled together in order to help and see the women rush the House of Commons.

Between 5,000 and 6,000 police were required to keep order in consequence of this circular. Ten persons were taken to hospitals, seven policemen were placed on the sick-list, thirty-seven persons were charged at that court the following morning, and it was reported that no fewer than thirty watches were stolen. Could it for one instant be said that that circular asking the public to rush the House of Commons was not liable to create breaches of the peace? Therefore, as to the law there could be no question. To call a number of people to assemble together for that avowed object must bring the persons who called that meeting within the limits of this section, namely, they were doing something which was calculated to bring about a breach of the peace. Each of the two elder defendants would be bound over in their own recognisances of £100, and they must find two sureties in £50 each to keep the peace for twelve months; in default, three months' imprisonment. In the case of the younger defendant, her own recognisances would be £50, with two sureties of £25 each, the alternative being ten weeks' imprisonment.

Miss Pankhurst: I ask you to state a case on a point of law, namely, the construction of the leaflet.

The Magistrate: I shall not state a case.

Miss Pankhurst: I ask you to suspend judgment until after the return of a writ of certiorari.

The magistrate refused.

The prisoners refused to be bound over, and were removed to Holloway Gaol and placed in the second division.

[NOTE.—The Illustrations on pages 27, 31 and 33 are from photographs by the World's Graphic Press. Those on pages 35 and 44 are from photographs kindly lent by "The Daily Mirror."]

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THE CONSTITUTIONAL BASIS

OF

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

BY

Mrs C. C. STOPES,

Author of "British Freewomen," "The Sphere of 'Man,'"
"Shakespeare's Warwickshire Contemporaries,"
&c. &c.

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The Constitutional Basis of Women's Suffrage.

ONE cannot easily grasp the truth of great questions before the country, with minds perturbed by the babel of tongues, and the strife of party and personal discord; one cannot see the effect of the pageant of this world's life in true perspective, because we, who would see it, are in the march ourselves. It is only by standing for awhile, as it were, out of ourselves, seeking for first principles, testing the meaning of terms in their abstract and concrete relations, that we gain some power of interpretation. It is difficult to find an opponent who clearly understands what Women Suffragists ask, and why they ask it. Let it be clear. All parties and all societies who really wish Women's Suffrage (whatever be their differing methods) are united in one claim—"That the Suffrage be granted to women on the same terms as it is, or may be, granted to men." Why do they ask it? I propose to consider this question, by far the greatest which lies before the country or the world, under three heads. What do the facts of British Constitutional History say to it? How does the spirit of the British Constitution affect it? and Why is there so much excitement concerning it to-day? We must premise that there is a certain ambiguity in using the word "vote" as the meaning of the franchise or freedom. That has had other forms in the past, it may take other forms in the future. The British Constitution is in a course of constant evolution, varied by periods of definite retrogression. Even the most radical of reformers acknowledge there is something in the Constitution worthy of being reformed, or deformed, as the case may be. Mr J. Toulmin Smith, the historian, has said, "When we seek the principles of solid liberty, we never need to appeal to our fathers in vain." In appealing to our fathers, against the ruling of our brothers, we women ask, Is the vote necessarily a sex-privilege? And is a temporary majority, among the representatives of a permanent minority of the people of the country, competent to settle this question for all cases, and for all times?

We must go back as far as Magna Charta, at least, to reach the foundation of the people's liberties. It was written in Latin, but the word "Homo" was not only held *then* to mean (as it always does to those who understand it) *man and woman*, but when it was translated into English, a language deficient, through not providing a literal translation for "Homo," it was held that the word "man" should take its place, and always include "woman," except where otherwise expressly stated. In that Charter the prime clause was, "To none will we sell, to none will we delay, to none will we deny the right of justice." That clause was framed expressly to include women, but every one who denies them the vote to-day denies them the justice secured to them by their fathers in Magna Charta.

But, even then, there were two limitations, that of inheritance and that of matrimony. In feudal times, lands were held as of the King's gift, by the tenure of military service. As personal service is generally more reliable than deputed service, there was naturally a preference for males, and all the sons, in order of their birth, of a tenant-in-chief inherited before any of the daughters. When there were only daughters, however, the inheritance did not pass away to any other male relative. The property was divided among them, the title and family honours being generally secured to the eldest. When there was only one daughter, she inherited all the estates held by military or any other service, every title, honour, and privilege of the family, *exactly the same as if she had been a man*. She had the immemorial right of exercising by proxy or deputy, in common with aged or invalid men, any function too onerous for her. But she held the offices nevertheless, with all responsibilities, honours, and revenues associated with them. Hence there is hardly any public office in the country, not dependent on a University education, which has not been held at some time by a woman, sometimes exercised in person, sometimes by proxy. Women have been High Chamberlains, High Sheriffs, High Constables, High Stewards, Lords Marshal, and even Royal Champions, the last office, of course, being executed by deputy. They have been Chamberlains to the Queen, Marshals of the King's Court, Governors of Districts, of Royal Castles, of Jails; held the office of Marshalsea of the King's Bench, and have been appointed Justices of the Peace and Clerks of the Crown, Governors of Houses of Correction, and Constables.

Curiously enough, it was only after military service for lands

was commuted into money-payments that inheritance customs began to be altered to the disadvantage of women. But even then sex-limitations did not enter into a woman's life, except through her relationship to a man. To the English Constitution, except when she was *Couverte de Baron*, a woman could hold all hominal privileges.

The second limitation was that of matrimony. Church and State alike believed in the doctrine of wifely obedience; and the husband, who acted as proxy for his wife, became theoretically joint-owner of her property for life, as she technically became of his. When they two were one, he represented the one.

In troublous times the King generally held the wardship, and decided the marriage of the heiress, and that marriage was generally hastened at an early age, as a husband was believed to be the safest and surest "proxy." By degrees the marital proxy assumed increasing powers over the wife, but that the inheritance was still vested in the heiress is proved by the fact that on his death it remained in her hands, however many adult sons they may have had.

In the trading and industrial classes of life there was some divergence, and much more advantage to women. Fathers generally divided their earnings equally between sons and daughters; they had a right by Statute 7, Hen. IV., c. 17, to send their daughters to any school in the country; they had a right to apprentice them to a trade, in which they might become *freemen* and go on the livery. It is strange how absolutely this has been forgotten in relation to this discussion. Women could become "free" in most companies, through patrimony or apprenticeship, in *all* through being "widows of freemen." They paid the same brotherhood money, and held the same freemen's privilege. The Charters of all the Guilds that I have seen are made out "To the brothers and the sisters of the same," and every list of "*Freemen*" that I have met contains the names of *women*. I have found them, among others, in the lists of the Haberdashers, Clothworkers, Weavers, Grocers, Mercers, Fishmongers, Stationers, Plumbers, Armourers, Clock-makers, Barber-Surgeons, and Parish Clerks. We may find examples of their employment, for instance, in the Churchwardens' Books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of St Martin-in-the-Fields. Women sometimes did the glaziers' work, the brick work, the iron work, and a woman cast the second bell. And *all the women employed were paid at the same rate as men for the same work, because they were free of their companies*. There is proof that as widows and as spinsters

they were free, not only in London, but in every great town at least in the three kingdoms. But in this rank men were more *liberal* than in the higher ranks. By *industry, even a married woman might become free*. Reference may be made, in the White-Book of the City of London, to "The case of a woman trading alone," where it is made clear that when a woman manufactured or traded in any industry, in which her husband did not co-operate, she was held as a single woman in regard to her trade or industry, and could become *free*. That was why there was no need of a Married Women's Property Act then. Our civic fathers, therefore, recognised three classes of freewomen, singlewomen, widows, and wives who supported themselves. It is evident, therefore, that the whole class of women were not excluded, from the moment of their birth to their death, as they now are, from any share in national *freedom*.

The basis of privilege in early times depended upon the inheritance of lands, office, or money, or upon the inheritance or earning of money. Our fathers would not have thought it reasonable that the purchaser, gardeners, labourers in an orchard, should, when the fruit was ripe, invite the neighbouring school-boys to be equal sharers in the produce. Neither would they invite co-operation in spending public money from those who did not contribute. But they saw that *women* did contribute, as "purchasers, gardeners, labourers" do. The privilege carried with it responsibility. We may read in the White-Book of the City of London, "And the freeman, when she is a woman, shall have no excuse from the duties of watch and ward" (though she might execute them by proxy).

The foundation of the Council, afterwards called Parliament, took place in the thirteenth century. The first clear summons was that of 38 Hen. III., 1254; and many elucidations followed (see 43 Hen. III., c. x., and 7 Hen. IV., c. xv.). The reason for summoning it was because the King wanted money, and all who would be liable to pay the subsidies, *i.e.*, the freeholders in the counties, the burgesses in the towns, were instructed to meet together and choose a representative from among themselves to send up to the Council of the King, to decide, with other representatives, how much aid they would give the King. These representatives later found that the best time to seek redress of grievances was when impecunious Kings wanted money, and the making of new laws followed the redress of old grievances. But the fundamental cause of the existence of Parliament, and the determining factor in its electorate, was the voting of supplies.

The privilege of being a chooser or elector was irrevocably associated with the responsibility of payment; in modern terms, the sole qualification for being an elector was being a tax-payer. There was no possible disqualification through sex when this condition was certified. Women were freeholders in the counties and liable to subsidies. Women burgesses paid Scot and Lot in the towns, and contributed to the grants made to the King as benevolences or other "taxes." Freeholders in the counties had two forms of votes, the collective and the individual, *i.e.*, where many were associated in selecting the representative; or where, through some special right or charter, at some time conferred, the owners of certain freeholds had the right of returning one, or even two personal representatives, a form of voting abolished with the Pocket Boroughs. Women who held land in the counties and were liable to the subsidies then met the other freeholders at the County Courts, to help to choose the man they preferred to represent them, or through their immemorial right of proxy they sent their stewards or other representatives to carry their voice or vote for them, as was then permitted. No word has ever been applied to a voter which was not a common term, chooser, freeholder, resident, subsidy-payer. The word "man" in statutory and common use, *always* included "woman," and every list of "*gentlemen of the county*" included the names of women.

We suffer much from the lack of old records for either sex of *old elections*, but among those preserved there are cases of women voting, and there were certainly many more than we know of, though women, through the working out of the two limitations above noted, would always be in a minority. Lords of the Manor held their own manorial courts; when women were freeholding tenants of the manor, they were summoned with the others to appear as *paers*, or *jurors*, unless they sent valid excuse. I have not been able to institute a general search through the records of manorial courts, but in searching for another purpose the Court Rolls of Rowington, Warwickshire, I came upon the following entry among the fines: "Joan Shackspere, for default of sute of Court, 4d.," 1636.

When the Lord of the Manor was privileged to send up his own representative or representatives, he did so, in early days, without any association with his sub-tenants. When a woman was Lord of the Manor, she held the Lords' Courts, received the homage, returned the member or members, under three conditions—when she was a widow without adult sons in her husband's right; when she was a widow on property of her own

inheritance, with or without adult sons; or when she was a spinster heiress in her own right. In a bundle of returns for 14 and 18 Elizabeth, Brady has preserved, and Heywood in his County Elections has quoted, the Indenture of Dame Dorothy Packington, owner of the private Borough of Aylesbury. "To all Christian people to whom this present writing shall come, I, Dame Dorothy Packington, widow, Late wife of Sir John Packington, Knight, Lord and Owner of the Town of Aylesbury, sendeth greeting. Know ye me, the said Dame Dorothy Packington, to have chosen, named, and appointed my trusty and well-beloved Thomas Lichfield and John Burden, Esquires, to be my Burgesses of my said Town of Aylesbury. And whatsoever the said Thomas and John, burgesses, shall do in the service of the Queen's Highness in that present Parliament to be holden at Westminster the 8th day of May next ensuing the date hereof, I, the said Dame Dorothy Packington, do ratify and approve to be my own act, as fully and wholly as if I were, or might be, present myself." She signed and sealed their indentures, paid them "their wages," and that the Constitution acknowledged a woman's right to return is proved by the fact that these men's names appear on the Parliamentary list of the year.

I have found out many hitherto unknown points concerning the elections to the private Borough of Gatton, Surrey, where the difficulty arose through the recusancy of the owners, but there is no time now to allude to more than the main points. Sir William Shelley, Justice of the Common Pleas, settled the Manor of Gatton on his daughter Elizabeth on her marriage with Sir Roger Copley. During Copley's life he returned the two members allotted to the Borough; at his death she did so, in 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, and 2 and 3 Philip and Mary. In 7 Ed. VI., doubtless through a recognition of her *recusant* disabilities, and her desire to elect her son, she returned, along with the other inhabitants, who were seven of her own tenants. Her grandson wanted to go back to the Lord's method of private voting, and the other inhabitants, backed up by the Court, contested the election, and brought forward old indentures. A Committee of the House of Commons, including Sir Edward Coke, affirmed that the election of 7 Ed. VI., in which her name appeared first, was the true and lawful form of indenture, 25th March 1628. (We know that Sir Edward Coke cannot be held, by those who have studied his works, to be any authority against the woman's right to vote, but in this case, at least, he affirmed it.) No statute, edict, or affirmation of the House has ever taken their right away. But male electors were in a

majority, they gradually came to dislike the notion of women voting, and it was only through the unchartered disinclination of men that the Woman's Franchise lapsed, though "in the Franchise there is no loss through desuetude."*

Perhaps the man who led the way may be noted. Sir Symond d'Ewes, Clerk of the House of Commons, writes in the Commons Journal of himself that, when Sheriff of Suffolk, at the elections on October 19th and 22nd, 1640, "some single-women who were freeholders came to tender their oaths." But he did not like the notion of letting women vote, so he "instantly sent to forbid the same . . . *although in Law they might have been allowed.*" He *knew what we know*. This also did Anne, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery, know in her famous battle with the Secretary of State, who wished to nominate a member for the Borough of Appleby, 1668. "Your man shan't stand!" and she nominated another, and said, if he could not stand, she would stand herself. If there had been the slightest possibility of urging any disability in sex, it would have been urged then. But she had her own way; her grandson was elected on her nomination, and her conscience was clear. For her motto was, "Preserve your loyalty, defend your rights." Had other women shared her militant courage then, there would have been no struggle to-day.

There were members elected for the Boroughs, as well as for private Boroughs and Counties. It may be difficult to prove that women burgesses exercised their franchise in the boroughs, but it is very much more difficult to prove that they did not. Luders notes, among his "Controverted Elections," that of Lyme Regis, 1789. The old Register-book was called for, and the very first three names were the names of women. So they are found in other burgess-lists. Later "Judges" have tried to explain these away by suggesting they might have been kept on the books to preserve the franchise for their husbands!

Women have suffered from every Reformation and from every Reform Bill, from that of Henry VIII. in his destruction of the convents, the semi-religious guilds, and the women's schools, down to the Reform Bills of the nineteenth century. The privileges of women, in inverse ratio to those of men, have been narrowed down from precedent to precedent. In the Reform Bill of 1832, for the first time in the history of the British Islands, the word "male" was interpolated before "persons," and the *new* Charters, for the first time, excluded women. In 1834 women were deprived of their immemorial

* See "British Freewomen" on this subject, pp. 94-145.

right of Dower; in 1835 the Borough Franchise was taken from them, and the chains of the absolute dependence of married women on their husbands were riveted more firmly. Providence sent one of the proscribed sex to the throne in 1837, to show by the Statute of 1 Mary, c. III., that whenever a woman was *qualified* for any political duty, sex did not count. Through a long and glorious reign she illustrated the political capabilities of women. I know that she was originally against Women's Suffrage, but her mental vision cleared on that point in her later years.

Lord Brougham's Act for shortening the language of Bills passed in 1850, which decided "that words importing the masculine gender shall be held to include females," unless otherwise expressly stated. In the Reform Bill of 1867, the phrase "male persons" was swept away, and the word "man" appeared in all Charters, without any express exclusion of women. In the light of Lord Brougham's Act, therefore, the wrong done to women in 1832 was remedied. Women all over the country registered. The greatest uncertainty prevailed among revising barristers, some allowed them, and some refused. The largest number registered in Manchester, where the revising barrister threw them out. They consolidated their claim, and appealed against the barrister in the most important case which has ever come before the courts—*Chorlton v. Lings*. The *Times* of November 3rd, 1868, wrote: "If women are refused the vote, the nation will, no doubt, be formally, and in the light of day, committing itself, through its judicial tribunal, to the dangerous doctrine that representation need not go along with taxation." On November 7th and 9th, 1868, the then Judges of the Court of Common Pleas did "commit the nation" "to the dangerous doctrine" on the arguments that the word "man" did not include "woman"; and that women had never exercised any political office whatever, and suffered from legal incapacity! (*Chorlton v. Lings*, L.R. 4 C.P., p. 374.) The disabilities of women to-day, therefore, do not depend on Constitution or Statute, but on the limited vision of judges who did not know their Constitutional history in 1868. After that the tide turned.

The municipal franchise was restored to women in 1869. The Married Women's Property Acts, going back to ancient practice, somewhat alleviated the conditions of unhappily married women. Various minor amendments were made in the position of women, sops thrown to Cerberus. Women's Suffrage Societies sprang into existence all over the country. The last

Constitutional word on the subject was spoken in the Interpretation Act of 1889, which confirms the reading that the word "man" includes "woman," except where otherwise expressly stated, in *every Act* passed since 1850. As this, therefore, overlaps Lord Brougham's Act, it applies to all the *Representation of the People's Acts* during the period, and either ignores, or annuls, the finding in the Extra-Mural Court of the Queen's Bench in *Chorlton v. Lings*, 1868; thus practically confirming the Franchise to women. Acting on its rendering, the Local Government Act was passed last August, by which women were made eligible to sit on municipal bodies, reversing the arguments in the decision of the courts in *Beresford Hope v. Lady Sandhurst*, 1889 (which were based on those of *Chorlton v. Lings*) (L.R. 23 Q.B.D. 79).

II.

Thus far for the Body of the British Constitution. But even more important than the Letter of the Law is the vaunted Spirit of the British Constitution. This is supposed to secure Liberty, Justice, and Protection to all who live under its sway. Patriots are never weary of singing "Britons never, never shall be slaves." Of course, they should not be so. But they forget that every Briton, who happens to be born a woman, is, according to the definition, doomed to be a slave. "Slavery consists in having to obey laws in the making of which one has no voice." Therefore, all British women are slaves to-day. Their payments are not the taxes of a free people, but the tribute of a conquered and subject race. A sad, unconsidered result of this state of affairs is that no man born of a slave-woman can be really free himself until his mother is emancipated.

The British Constitution is also supposed to command *justice*. The figure of Justice is not, however, represented as really blind, but with a handkerchief tied over her eyes. The justice of this land always moves the handkerchief over one eye to see whether the petitioner be a man or a woman. It is well known that there are many laws, especially in relation to inheritance—marriage, divorce, custody of children, all moral laws, and labour laws—notoriously unjust to women. If the majority of men were not enormously better than the laws allow them to be, social life would be impossible. Justice is not always found by women even in the execution of decisions. There is always a large latitude allowed to judges and officials in the translation of laws, and even to the jury; and as these are *always men*, often filled with

sex-prejudice, it is clear that women are not sure of justice, at least, until after they are murdered outright. Then they become qualified as human beings, and their murderer is hanged.

The British Constitution is also supposed to ensure *protection*. But all principles are worked out by instruments. The only means by which it is, or can be, safeguarded, is by means of *a vote*. As *all women*, however good or useful they may be, are denied this protection, allowed to most men, however weak or bad, there is little wonder that in every department of life they suffer from neglect and delay in redress of their grievances, and over-activity in pushing forward injurious legislation. As all reforms come through Parliament; as the members of that supposed-to-be-representative-of-the-people body are responsible only to their electors, and these electors are only male, it follows that if these electors decide to under-pay or sweat women, or make life otherwise for them impossible, there is *no protection* for *voteless women*, except that which is granted as a grace or charity, through the sympathy or sentiment of law-makers. Such protection only differs in degree, not in kind, from that accorded to animals. Until women secure the vote to protect themselves there is *no protection ensured* for them. And, until that is done, the spirit of the British Constitution is not realised.

III.

Why is there so much more excitement about Women's Suffrage to-day than there ever has been? The causes are complex, and may be taken in almost any order. (1) The spread of education. Primary education is now compulsory, and facilities are instituted for continuing it. Even poor women, when they have a few spare moments, *can* read good and thought-compelling books, and sometimes they do. Coincident with the Reform Bill of 1867, the Universities commenced to give higher education to women. They did not wait, as the Government proposes to delay the franchise, until every woman wanted admission, but they opened their doors when *some women* proved they did so. Women in the Universities have adequately proved that intellect is of no sex. We may take it as granted that every woman who has distinguished herself in the Universities (except perhaps in the Classics, where the shadow of Roman thought convinces her she belongs to the "worser gender"), every woman who through either the Universities or through other intellectual opportunities has trained her mind to its full power, wants a vote. Yet, though they may have beaten the record of any

man, and may sit on the Senate, they are held unfit to record a vote for their University member, while 70,000 illiterates (therefore criminals in disobeying the laws for compulsory education), because males, can vote, and help to determine laws for their coercion. With the spread of education have spread discussion societies, in which facts are presented which cause conviction—such facts, as I have above stated, expanded, as they well may be, more fully. (2) Every new extension of the Suffrage to men alone has been recognised as a direct injury to women. They have learned to appreciate the disadvantages of “many masters.” They have done *at least* their own share towards the prosperity of the State. They have borne and brought up all its native inhabitants; they have toiled, at unequal wages, to keep themselves and those dependent on them out of pauperism; they have often toiled in their own homes, for disproportionate hours, at no wages at all, receiving only the returns made to slave-labour in the necessities of life. For it is one of the fallacies of modern economics that the work of a woman in her home is unproductive. Transfer it to another home; let her do domestic work next door, she is then paid *wages* for the same work, plus her necessities, plus hours of rest. Her labour is then recognised as productive. But *the unrecorded increment of women's labour* really goes to enrich the home, and thereby enrich the State, which denies them recognition. Women feel that in the lower grades of labour they are sweated without redress; in higher grades they are paid less than men for work of the same value, as, for instance, in County Council schools, and in Government post-offices. Professional women are handicapped in various ways. All intelligent workers among the poor are forced to see, sooner or later, that nothing can be done by women for women without the Suffrage. At the Tunbridge Wells Conference of Women Workers two years ago, Mrs Creighton publicly confessed that, after long opposition, she had come to see Women's Suffrage a *necessity*. At the mass meeting of the Pan-Anglican Congress, in the Albert Hall, Mr William Temple closed his brilliant speech by calling to the women to abolish “sweating”; *they only* could do it; but that as they only could do it through the Suffrage, “*You Women must insist on having the Vote!*” But the newspapers did not report that trumpet call to women workers. They rarely do. (3) Political women are becoming awake to their anomalous position. They had been called into existence to help in public work by canvassing for men (which I, for one, would like to put down as illegal). They had been told that after their party was safe it would find

time to consider their interests. But they have found that their candidates' promises were chiefly those like pie-crust, made to be broken; so that the promises of those who really wished to fulfil them had not power to take effect. Other candidates they had worked for, who promised nothing, relegate them to the seclusion of home till the next election. (4) Perhaps above all present causes of excitement is the general friction caused in the very “homes” women are supposed to reign over, by the increasing interference with their freedom of conscience, and personal liberty there; by mandates issued by the emotional voices of those of the other sex, who, happening to be in power, invade these homes on a superficial pretext of doing them good. Interference in the nature and in the hours that they work (for money); interference as to when, where, and how they shall work (whether thereby they lose the chance of work altogether or not); interference with what has hitherto been considered the sanctity of the home, in passing the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill, without any mandate from the country, and without asking the opinion of either wives or sisters; interference with the education of their children; interference in the nursing of them and laying them to sleep. It is true these questions are all important considerations, but that inexperienced men should attempt to determine the domestic life of collective women, without taking counsel of experienced women, is too ridiculous a waste of energy to be called statesmanship. It takes the best work, and the best thought of the two sexes, to make a happy home; and to make a happy and prosperous State it is necessary that the two sexes also co-operate. Women have come to realise this, hence the unrest, which will never now be quieted until justice be done, common-sense recognised, women enfranchised, and the spirit of the British Constitution allowed to be true to itself.

IV.

In conclusion, one word of explanation as to why different “methods” are pursued by different parties seeking the same end. We women who have worked for forty years on “the right and proper methods,” which should have been sufficient had men been but wise, have egregiously failed. We sent in a majority of members in our favour. We have sent in the greatest number of petitions that have ever been collected for any purpose—the largest, over 257,000; we have sent deputation after deputation; we have appeared in the longest procession which was ever made for anything—10,000 of us, each one of whom represented 100

who could not come. And the Prime Minister said this was not sufficient pressure, and has done nothing! Poor, patient, plodding, persevering women have gained nothing by all their expenditure in time, energy, money, faith, and life!

So the other section, being *politicians*, referred to the practical side of the British Constitution. They learned that "The Government is a machine which can only act under pressure," and they asked it in which way it would like pressure to be applied. The reply was "by overwhelming signs that the women of the nation wanted to vote." They gave the largest peaceful demonstration that has ever been made in the country to demand the vote. The Government saw no cause to alter its decision; they had gone down to work against Government candidates, partly in propaganda, partly to show the power of women, and their tremendous success should have given a wise Government a significant hint. They found out by what methods various classes of male would-be electors demanded and secured their vote, and they formulated plans whereby, with marvellous self-restraint, while doing *no wrong*,* they should show that they were willing to suffer in order to secure their freedom. They have done that, and unexpectedly they have done more. They have *proved* there is no justice possible to women until they are enfranchised. They desired to place their petition in the Prime Minister's own hands, a step for which they had constitutional warrant in Parliamentary history, and they were prevented by the police. Though the inexactitudes and the suppressions of the Press have prevented the clear issues being laid before the country; to those who know the truth, a terrible lesson has been read to their sex of the causes and conditions of the injustice under which all women live.

If an orderly group of men had entered Palace Yard, with the legal intention of presenting a petition to the Prime Minister, one of three things would have happened. He would either have yielded to receive it, and promised them consideration; or he might have refused. Then the men would have been told to "move on," and, if they objected to do so, might or might not have been arrested. If arrested, they would either have received nominal or short sentences as disturbers of the peace, or longer sentences, as political prisoners; but then they would have been made first-class misdemeanants. But the women, for mere technical breaches of the law, have been

* The irresponsible breakage of two window panes is a negligible quantity, compared to the destruction recorded to have taken place by male methods.

awarded excessive sentences, and classed with the lowest criminals. It is the burning sense of the unconstitutional injustice which has been meted out to the Suffragettes which has roused the heart of the true womanhood of the country. Our forty years' wandering in the wilderness has given one good result: it has taught women, who have all been placed in one class by their legislators, the solidarity and sisterhood of woman, and it has brought them together in a way that nothing else could have done. Every illegal arrest, and every excessive sentence, makes the dry bones live, and awakes hundreds of women to action; and that is why the Societies for Women's Suffrage, who do not work with the militant section, must admire their enthusiasm, and respect their political acumen, which has advanced the cause further in four years than our patient work has done in forty.

[But with all the efforts of both sections of the Suffrage Societies, and the aid of the Men's League, we do not get on so fast as the justice of our cause would lead any reasonable person to expect. The suppression, in Committee stage, of Mr Stanger's Bill (which would have satisfied all parties) has checked our progress for the time being, because the suggestion offered as an alternative, if it ever should be discussed, is certain to be defeated. And all the time women go on suffering curable wrongs for lack of their constitutional freedom.]

CHARLOTTE C. STOPES.

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(4)

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE VOTE.

BY

MRS. PANKHURST.

(A Lecture delivered at the Portman Rooms, on Tuesday, March 24th, 1908.)

IT seems to me a very strange thing that large numbers of women should have met together to-night to consider whether the vote is of importance, while all day long, across the water, in the Peckham Bye-election, men, whether they realise the importance of the vote or not, have been exercising it, and in exercising it settling for women as well as for themselves great questions of public importance.

What, then, is this vote that we are hearing so much about just now, so much more than people have heard in discussion at least, for a great many years? I think we may give the vote a threefold description. We may describe the vote as, first of all, a symbol, secondly, a safeguard, and thirdly, an instrument. It is a symbol of freedom, a symbol of citizenship, a symbol of liberty. It is a safeguard of all those liberties which it symbolises. And in these later days it has come to be regarded more than anything else as an instrument, something with which you can get a great many more things than our forefathers who fought for the vote ever realised as possible to get with it. It seems to me that such a thing is worth fighting for, and women to-day are fighting very strenuously in order to get it.

Wherever masses of people are gathered together there must be government. Government without the vote is more or less a form of tyranny. Government with the vote is more or less representative according to the extent to which the vote is given. In this country they tell us we have representative government. So far as women are concerned, while you have representative

government for men, you have despotic government for women. So it is in order that the government of the country may be made really representative, may represent not only all classes of the community, but both sexes of the community, that this struggle for the vote is going on on the part of women.

To-day, women are working very hard for it. And there is no doubt whatever that very, very soon the fight will be over, and victory will be won. Even a Liberal Government will be forced to give votes to women. Gentlemen with Liberal principles have talked about those principles for a very long time, but it is only just lately that women have realised that so far as they are concerned, it began in talk and ended in talk, and that there was absolutely no intention of performance. To-day, we have taken off the mask, and we have made these gentlemen realise that, whether they like it or not, they will have to yield. People ask us, "Why force it on just now? Why give all this trouble to the Liberals, with their great and splendid programme of reform?" Well, we say, after all, they are just the people to whom we ought to give trouble, and who, if they are sincere, ought to be very glad that we are giving them trouble, and forcing them to put their great principles into practice.

To-night, it is not for me to talk to you very much about the agitation. I have to talk to you about what the vote will do for women, and what being deprived of the vote has caused women to suffer. And so I mean to devote most of the time at my disposal to this side of the question. What I am going to say to you to-night is not new. It is what we have been saying at every street corner, at every bye-election during the last eighteen months. It is perfectly well known to many members of my audience, but they will not mind if I repeat for the benefit of those who are here for the first time to-night, those arguments and illustrations with which many of us are so very familiar.

In the first place it is important that women should have the vote in order that in the government of the country the women's point of view should be put forward. It is important for women that in any legislation that affects women equally with men, those who make the laws should be responsible to women in order that they may be forced to consult women and learn women's views when they are contemplating the making or the altering of laws. Very little has been done by legislation for women for many years—for obvious reasons. More and more of the time of Members of Parliament is occupied by the claims which are made on behalf of the people who are organised in various ways in order to promote the interests of their industrial organisations or their political or social organisations. So the Member of Parliament, if he does dimly realise that women have needs, has no time to attend to them, no time to give to the consideration of those needs. His time is fully taken up by attending to the needs of the people who have sent him to Parliament. While a great deal has been done,

and a great deal more has been talked about for the benefit of the workers who have votes, yet so far as women are concerned, legislation relating to them has been practically at a standstill. Yet it is not because women have no need, or because their need is not very urgent. There are many laws on the Statute-book to-day which are admittedly out of date, and call for reformation; laws which inflict very grave injustices on women. I want to call the attention of women who are here to-night to a few Acts on the Statute-book which press very hardly and very injuriously on women.

Laws affecting Women.

Men politicians are in the habit of talking to women as if there were no laws that affect women. "The fact is," they say, "the home is the place for women. Their interests are the rearing and training of children. These are the things that interest women. Politics have nothing to do with these things, and therefore politics do not concern women." Yet the laws decide how women are to live in marriage, how their children are to be trained and educated, and what the future of their children is to be. All that is decided by Act of Parliament. Let us take a few of these laws, and see what there is to say about them from the women's point of view.

First of all, let us take the marriage laws. They are made by men for women. Let us consider whether they are equal, whether they are just, whether they are wise. What security of maintenance has the married woman? Many a married woman having given up her economic independence in order to marry, how is she compensated for that loss? What security does she get in that marriage for which she gave up economic independence? Take the case of a woman who has been earning a good income. She is told that she ought to give up her employment when she becomes a wife and a mother. What does she get in return? All that a married man is obliged by law to do for his wife is to provide for her shelter of some kind, food of some kind, and clothing of some kind. It is left to his good pleasure to decide what the shelter shall be, what the food shall be, what the clothing shall be. It is left to him to decide what money shall be spent on the home, and how it shall be spent; the wife has no voice legally in deciding any of these things. She has no legal claim upon any definite portion of his income. If he is a good man, a conscientious man, he does the right thing. If he is not, if he chooses almost to starve his wife, she has no remedy. What he thinks sufficient is what she has to be content with.

I quite agree, in all these illustrations, that the majority of men are considerably better than the law compels them to be, so the majority of women do not suffer as much as they might suffer if men were all as bad as they might be, but since there are some bad men, some unjust men, don't you agree with me that the law ought to be altered so that those men could be dealt with?

Take what happens to the woman if her husband dies and leaves her a widow, sometimes with little children. If a man is so insensible to his duties as a husband and father when he makes his will, as to leave all his property away from his wife and children, the law allows him to do it. That will is a valid one. So you see that the married woman's position is not a very secure one. It depends entirely on her getting a good ticket in the lottery. If she has a good husband, well and good: if she has a bad one, she has to suffer, and she has no remedy. That is her position as a wife, and it is far from satisfactory.

Now let us look at her position if she has been very unfortunate in marriage, so unfortunate as to get a bad husband, an immoral husband, a vicious husband, a husband unfit to be the father of little children. We turn to the Divorce Court. How is she to get rid of such a man? If a man has got married to a bad wife, and he wants to get rid of her, he has but to prove against her one act of infidelity. But if a woman who is married to a vicious husband wants to get rid of him, not one act nor a thousand acts of infidelity entitle her to a divorce; she must prove either bigamy, desertion, or gross cruelty, in addition to immorality before she can get rid of that man.

Let us consider her position as a mother. We have repeated this so often at our meetings that I think the echo of what we have said must have reached many. By English law no married woman exists as the mother of the child she brings into the world. In the eyes of the law she is not the parent of her child. The child, according to our marriage laws, has only one parent, who can decide the future of the child, who can decide where it shall live, how it shall live, how much shall be spent upon it, how it shall be educated, and what religion it shall profess. That parent is the father.

These are examples of some of the laws that men have made, laws that concern women. I ask you, if women had had the vote, should we have had such laws? If women had had the vote, as men have the vote, we should have had equal laws. We should have had equal laws for divorce, and the law would have said that as Nature has given to children two parents, so the law should recognise that they have two parents.

I have spoken to you about the position of the married woman who does not exist legally as a parent, the parent of her own child. In marriage, children have one parent. Out of marriage children have also one parent. That parent is the mother—the unfortunate mother. She alone is responsible for the future of her child; she alone is punished if her child is neglected and suffers from neglect. But let me give you one illustration. I was in Herefordshire during the bye-election. While I was there, an unmarried mother was brought before the bench of magistrates charged with having neglected her illegitimate child. She was a domestic servant, and had put the child out to nurse. The magistrates—there were colonels and landowners

on that bench—did not ask what wages the mother got; they did not ask who the father was or whether he contributed to the support of the child. They sent that woman to prison for three months for having neglected her child. I ask you women here to-night, if women had had some share in the making of laws, don't you think they would have found a way of making all fathers of such children equally responsible with the mothers for the welfare of those children?

Let us take the law of inheritance? Often in this agitation for the vote, we have been told by advanced members of the Liberal Party that to give votes to women on the same terms as those on which men now have the vote, would be to strengthen the influence of property, and to help to continue the existing laws of property.

When you look at the laws of inheritance in this country, it makes you smile to hear that argument. Men have taken very good care that women do not inherit until all male heirs are exhausted. So I do not think these democratic gentlemen are quite sincere in the fears they express lest the influence of property should be very much strengthened if women got the Parliamentary franchise. I do not think it is time yet for women to consider whether the law that the eldest son shall inherit the estate is a just law. I think we should put it in this way: if it is to be the eldest child, let it be the eldest child, whether that child is a man or a woman. I am perfectly certain that if women had had the vote when that law was made, that that is how it would have been settled, if they had decided to have a law of primogeniture.

Well, one could go on giving you many more of these examples. I want now to deal with an objection which may be in the minds of some people here. They say, you are talking about laws made a long time ago. Laws would not now be made like that. If a new law were made, it would of course be equal between the sexes. But as a matter of fact, it seems almost impossible for men, when making new laws that will affect both sexes, to recognise that there is any woman's side at all. Let us take an illustration from the last session of Parliament. For many years we have been accustomed to see pass through the House of Commons and go up to the House of Lords that hardy evergreen, the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill. I used—it is many years since I began reading the debates on that measure—I used to read the speeches carefully through to see if I could find one speech from a man which showed any kind of realisation of the women's side of that Bill. You read eloquent appeals to make it possible for a man who had lost his wife to give to the children the best kind of step-mother that they could have. Who could make a better step-mother, it was asked, than the sister of their deceased mother? By natural ties, by old associations, by her knowledge of the children, she was better fitted than anybody else to take the mother's place. But you never heard of a man who thought there might be another side to the picture. So you have on the

Statute-book a piece of legislation which gives relief to the widower who would like to provide a kind step-mother for his children, but does not give relief to the widow who would like to give a kind step-father to her children. I do not think it ever entered into the minds of these legislators that there might be a widow who would like to fulfil the behest of the Old Testament that the living brother should take up his deceased brother's burden and do his duty to his brother's family. So you see, even in this twentieth century, you have got the same spirit.

The man voter and the man legislator see the man's needs first, and do not see the woman's needs. And so it will be until women get the vote. It is well to remember that, in view of what we have been told of what is the value of women's influence. Woman's influence is only effective when men want to do the thing that her influence is supporting.

Prospective Legislation.

Now let us look a little to the future. If it ever was important for women to have the vote, it is ten times more important to-day, because you cannot take up a newspaper, you cannot go to a conference, you cannot even go to church, without hearing a great deal of talk about social reform and a demand for social legislation. Of course, it is obvious that that kind of legislation—and the Liberal Government tell us that if they remain in office long enough we are going to have a great deal of it—is of vital importance to women. If we have the right kind of social legislation it will be a very good thing for women and children. If we have the wrong kind of social legislation, we may have the worst kind of tyranny that women have ever known since the world began. We are hearing about legislation to decide what kind of homes people are to live in. That surely is a question for women. Surely every woman, when she seriously thinks about it, will wonder how men by themselves can have the audacity to think that they can say what homes ought to be without consulting women. Then take education. Since 1870 men have been trying to find out how to educate children. I think they have not yet realised that if they are ever to find out how to educate children, they will have to take women into their confidence, and try to learn from women some of those lessons that the long experience of ages has taught to them. One cannot wonder that whole sessions of Parliament should be wasted on Education Bills. For, you see, it is only just lately that men have begun to consider education, or to try to learn what the word means. So as we are going to have a great deal more time devoted to education, I think it will be a great economy of time if we get the vote, if only that we may have an opportunity of deciding how girls are to be trained, even in those domestic duties which gentlemen are so fond of reminding us we ought to attend to.

I suppose you all read your newspapers this morning. You saw that a great statesman [Mr. John Burns] was pouring out words of wisdom on a subject which one may think might well be regarded as women's business, and which they might at all events have some share in deciding. How it makes one smile to hear a statesman comparing whisky and milk, and discussing whether babies should have natural mother's milk, or humanised milk, or sterilised milk, or what is a sufficient quantity of milk. All these things Cabinet Ministers have discovered that they are quite competent to decide without us. And when a few women ventured to make a small protest and suggested that perhaps it would be best to give to women, the mothers of the race, an opportunity of expressing their views on the subject, they were characterised as disgraceful, and turned out of the meeting for daring to raise their voices in protest.

Well, we cannot wonder that they are deciding what sort of milk the babies are to have, for it is only a few months ago that they decided how babies should be brought into the world, and who should officiate on the occasion. The Midwives Act, owing to the extreme difficulty and slowness with which, during twelve years of ceaseless agitation, it was carried through Parliament, has made of the women who agitated for it convinced suffragists, since, if they had had votes the measure could have been passed in a couple of years. Even when carried, it was at the expense of many concessions, which, had the women promoting the Bill possessed the franchise, they would certainly have been able to avoid. To this day the midwives have no direct representation on the Central Board which administers the Act. Still, in spite of legislation like that, we find politicians, responsible members of the Government, saying that women ought to have nothing to do with politics, and that they ought not to ask for the vote.

What limits are there to be to this? The same gentleman who thinks himself quite competent to say how babies ought to be fed tells us that he is going to interfere not only with babies, but with their mothers as well. He is going to decide by Act of Parliament whether married women are to be allowed to earn an economic independence, or are to be prevented from doing so. He thinks married women who are earning their living are going to submit to a virtual repeal of the Married Women's Property Act, and to leave it to their husbands to decide whether they shall have any money to spend as they please. To deprive married women of the right to go out to work, to decide this for them without consulting women voters whether they are to earn wages or not, is an act of tyranny to which, I believe, women, patient and long-suffering as they are, will not submit. I hope that even the Liberal women will revolt when it comes to that. But I am not over hopeful about them, because, unfortunately for poor married women who know what it is to need to earn a living, those who decide what the policy of the Liberal women shall be are women who have never had to earn a living, and

do not know what it is to have little children dependent upon them and liable to be starved if their mothers are prevented from going out to work. But fortunately the women who are going to be interfered with are not the kind of women who will submit to be interfered with quietly. Women who belong to the aristocracy of industry, women such as the cotton workers in the Lancashire mills, are not likely to be driven into the ranks of the sweated without protest.

What is the reason for the proposal? We are told it is to set these women free, to let them stay at home. I do not see that Mr. John Burns proposes to compensate women for the loss of their earnings. I do not see that he proposes to compel husbands to give to their wives a definite portion of their income for house-keeping purposes. All he proposes is that women, who are earning from ten shillings to thirty shillings a week shall be prevented from earning that income for themselves. He does not propose if the husband is sick or weakly and unable to earn enough to keep the home, to supplement that income by a grant from the State. All he proposes to do is to take away from the married woman the right to earn an income for herself. This, he says, will stop infantile mortality and put an end to race degeneracy. Could you have a greater example of ignorance of the real facts of the situation? I come from Lancashire. I was born in Lancashire. I think I know more about Lancashire than Mr. John Burns. I can tell you this, that infantile mortality and physical degeneration are not found in the homes of the well-paid factory operatives, but they are found in the home of the slum-dweller, the home of the casual labourer, where the mother does not go out to work, but where there is never sufficient income to provide proper food for the child after it is born. That is where babies die—in those horrible slum districts, where families have to be maintained on incomes of from sixteen shillings to eighteen shillings per week, and where you have rents from five shillings to eight shillings per week to pay. What woman can feed her children on an income like that, even if her husband brings the whole of it home?

I know the cotton workers of Lancashire. Not long ago, we were in the Rossendale Valley, Mr. Harcourt's constituency. In that constituency more women earn wages than men. You find daughters earning more money than their fathers. You find wives earning more money than their husbands. They do piece work, and they often earn better wages than the men. I was talking one day to one—a married woman worker whom I met in the train. She was going home from the mill. She had a child three or four years of age, well dressed, very blithe, and looking well fed. I asked her if she worked in the mill. She said "Yes." I asked her what wages she earned. She said, "Thirty shillings a week." She told me she had other children. "Who looks after the children while you are at work?"

"I have a housekeeper," she answered. I said to her, "You are not going to be allowed to work much longer. Mr. John Burns is going to make you stay at home and look after the children." And she said, "I don't know what we shall do then. I suppose we shall have to clem." I don't know whether you all know our Lancashire word "clem." When we say clem, we mean starve. In thousands of homes in Lancashire, if we get Mr. John Burns' proposal carried into law, little children, now well clothed and well fed and well cared for, will have clemmed before many months are over. These women say a shilling that they earn themselves is worth two shillings of their husbands' money, for it is their own. They know far better than their husbands how much money is needed for food, how much is needed to be spent on the home. I do not think there is a woman in Lancashire who does not realise that it is better to earn an income of her own than to be dependent on her husband. They realise it better than women of the upper classes who provide nurses and governesses for their children. I put it to you whether the woman of the working class, so long as she sees that her children are well fed and are well enough cared for, has not as much right as her well-off sister to provide a nurse for her children. We should like to say this to Mr. John Burns, that when women get the vote, they will take very much better care of babies than men have been able to do.

The Sweated Workers.

There may be many women in this room to-night who do not know much about the industrial women from practical experience. I want to say something about them. Here in London last year there was the Sweated Industries Exhibition. That Exhibition went to Manchester. It went to Birmingham. The papers were full of it. After it was held there were conferences in the Guild-hall, conferences in the large centres of population, and resolutions were carried demanding legislation to deal with the sweating evil. Nothing has come of it all. If any of you women are doubtful about the value of the vote to women, that example ought to be enough. Look at the Government's proposals. What do you get in the forefront of their programme? You get an eight hours' day for miners. But you get nothing for the sweated women. Why is the miner being attended to rather than the sweated worker? The miner is being attended to because he, the miner, has got a vote. You see what the vote will do. You see what political power will do. If women had had the vote there would have been proposals to help the sweated woman worker in the Government programme of this session. I think that women, realising the horrible degradation of these workers, the degradation not only to themselves, but to all of us, caused by that evil of sweating, ought

to be eager to get political freedom, in order that something may be done to get for the sweated woman labourer some kind of pay that would enable her to live at least a moral and a decent life.

Professional Women.

Now let me say something on another point. Among those here are some professional women. You know what a long and a weary struggle it has been for women to get into the professions, some of which are now open to women. But you all know that the position of women in those professions is not what it ought to be, and it is certainly not what it will be when women get the franchise. How difficult it is for women to get posts after they have qualified for them. I know this from practical experience on a public body. Every time we had applications from women for posts open to them, we had applications also from men. Usually the standing of the women was very much higher than that of the men. And yet the women did not get those appointments. The men got them. That would all be altered if we got political equality. It is the political key that is needed to unlock the door.

Again, in all grades of education, certainly in elementary education, women are better qualified for the work than the men. You get a better type of woman. Yet for work equal to that of men, she cannot get equal pay. If women teachers had the Parliamentary vote, those men who go to the House of Commons to represent the interests of teachers would have to represent the interests of the women teachers as well as the interests of the men. I think that that gentleman who made the teachers the stepping-stone to office, and who talks at bye-elections about manhood suffrage would have taken up the interests of the women who have paid his wages if he felt that he was responsible to women voters.

Almost everywhere the well-paid posts are given to men. Take the College of Arts. Women art students do quite as well as the men students. And yet after their training is over, women never get any of the posts. All the professorships, all the well-paid posts in the colleges and Universities are given to men. I knew the Head of one of the training colleges in one of our great cities. She said to me: "It makes me feel quite sad to see bright young girls expecting to get their living, and finding after their training is over that they can get nothing to do." The Parliamentary vote will settle that. There is no department of life that you can think of in which the possession of the Parliamentary vote will not make things easier for women than they are to-day.

Questions of Administration.

Then there is the administrative side of public life. We want the vote not merely to get laws made. I think the possession of the Parliamentary vote is very important on the administrative

side of politics. I have every reason to think that, because I have just come out of prison. We may congratulate ourselves that the Militant Suffragists, of whom I am one, have at least succeeded in forcing the Government to appoint the first woman inspector of prisons. Of course, it is a very small thing, but it means a very great deal. It means the beginning of prison reform, reform in prison discipline and prison treatment that have been needed for a very long time. Well, when we get the vote, it won't take many years talking about things to get one woman inspector appointed. The immediate result of our getting the vote will be the appointment of many more women inspectors of factories. When I last made inquiries there was only one woman inspector of factories in all Ireland. Yet in Belfast alone, more women and girls are working in factories than men and boys. The need there is for inspection is enormous in those linen and jute factories. It is perfectly obvious that when you have women and girls working in factories, if they are to be properly inspected, you must have women inspectors. We shall get them as soon as we are able to get women's interests properly attended to, which we shall only be able to do when we are in possession of the vote.

There is the same thing with regard to education. Women inspectors of schools are greatly needed. Moreover, there is not a single woman Poor Law inspector, nor a woman inspector of workhouses and workhouse hospitals. And yet it is to the workhouses and the workhouse hospitals that we send old people, sick people, and little children. We need to get women relieving officers appointed. I cannot get away from Mr. John Burns. You would think that a working man by origin, and the son of working people, might have been able to realise that it would have been a good thing to have women as relieving officers. And yet when Mr. John Burns, shortly after his appointment, was asked whether he would sanction the appointment of a woman relieving officer in a large Union in the North of England, he said it was not illegal, but it was a practice not to be encouraged. We shall get that position for women. We shall get it made possible for women to manage the business which men have always conceded is the business of women, the care of the sick, the care of the aged, the care of little children.

Well, I could go on giving you many, many more of these illustrations. In fact, the more one thinks about the importance of the vote for women, the more one realises how vital it is. We are finding out new reasons for the vote, new needs for the vote every day in carrying on our agitation.

Conclusion.

I hope that there may be a few men and women here who will go away determined at least to give this question more consideration than they have in the past. They will see that we women who are doing so much to get the vote, want it

because we realise how much good we can do with it when we have got it. We do not want it in order to boast of how much we have got. We do not want it because we want to imitate men or to be like men. We want it because without it we cannot do that work which it is necessary and right and proper that every man and woman should be ready and willing to undertake in the interests of the community of which they form a part. It has always been the business of women to care for these things, to think of these home questions. I assure you that no woman who enters into this agitation need feel that she has got to give up a single one of her woman's duties in the home. She learns to feel that she is attaching a larger meaning to those duties which have been woman's duties since the race began, and will be till the race has ceased to be. After all, home is a very, very big thing indeed. It is not just your own little home, with its four walls, and your own little private and personal interests that are looked after there. The home is the home of everybody of the nation. No nation can have a proper home unless women as well as men give their best to its building up and to making it what a home ought to be, a place where every single child born into it shall have a fair chance of growing up to be a fit, and a happy, and a useful member of the community.

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THE EARL OF LYTTON ON VOTES FOR WOMEN

(Verbatim report of a speech at the St. James's Theatre, June 15, 1909.)

THE greatest tribute, perhaps, which I can pay to the progress this movement has made lately is to own at once that there is no new argument which can be advanced, either in its support or in its despite. No great political question ever becomes practical, ever approaches at all to realisation, until all the stock debating arguments for and against it are perfectly familiar to everyone. To-day this movement for the enfranchisement of women has reached that stage. There is no need, therefore, to rack one's brains any longer for arguments, on whichever side of the question one may be speaking; all that can be said for and against it is already familiar to the man in the street, and, what is significant and peculiar in this movement alone, to every woman in the street also.

As a Witness.

Therefore, ladies and gentlemen, I ask your indulgence for a few minutes this afternoon, not in the hope that I shall say anything new upon this subject, but merely in order that I may re-state a familiar case from the point of view of my own particular interests and sympathies. I am not concerned to discuss this question with the usual debating arguments, nor to wrestle with those people who think that they have disposed of the whole subject when they make the stupendous announcement that men are men, and women are women, and that the eternal and fundamental difference between the two sexes is a sufficient ground for asking women to be satisfied with a purely masculine representation. In fact, Mrs. Pankhurst, I am not here as an advocate at all this afternoon. You are engaged in a great trial, and the conduct of the case is in your hands. I am not here to speak for women this afternoon. My contribution will merely be that of a witness, and I give my evidence, not for women, but for men. I am here

to say, as a man, that it is men who will be the gainers when in the public life of this country, in discussing the interests of every class and race throughout the Empire, they can have the assistance of women as well as men.

Before giving my evidence let me explain for one moment what my standpoint is. I am not just now specially interested in the fortunes of either of the great political parties in the country, and therefore I am not tormented by anxiety as to whether the votes of women in the future will be used in the Conservative or the Liberal interest or perhaps in the interest of some party which has not yet been formed, for, after all, ladies and gentlemen, the mere balance of parties is transitory and insignificant when compared with the interests of many great questions with which all parties alike have to deal. Let me just remind you of some of those questions which, I say, are common to all parties. The health and vigour of the race, the education of future generations, the prevention where possible of crime and suffering, the improvement of our industrial conditions, the welfare of our social life at home, the responsibility of our Government towards subject races in the King's dominions abroad; in fact, if I may borrow for a moment the admirable words of Sir Edward Grey, "the honesty of government and the honour of Empire"—those are the things which survive all parties; those are the political questions which really count; and I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, how are those questions affected to-day by the fact that half the population of this country are politically handicapped, are denied the rights of citizenship, and are refused all responsibility in the government of the country? How will those questions be affected to-morrow by a measure which will remove those obstacles, which will recognise those rights, and which will impose those responsibilities?

A Representative Parliament.

Before I attempt to find an answer I have two explanations to make. The first deals with the nature of your demand and with the present basis of our franchise. This question is constantly discussed as if the basis of the franchise to-day were a test of intelligence or education or influence; and, therefore, when on the one side it is urged that the qualifications of many women are certainly not less than the qualifications of many men who already possess the vote, the statement is met by the argument, "Yes, but because too many men have the vote already, is that any reason why you should give it to more? Because the present franchise is already too wide, is that any reason for extending it?" I have no doubt, ladies and gentlemen, that you have heard that argument constantly; I hear it myself almost every day, but I think that the people who use it forget what is the basis of the franchise to-day; they are living away back in the days before the Reform Bill of 1832. They still think that

the franchise to-day is based, as I say, upon intelligence or education. The object of our electoral machinery to-day, however, is not to return the most intelligent or the most efficient House of Commons. It is to return a House most representative of all the interests in the country which will be affected by the laws which that Parliament passes. No one, I think, can deny that the House of Commons would be far more representative of those interests if it were elected upon a mixed franchise. The theory of our Constitution is government by consent of the governed. The title-deeds of all our Ministries, the collective force and sanction of all our laws and administrative acts is this—the knowledge that those administrative acts and those laws have the consent of the governed. At present women are asked to obey the laws, pay the taxes, and submit to administrative acts, but their consent is not asked. You tax their property, you regulate their hours of labour, you pass every day in Parliament laws which vitally affect their interests in their own homes and in their everyday life, and so long as women consented that you should do so, there was nothing to be said. But when that consent is withheld, when all these things are done for women, but without the consent of women, then I say you are at least straining the theory of our Constitution, and you are doing a great deal to diminish the force and value and sanction both of administrative acts and of legislation in Parliament. That is the first explanation that I wanted to make. It is important to remember that, because the question is not simply what are the qualifications of certain women to vote; the question is, whether the Parliament that you elect in order to represent certain interests in the country is so representative.

The Hall-mark of Citizenship.

The second point I want to deal with is the meaning of a vote. What is its significance? What does it imply? What is its importance? I think that we are apt to think too much of this question of a vote, as if it were a purely personal matter. What will this or that woman of our acquaintance do with a vote if she gets it? If we consider it only from that point of view, it is not unnatural that people should say, "Is a vote, after all, so very important? What can you do with a vote? Many men have it, and they don't use it. Many men would voluntarily surrender it, and if you give it to women, there will be a great many women who will never use it." Well, now, that may be very true, but we cannot think of a question from the point of view of the individual. If you consider the matter collectively and not individually, then its importance is a very different matter. The vote is a symbol; it stands for a great deal more than people are apt to think. It is the hall-mark of citizenship in every country which is governed by a representative institution. And therefore, whether it is used or

not, possession of the vote establishes certain rights of citizenship which cannot be acquired in any other manner. That is why it is a matter of capital importance, and if you want to test it, go to any single class of voters in this country and try to take away from that class their vote; you will see then that whatever the individual may think, there is not a class in the country possessing the vote that does not attach considerable importance to it, and that will not fight sooner than surrender it.

The Political Issues of the Past Seven Years.

I return now to my evidence. The question which I asked was this: What is the effect upon our political life, in its widest sense, of the fact that women are not consulted in the framing of its laws, and are denied the status of citizenship? Well, the reason, we are told, why women should not have the vote is because politics is the affair of men, and not of women. It is upon that count that I want to give you my evidence. I want to tell you, in my own experience, the meaning of this politics which is not the business of women.

What are the measures and questions with which Parliament has been occupied during the last seven years, during which I have had any connection with political life? Well, first of all, there was the great, overshadowing question of the South African War. Is there a woman in this hall who will say that that war was no business of women, that it did not affect their interests, that they had no part or concern in its fortunes or consequences? They suffered in that war by the loss of their brothers or their husbands or their sons. Many of them contributed to the cost of it out of their own pockets. And what, after all, was this war fought about? We went to war because in a part of South Africa Englishmen were denied those responsibilities of citizenship which women are claiming to-day, and it was because men were left voteless that it was thought necessary by the people of this country to go to war, and for three years to pour out blood and treasure in order to give them a right which we knew to be of supreme importance in every civilised state.

After that I see two big measures of internal interest, two great political controversies which were started, and which are raging even at the present time—education and licensing reform. Will anybody plead that the question of the education of children and the question of temperance are matters of no concern to women? I do not know, ladies and gentlemen, whether any of you have had the experience which I have often had of attending meetings in connection with education—I mean the educational rather than the political side of education. If that has been your experience you will bear me out, I think, when I say that at all such meetings you will find ten women present for every man. And it is quite natural that it should be so, because, after all, in the education of children,

and in the vital interests of the future which are bound up in that question, surely it is a matter in which the mother has as great an interest as the father.

What about temperance? Who is it that suffers most from the evils of drink? What about the mothers and the children—are not they the people who suffer most when the wages earned by the father don't come home to the home at all? And is not the question of drink amongst women the most serious, the most deadly aspect of the whole question? And yet whilst licensing reform and education are occupying the attention of Parliament we are told that women have nothing to do with politics.

Later on I find that these two great questions were overshadowed again by another great question, which also has not yet been settled—the question of fiscal reform. That is a question of the contribution of the people to the Exchequer of this country. I am not concerned here with the merits of this question, but I say that the interests of women are just as much bound up in it as are the interests of men.

At the General Election.

Then, coming to the last General Election, what were the other questions which were put before the electors? What are the matters with which the Parliament then elected has dealt? Factory legislation, which regulates the hours of women as well as men in factories, workmen's compensation, unemployment, sweated industries, housing, sanitation, town-planning, criminal procedure, Poor-laws. In fact, with regard to nine-tenths of the work which is done in Parliament to-day, I say women have as great an interest as men. And with regard to quite an appreciable part women have an even greater interest than men, because when you consider, for instance, some of the clauses in that extremely important Children's Act of last year, I say that they concern women first and men only second.

Well, then, I come to the next point. When we are told that women are incompetent to have an opinion on these subjects—subjects which vitally affect their lives—I reply that the only reason, if it were true, is that they are without the responsibility which is the only incentive; and the sooner that is remedied the better for men as well as for women. I am speaking, I repeat to you, from a man's point of view, and I say that all these are matters upon which men can get help and assistance of the most valuable kind from women, and when they get it, it is they—the men—who will do better work. There will be a Parliament of men which will be more representative of the interests of the country, and the laws passed by that Parliament will have a firmer sanction. Government will be better, and the State will be happier.

The Militant Methods.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have one other matter to which I wish to refer. Speaking here on this occasion, I cannot ignore

the most recent phase of this movement and the action of some of its more enthusiastic and active supporters. Speaking from a personal point of view, I can only say that the militant tactics of the last two years are to me inexpressibly painful and distressing. This new policy has been brought home to me too closely, ladies and gentlemen, as it has to many of you; it has been brought too near to us, I say, to be treated as a joking matter. We know that it is serious, and I do not suppose there is any individual in this country who more desires than I do that these tactics should come to an end. But I cannot refuse to recognise the circumstances which have made them necessary, and the evident failure—one cannot deny it—of all orderly and constitutional methods. Now, these militant tactics involve—I cannot shut my eyes to the fact—defiance of the law and a species of revolution, and he who advocates or even sanctions revolutionary measures incurs a responsibility which it is impossible to exaggerate. But I say that those who deplore these methods must look back a little at the last few years. This question, which has been ignored and ridiculed for more than a generation, has now become one of burning seriousness. It is no good speaking of these tactics as the “antics of monkeys” or the “howling of hysterical dervishes.” That sort of language is not going to put a stop to them. The days when ridicule and indifference and neglect were powerful weapons have gone by, and to-day words like these are only so much fuel to the fire of indignation, which is already well alight.

Those who want to stop these militant tactics must remember three things. They must remember first of all what our chairman has reminded us of to-day, that those who have not the ordinary rights of citizens are denied the most obvious and ordinary constitutional means of bringing their grievances forward and getting them redressed. It is not citizens able to send people to Parliament to represent them, and having their remedy at the polls, who are concerned in this case, but women who have no votes to use.

Then we must remember that orderly and respectable methods have been adopted now for forty years, and that petitions to Parliament, processions, mass meetings, speeches in and out of Parliament, have followed one another in endless succession during the whole of that period. Yes, constitutional measures have been tried, without any appreciable effect whatever upon the deadweight of indifference in the country.

And, lastly, there is this fact also to be remembered, that the fight is not against opposition, but against indifference and inertia. Revolution is not a legitimate weapon for a minority against the declared opposition of a majority in the country—I cannot say it too emphatically; but that is not the position. If these extreme measures are taken, it is because for forty years no other means have succeeded in removing the indifference and inertia of a majority in Parliament actually pledged in favour of the cause. Therefore, ladies and gentlemen, with a full sense of the responsibility which is incurred, I stand here to say, to as many as my

words can reach, *the time has come to settle this question.* The time has come to take one's stand and show one's colours. If you are in favour of it, fight for it; if you are against it, fight against it. Fight at the polls, fight in Parliament, fight wherever you can, but at least do us the honour to treat it seriously, and to face the issue.

A Word to Opponents.

I have only one last word, and it is for those who are not indifferent on this question; it is for those who are genuinely and seriously opposed to the whole movement, who look forward with very genuine fear and shrinking to the day when women will be asked to realise their responsibility as citizens, and to take their share in the work of choosing the Government of this country. There are many such, many of my own friends and acquaintances, and I respect them, I sympathise with them; and my sympathy with them is the strongest reason why I want to see this controversy ended, because I know that nothing but the real thing will ever remove their fears. They will never believe that a woman with a vote can still be womanly, dignified, lovable, until they see it. I say nothing but the real thing will ever convince them. The future, which we look forward to with so much confidence and hope, is to them ominous and dreadful. We shall not convince them by argument; therefore, I say, I long impatiently for the day when I can turn to these friends and say, “Now, see, the thing which you so dreaded is not so very terrible after all; instead of having robbed womanhood of its tenderness, its charm, its beauty, we have only added to it a new beauty, a wider interest, and a fuller opportunity for self-expression.” They say to us to-day, these people, “Can it be that you really wish to see women aping the habits and customs of men? Do you really wish to see men governed by women? Can it be that you are actually encouraging the antagonism and rivalry between the sexes?” They ask these questions, and we can only answer, “No, ten thousand times, no! That is not what we want.” But they will not believe that our claims can have any other result; but the day will come, some day they will know; some day, in the fulness of time, they will see in the flesh what we can see to-day with the eyes of faith, and in the meanwhile, until that day comes, we can only go on repeating, whether they believe it or not—it is not antagonism which we contemplate, but co-operation. It is not rivalry, but mutual assistance; we want to see each sex the complement of the other; we want to see them both, not as rivals, but as fellow-workers, yoked each to each in excellence, of noble end, sharing their interests, their duties, their responsibilities, in public life as well as in private life, in the State no less than in the home.

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Women's Vote and Men,

By Henry W. Nevinson.

(Reprinted from *The English Review*, October, 1909.)

No one could wonder if the Suffragists now said little about the object of their contention. When a contest is hot and the danger mortal, it is not easy to meditate on the far-off land for which you are fighting. As old-fashioned Americans would say, you can't climb Pisgah with a Hotchkiss. Amid the dust and tumult of the conflict, one has to assume the promised land, or even to forget it. For the Suffragists the struggle has now become so intense, its phases change so fast from day to day, and such elements of abhorrence and indignation have been added, that the ultimate hope and result of it all cannot be much spoken of. In the midst of tactics and manœuvres, in defence and attack, in law courts and police courts, in prison cells, during the pain of hunger strikes, and under the abomination of stomach tubes forced against their will down their throats or nostrils, the women who are fighting for political rights in this country have hardly time to remember the full significance of their aim. They are obliged to take all that for granted, and to argue about it now seems a little irrelevant, a little uninteresting. The Vote to them has become a symbol, a summary of faith—something for which it would be glorious to die, something assured and indisputable that needs no demonstration. It is to them what the Cross was to the Christians.

In speaking of Suffragists, I am here thinking only of the "Militants." As is well known, there are many other excellent, long-established and recent Suffragist bodies, which spend a great deal of energy in dissociating themselves from the "militant"

societies. But for the moment the "Militants" are the only Suffragists who count, because they have realised the old saying in Mill's "Subjection of Women," that "the concessions of the privileged to the unprivileged are seldom brought about by any better method than the power of the unprivileged to extort them." Or again (if one may quote a still earlier advocate of their cause), they remember Mary Wollstonecraft's words, that "Prudence is ever the resort of weakness, and they rarely go as far as they may in any undertaking who are determined not to go beyond it on any account." And so, if victory is won, it will be the "Militants" who win it, not because they do this or that, but because they have no reservations. I do not mean that it will be theirs to receive the enemy's surrender and enjoy the fruits of victory. Quite the contrary. When the moment comes, the other Suffragists will smilingly enter the field over the wreckage of battle and assure us they always knew reasonable methods would prevail.

From women Suffragists engaged in such a conflict for political rights as now claims some attention even from the Liberal Government and its gaolers, we ought not to demand repeated statements of the advantages they expect for women from the franchise. They will tell us if we ask them, but all has now been said, and the pressure of immediate events is too acute for abstract arguments on what Mr. Asquith, speaking of his deceptive "pledge" to Suffragists, has called "a remote and speculative future." We men, however, who cannot be so deeply and personally involved in the struggle, and who, by reason of our sex, necessarily escape the worst ignominy of the mob and the most shameful outrage of Government torture—we have still the opportunity for calmer and more extended views.

Votes for Women Soon.

Assuming, as we may, that political rights will be given at all events to the tax-payers among women within the next few years, we are bound to consider how the change will affect ourselves as well as women. Most men in opposing women's suffrage dwell entirely on the harm it will do to women—the loss of womanliness and feminine influence, the overthrow of chivalry, and the reduction of "the strength that lies in woman's weakness." But these tender

and sentimental arguments are due, one must suppose, only to the natural unselfishness of the opponent's nature, just as the fear that women will not vote enough "Dreadnoughts" and will somehow shock our Indian Empire is due to the householder's habit of thinking in Continents. Being plain, practical people, we others are bound to consider ourselves as well as the women and the dangers to which they and the Seven Seas will be exposed. We must not allow any exaggerated or chivalrous consideration for womanhood to blind us to the question of our own interests, nor must we lose our sense of proportion in pity for dear, shrinking, and womanly qualities exposed to the storms of freedom. When we hear the male Anti-Suffragist talk like this, we naturally feel very brutal and inferior; we also feel much inclined to be sick; but let us restrain our feelings and look the probable future in the face, for it concerns ourselves.

What the Colonies Say.

In outward politics—in elections and legislation, probably we shall not be conscious of so much change from the women's vote as is either hoped or feared. The best experience we have to judge from is the case of Australia and New Zealand, where the people are of our own stock, living under similar laws, and confronted with much the same kind of problems, except that theirs are on a smaller scale. Mr. Pember Reeves has described the absolute calm with which the women's franchise was there received. A chapter upon the subject in his "State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand" shows that nearly all women use the vote, but there is no fuss or disorder, and very little effect on the balance of parties or the tone of public life. Priestcraft has not been strengthened, as some prophets feared; the functions of the State have not been unduly extended; and nothing has been done to impede progress. On all general subjects there has been hardly any distinction between the women's vote and the men's. In fact, when Mr. Pember Reeves's book was published (1902) the only legislative changes that could be definitely traced to the women's franchise were some restrictions on drink and the raising of "the age of consent" by three years.

Both are significant, for a husband's drunkenness and the seduction of girls specially concern women. It seems likely that

in this country, when women get the vote, we men may have stricter limitations placed on our drinking and debauchery. The abuses surviving from the Middle Ages are also probably more numerous here than in the Antipodes, while the political sense of our women will be all the keener after their present struggle for the vote. The women may insist upon legislation giving a wife the right to draw a share of her husband's wages, as in Germany, and introducing new provisions in the divorce laws, so as not to leave them an indecent farce for the rich and a useless mockery for the poor. I can even imagine them securing a law under which a mother might for the first time be declared at all events part-parent of her own legitimate child.

The effect of legislation of that kind would be to make it a little more difficult for us men to break all the vows and oaths we take in marriage; such as that promise "With all my worldly goods I thee endow," which I suppose is the commonest lie in the kingdom. As we have promised all our worldly goods, the law under women's franchise might perhaps induce us to give five shillings in the pound. It is possible also that laws in which women have a voice will make it more difficult for us to live by sweating women's work, more difficult to escape the allowance to a mother for our bastards, and more difficult to keep a wife with us in the workhouse against her will.

But, after all, laws are only made for evil-doers, or exceptional cases, and comparatively few of us haunt the workhouse, or have bastards, or debauch girls, or starve our wives, or take their children from them. If legislation were all that women's franchise would effect, it would be well worth fighting for certainly, and many of the ancient abuses to which women are subject for want of legal status would be removed, but I doubt if it would have aroused the present enthusiasm, profound as religion, and undeterred by martyrdom. My own belief is that, on the purely political side, the chief result of women's franchise as far as men are concerned will be a general elevation and increase of political interest. That result has been noticed already in Australasia, and during the recent by-elections in this country many electors have for the first time realised that there must be some value in a vote which women are ready to die for. My friend, Mr. Prevost

Battersby, writing in the *Morning Post*, regrets this tendency. He thinks the interest in politics is already excessive, and perhaps he feels an artist's horror of the subject. Like one of the old Greek poets, Mr. Battersby is "a follower of war and of the Muses." So am I, and yet I do not regret the stir, the questioning and the zeal by which the presence of the woman's vote will transform the stagnation of much in our political life. As for the languid indifferentist who sniffs at public interests while cloistered in the aloofness of his artistic treasury, certainly Mr. Battersby would never deplore his extinction. For Mr. Battersby knows as well as I know that only in countries where national feeling is high and the public conscience intensely sensitive can either wars or Muses be worth the following.

No Back-Stairs Influence.

But I will agree with him that the political interest, unless we extend the term past recognition, is not the main thing in life. All the great teachers have insisted that the main thing is the condition of the soul, and as we pass from politics into that region we may just notice one great change which will be equally wholesome both for the politics and the souls of us men. I mean the disappearance of feminine influence from the back stairs. Among the Anti-Suffragists there are two or three clever women who say they have enough political influence already. So they have, and a most poisonous influence it is; I do not mean necessarily in its results, but in its methods. They call it indirect, by which they mean what other people call back stairs, and we all know the social intrigue and assorted flattery through which it is exercised. When woman's influence openly enters the front door of politics with the vote, we men may gradually see ourselves deprived of those charming entertainments at which the hostess almost imperceptibly cajoles the judgment of hesitating editors or politicians. We may see ourselves deprived of many such flattering attentions, and we can only comfort our regret with the knowledge that the dose of poison in politics and in our own souls is being proportionately reduced.

Coming a point nearer to the centre of things, we may expect that women's franchise will sooner or later effect some change in

our own everyday manner to women. In all sorts of subtle ways the inferiority of women is now impressed on us from babyhood. The very fact that we are brought up by mothers and nursemaids has something to do with it; for, if only by long stress of habit, mothers and nursemaids are inclined to make most of the male, and it is a very uncommon nursery in which the son is not crowned king above his sisters. The position has the further sanction of what was once considered divine revelation. Writing, I think, with entire seriousness, Sir Thomas Browne says:

The whole World was made for man, but the twelfth part of man for woman. Man is the whole world and the breath of God: woman the rib and crooked piece of man.

No one now takes the story of Eden thus literally, but the unconscious impression of it has remained fixed in the habits and thoughts of our people, whose education was long almost limited to the Old Testament. Milton's line upon the first man and woman—"He for God only, she for God in him"—has for many women obscured all the beauty and power and freedom of the poet's works. And the idea at the root of it still survives, as we see by the storm whenever a woman dares to assert the separate existence of her soul by adopting some form of religion different from her husband's, or by consulting any other man upon the subject. In denouncing the Suffragettes, a well-known minister in London lately reached his climax of abuse with the word "Bipeds!" It was a relic of the Mosaic story of Creation still pervading religious thought.

On Chivalry.

But it is said that the evil effect of this doctrine of women's inferiority, decreed by heaven and inculcated by nursemaids, has long been mitigated by the usages of chivalry, and if women are granted political equality, the blessings they receive from chivalry will be lost. I recognise the beauty of the chivalrous ideal as much as anybody. The conception of the courtly knight killing dragons without fear, and honouring women without reproach, is always attractive, and it makes a far better training for Sunday schools than the older doctrine of woman as a spare rib. But when people begin to talk about the loss of chivalry owing to the vote, I

have the same sense of sickness as when they talk about the loss of womanliness and about woman's weakness being her strength. I much prefer to remember the definition given by a young curate in Whitechapel when he was taking a party of working people round the picture gallery. Coming to a picture representing a knight heavily clad in armour releasing a beautiful woman bound to a tree and not at all heavily clad in anything, he became conscious, perhaps, of the shock to the habitual decency of the poor, for he hurriedly exclaimed: "That, my friends, represents the glorious days of chivalry, when knights rode about the country rescuing fair damsels from other people's castles, and carrying them off to their own!"

Though rapidly conceived, it is the best definition of chivalry I know. I remember it with satisfaction whenever I see the men in the Tube spring up to offer their seats to pretty and well-dressed women, but remain profoundly occupied with the politics of their paper while a worn-out and draggled creature with a baby and a roll of butter sways from the straps against their knees. I see no reason why this chivalry should ever become extinct, vote or no vote. For there will always be plenty of well-bred men who can rise to that pitch of heroism and politeness, provided the vote does not have the effect of making all women hideous, which is against likelihood and the experience of our Colonies.

Chivalry would be safe even though Mr. Asquith, in a fit of repentance, proposed plural votes for women. What serious people mean by chivalry is, I suppose, the special courtesy and consideration due to all women as such, because they are in some respects physically weaker, in some respects more sensitive, and surrounded with the halo of danger and pain from actual or possible motherhood. We honour them for that, just as we like an old soldier for his medals and a young one for his uniform. But the idea that true chivalry will decline seems to spring from the notion that a vote will make women, not only equal to men, but the same. You might as well say that a poplar is the same as a church because it is equally high. All the old-fashioned attempts to prove that women are the same as men, and should have the vote for that reason, were beside the mark. It is just because they are different that the votes of men cannot represent them.

Chivalry has become a mawkish word, but the honourable idea

still lingering in it will remain; and so will good manners, and the natural attraction between men and women. It is a fine old saying that "the King's Government must be carried on." But Nature has a much more important thing to carry on than the King's Government, and we may be quite sure she will go through with it, not suffering the country to be depopulated because women obtain the right of walking to a polling station once in five years. For us men, I think the standard of manners towards women will even be raised, and our efforts to win approval will become more strenuous. Suffragists who carry sandwich boards and sell their paper in the streets tell me that already the manners of the working people towards them show a visible and audible improvement. The poor are always more sensitive and quicker to politeness than shop assistants, Liberal stewards, and others of the middle classes, because they are nearer to suffering and less trammelled by snobbery; but the improvement due to women's claim for equal rights will gradually spread upward. The complacent sense of natural and legalised superiority, so bad for us all, whether we are dukes or only men, will be shaken when the law and constitution refuse to recognise it. This alone will make us men more agreeable, besides increasing our chance of heaven, and in every class throughout the country a finer respect will be paid to every woman when she is no longer debarred from equal citizenship. For respect generally varies directly with power.

The Cult of the Ministering Angel.

The loss of our assumed superiority would, as I said, make us more agreeable. It would also, one hopes, save our characters from the invalid atmosphere of all that nursing, coddling, soothing, tending, and comforting, which we have regarded as the special function of women so long that their life is often a perpetually occupied hospital or madhouse. Dr. Johnson said a man should never put himself out to nurse, but that is exactly what almost all the male sex does. We live in a sanatorium with female attendants. We have whined, "A ministering angel thou!" till we have secured for ourselves a continuous supply of amateur nurses, much as we have made women moral by killing them physically or socially if they were not, and then maundering over

the charm of their purity. We shall have to give up some of our notions upon woman's self-sacrifice, self-abnegation, and self-devotion, in so far as they mean sacrifice, abnegation, and devotion for the benefit of our own precious selves. But consider how much we shall gain by deliverance from that languid and hospital air in which we rot at ease! Everything, like the vote, which breaks down our comfortable doctrines of women's subservience and dependence on our own well-being, tends to deliver us, as though into the open air of day. Let us deliver ourselves at all costs. How one sympathises with the man in James Stephens's poem of "Nora Criona"!

"I've looked him round, and looked him through,
Know everything that he will do
In such a case, and such a case:
And when a frown comes on his face
I docket it, and when a smile,
I trace its sources in a while.

"He cannot do a thing but I
Peep and find the reason why.
For I love him, and seek
Every evening in the week
To peep behind his frowning eye
With little query, little pry,
And make him, if a woman can,
Happier than any man."

... Yesterday he gripped her tight,
And cut her throat—and serve her right.

Besides gaining a more agreeable temper than is there described, and freeing ourselves from the fractiousness of invalids and spoilt children, as we lose our legalised assumption of superiority, we men will also receive an added and peculiar zest in winning a woman's affection and trying to keep it. The difficulty must in most cases increase, but that alone will heighten the joy of triumph. As equal opportunities open to women (and the vote is a symbol of equal opportunities), fewer of them will be willing to marry "any one." The thing will be less of a "trade,"

to use Miss Cicely Hamilton's word, and in the end it will be so much the better for "any one"—who is not very nicely treated now, as I think she has remarked. If women reach such a position that they will marry only the men they want, we shall have to put ourselves out to win them. Sex is powerful but insufficient, and there is nothing more amusing than to watch the average sensual man overwhelmed at finding his average sensual charm thrown away upon a woman who demands ever so much more than that. We shall have to develop other powers of pleasing, and for many of us that will imply a great effort—an effort which must be maintained even after marriage when the woman enjoys equal opportunities of slamming the front door if she can endure us no longer. But difficult as we may find the struggle, it will surely be very improving for the condition of our souls, which we have agreed is the main thing in life. Nor, indeed, as I suggested before, could we seek a more splendid triumph than to win and hold the affection of one whose demand for equality almost amounted to "antagonism."

One of the Suffragists has told us that a working woman, speaking of her husband in a London back street, said the other day: "He's a saver, and he don't knock me about much, but somehow he never thinks as a woman counts." It is a fair summary of behaviour among the better kind of men. They work and practise thrift; they do not knock women about much, and perhaps they do not even join in the foul laughter of Members of Parliament over the anguish inflicted on women by the Government's "forcible feeding." But, blinded by long habit, they somehow never think that a woman counts. The woman's vote will help to remind them. For the vote is not only another assurance that the day has come when, in Napoleon's phrase, the career is open to the talent; it is above all things a symbol of personality. When women obtain it, we shall be obliged to recognise, as they are beginning to recognise now, that their happiness, like our own, lies, if anywhere, in the realisation of self, and not in self-suppression, self-abnegation, or any of the other dismal virtues we have imposed on them for our own comfort. The assertion of self, the fulfilment of function, is the final object of life. It may not bring happiness, but without it happiness is

impossible, and for women, as for men, the methods of exercising it are infinitely varied. A Winchester master, whom we will call the Worm that Turned, once wrote in his report: "This boy has no special aptitude, power, or qualification; will make an excellent parent." We see the fine satire of it when applied to a future father, but it is very much the view we hold of most women, though it does not in the least follow that a particular woman's true function is motherhood, any more than fatherhood may be a man's.

Self-realisation in place of self-suppression—that has been the moving principle of the last two or three generations both for men and especially for women. It is no new principle, being at least as old as Aristotle, but it has been kept in the background by rulers and preachers. I do not deny that its revival will effect great changes in our lives, but I am convinced that the changes will be for the health of our souls, as nearly all change is. What increase of happiness women themselves gain from the growing rights of personality falls outside my present subject. But how great that increase will be may to some extent be seen from the extraordinary happiness of the women who are now engaged in fighting for the Vote, which, as I said, is their symbol of personality. They are transformed; they are raised above themselves; in the midst of shame, mockery, violence, and Government torture they remain tranquil and full of joy. There is a well-known saying of Nietzsche that a good war justifies any cause. The Suffragettes are enjoying all the advantages of a good war now, but they have the further advantage of a far-reaching and profoundly significant cause which will need no justification when it is won.



BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

Neighbours of Ours.

Scenes of East End Life. (Arrowsmith.)

In the Valley of Tophet.

Scenes of Black Country Life (Dent.)

The Thirty Days' War.

Scenes in the Græco-Turkish War of 1897. (Dent.)

Classical Greek Landscape and Architecture.

Pictures by JOHN FULLEYLOVE. (Dent.)

Ladysmith.

The Diary of a Siege. (Methuen.)

The Plea of Pan.

(Murray.)

Between the Acts.

Scenes in the Author's Life. (Murray.)

On the Old Road through France to Florence.

French Chapters. (Murray.)

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An Account of the Slave Labour in Angola and the Cocoa Islands of San Thomé and Principe. (Harper.)

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Scenes in the Georgian Revolution 1906-1907. (*Harper's Monthly*, 1908.)

The New Spirit in India.

Scenes during the Unrest, 1907-1908. (Harper.)

Essays in Freedom.

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The Emancipation of Womanhood.

(Extracts from an Address delivered at the High Pavement Chapel, Nottingham, on November 14th, 1909.)

No doubt many good people have wonderingly asked, "What has Christianity to do with the Women's Movement?" The truth is that the Higher Spirit of Humanity has stirred the hearts of pioneer women in our day and set them on fire with a zeal for justice and for a freer, ampler life.

I was speaking to a Socialist and a Catholic the other day on this subject. He was in favour of the thorough-going social and political emancipation of women, but he could not understand the modern movement. "It is beyond my comprehension," he said, "that they should have all this passion of reckless self-sacrifice for such a futile and impotent thing as the vote has turned out to be. There is something in the movement that is unaccountable and strange. When I try to fathom it I hear mystical talk about liberty, equality, comradeship, completer womanhood, and realisation of personality and so forth—but I can't get any clear understanding. It baffles and bewilders me." Then he added: "Yet there is—must be—something significant, however inexplicable, some spirit at work, some revival and uprising from the depths of Humanity to account for the things we witness. There must be some cause adequate to these effects. What is it? It can't be a freak or an accident, and yet I am utterly unable to see what it is and what it means."

I told him how there seemed to be a welling up of life that swept women away in its flood almost before they realised they were in

the current. Whence it came, whither it went, might be difficult to say—but at any rate here it was—a transforming and transfiguring faith that made stammering women eloquent, and the shy and the sensitive to speak with tongues, the modest and the shrinking to be violent, the cultured and refined who had been nursed in the lap of luxury to be comrades with wage-earning women and to share the same insults and wounds and imprisonments and bodily humiliations; titled ladies, university graduates, artists, authoresses, working housewives, and charwomen were made one in this movement and suffered a common crucifixion and torture even as patrician matrons and their slaves were made one in the early persecutions of Christianity. If this thing was of evil it simulated the enthusiasm of religion uncommonly well and certainly brought forth some of the fruits of the spirit: unearthly joys, endless heroisms, unyielding devotions, passionate loyalties, and all the agonies of martyrdom short of, but only a hair's-breadth short of, actual death—and probably deaths were in store for some of them in the near future.

The Vote a Symbol.

Something of that kind I tried to say to my friend. It is what that splendid champion Mr. Nevinson has been saying in an article* in the *English Review* of November, 1909: "The struggle has now become so intense, its phases change so fast from day to day, and such elements of abhorrence and indignation have been added, that the ultimate hope and result of it all cannot be much spoken of. In the midst of tactics and manoeuvres, in defence and attack, in law courts and police courts, in prison cells, during the pain of hunger-strikes, and under the abomination of stomach-tubes forced against their will down their throats or nostrils, the women who are fighting for political rights in this country have hardly time to remember the full significance of their aim. They are obliged to take all that for granted, and to argue about it now seems a little irrelevant, a little uninteresting. The Vote to them has become a symbol, a summary of faith—something for which it would be glorious to die, something assured and indisputable that needs no demonstration. It is to them what the Cross was to the Christians."

This writer knows the movement from the inside and understands the situation. But words like these sound foolishly extravagant and almost insane to those men who would not sacrifice a cup of

* Reprinted in a pamphlet published by The Woman's Press, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.
Price one penny.

coffee or a cigar for any principle whatever, or to those women whose thoughts cannot ascend higher than a Bridge-party.

I am not going to discuss the "symbol" nor the violence of the crusade. I have referred to these incidents simply as social phenomena, however indefensible, that reveal the resolute and invincible determination, the deep consuming passion, the amazing endurance that are behind the women's demands.

No one who has met the chief personalities that command and inspire the forces will ever believe that they can be suppressed. To think they can be diverted from their purpose by policemen or gaolers, or any repressive machinery of Government, is simply the folly of men who think that physical force can hold down a spiritual and a moral force that does not fear those that can kill the body but cannot break the spirit. States and Governments can no more suppress the soul of the movement than the Czar can suppress reform in Russia; than Nero or Marcus Aurelius could suppress Christianity in Rome. The spirit of these women is an ultimate and decisive committal of the soul. Their attitude is conclusive and irrevocable. If we do not mean to massacre them the sooner we recognise that they are bound to triumph the better. The spirit of the leaders is shared by the rank and file—that spirit is invulnerable to either our arguments or our assaults. It will defeat all opposition precisely because there is no opposition in the present age, no movement in the living world, with the same fire and daring of moral conviction behind it. In the estimate of these women all mere party wrangles, however important they seem to us, are but the irrelevant chatter of small men who cannot see that they are discussing things, as it were, behind locked doors, in the absence and enforced silence of the majority of the inhabitants of these isles.

The Crisis Reached.

Let us, if we can, pass for a moment out of the dust of the actual arena of conflict and consider rather the meaning of the strife. It is an old strife that calls to mind names like those of John Stuart Mill and Mary Wollstonecraft; only in our day it has swiftly passed beyond the stage of discussion into the battlefield of defiant deeds. No man, however sympathetic, can quite share the intensity of the modern revolt of woman. But he can at any rate try to understand it. It seems to me that here we have the clear emergence of a newer and more heroic human energy. We often speak as though evolution and revolution were contradictory terms. But they are by no means necessarily so. There are occasions when revolution

belongs to the ordinary and normal course of evolution. Development reaches a crisis now and again from which further progress is possible only through a sudden convulsion. This catastrophe becomes then the necessary step in further development. Social growth may be, and often is, as revolutionary as the passing of a grub into a moth: it is like the chick breaking the shell that once preserved but now restrains it. To say this is not to preach violence or revolution in any bad sense. It is simply the recognition of the fact that progress may come to a momentary standstill because it cannot go on any further on the old lines; that a new departure has become imperatively necessary if health and vitality are to be maintained. I believe that the evolution of womanhood has been thus artificially checked by society for centuries, and that the limit of restraint and frustration has now been reached; that the older countries must therefore follow the younger colonies like Australia and New Zealand, and remove the stone-wall barrier that has been set up against the advancement of women.

Such breaks in evolution are never without preparation. The wings of the angel of the Revolution are formed, though folded in the chrysalis. The industrial conditions of the last century especially have made the emancipation of women as predestined as any human movement can be said to be. If we believe at all in an economic interpretation of history, if we believe at all that modern changes are coming about because these changes were implicit and inherent in preceding social conditions, then to that extent the Emancipation of Womanhood is simply the expression of something which has been pre-determined and fore-ordained, and which now appears in the fulness of time. What determined it? Very largely the fact that women have been compelled to earn their own living under a capitalistic system. They have been driven into factories: they have thus come in quite a new sense under the power of economic and industrial conditions. They have been educated to serve under this system: they are equipped for technical and intellectual ends.

Handicaps.

But although in this way they are subjected to industrial conditions they are finding that they are hampered, handicapped, thwarted almost at every turn. In the open market the male, who is said sometimes to be the stronger body and the superior mind, is given additional and artificial advantages to any that he may naturally possess. For the same work, even for inferior work—as, for instance, in some cases of teachers in schools—he is

better paid. In other cases professions like law and the ministry of religion are made a male monopoly. The old chivalry, which at its best was perhaps rather a beautiful thing, has become a nauseating cant upon our lips. The genuine chivalry is that of men who to-day will fight to see that women are given more justice and fair play in a life already by nature fashioned for a special share of pain and suffering and vicarious sacrifice. And the highest chivalry is not that which condescendingly fights for them but that which will put national and civic weapons into their hands and give them that political experience and power which will enable them to fight for themselves—as indeed they must. They pass the same examinations in Oxford and Cambridge, often they beat the man in Tripos or in Schools, but male chivalry debars them from the degree they have earned. They come out products of what we call the Higher Education as well equipped as men, often better, only to find that many of the most lucrative posts and careers are closed to them. They are thwarted on every hand in the effort to serve society and to express their individualities. As children they were a secondary consideration to their brothers and their education less seriously thought of and less generously sacrificed for, and now, when in spite of all obstacles they are as well-educated as the best of men, it is only to find their opportunities narrow and circumscribed and hedged about with stupid man-made restrictions and prejudices. Only with great reluctance was the medical profession opened to them. The better-paid careers in the Civil Service are still shut against them. There are over 5,000,000 women workers, but the inspectorships open to women are few and out of all proportion to the number of women employed in schools and factories. Our prisons, with their thousands of unhappy women inmates, have but one woman inspector, and no women doctors, I believe.

The woman wage-worker is even more weighted in the race and struggle of life. It is of our chivalry forsooth that we permit her to be sweated and underpaid and drive her to go on the streets. The Post Office tender for uniforms and clothing stipulates for the magnificent sum of 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. an hour to be paid by the contractor. It is of our chivalry that she has to labour full time at the factory and then come home to resume the housework which is never finished. It is of our chivalry that we tax her and impose our laws upon her without consulting her or admitting her to any effective voice in the Government that taxes and legislates. This is *cant*, odious and cowardly cant, that makes a pitiless mock of shielding her only

to expose her to the fiercest brunt of the tempest and leave her shelterless in the face of the elements. Fine, brave, handsome chivalrous men we are indeed to ask why she rebels against our benign ruling of her fate! We have not one reasonable argument against the justice or urgency of the women's movement, except indeed Mrs. Humphry Ward's argument that when it comes to fisticuffs we can usually knock her down. There is no argument. As a campaign for political and economic rights it is quite unanswerable. As a case for the emancipation of a sex from industrial exploitation it is absolutely incontrovertible and needs no plea.

Yet I confess that what impresses me most is not what men can confer as a measure of tardy justice upon women, but what women can bring to men in their crusade for a better and purer humanity. It is not a matter merely of her rights but of our human needs. The Emancipation of Womanhood is the first and most necessary step to the emancipation of human society from evils which men are powerless to fight alone. It is not only that we should be giving a belated measure of justice to women by conceding rights which we cannot any longer safely withhold, but that we should be releasing a reservoir of moral and spiritual energy and a source of specialised experience and intelligence for the good of the human race. I am indeed concerned about woman's own demands, but I am also concerned about the requirements of human society.

The Labour of Married Women.

Take the case of Married Women's Labour. I want to put myself in the pillory as a penitent, for until recently I believed it was a simple piece of philanthropy and a wise step in social reform to restrict the liberty of wage-earning mothers. That expectant mothers should be prevented from pursuing their work almost up to the birth of their child, and that they should not be allowed to return to the factory until after the lapse of four weeks or so, seemed merely a provision of humane common sense. The male politicians and legislators seemed to think so too. But if women could have had an effective voice in the matter we should not have been so foolish and short-sighted. The problem is not so simple as it looks. The alternative for many such wage-earning mothers is not work or nourished rest, but work or starvation. If it is bad for such women and for their babes that they should work too near the time of birth and return to work too soon afterwards, it is still worse that they should be underfed and suffer hunger. "Society," says

Lady McLaren, "realises only the discomfort that is seen, and when a woman, especially an expectant mother, is seen working in a factory grimy and unpleasing, it gives a shock to the whole male sex. Men are ever ready to forbid such outrages, and stop wage-earning. For the sake of its own tender feelings, Society wishes to hide away the miserable woman in her own home, where no money can be earned; and once there it forgets her. It is in this spirit that Parliament has said that before a child is born the employer can send a woman worker away at his discretion, and that she shall not be permitted to earn anything again till the child is four weeks old. Meanwhile the law imposes on no person whatever the duty of giving her food."

I mention this case because it has specially impressed me owing to my own blindness in the matter. Such a law seemed so wise and beneficent to me once: now it seems unspeakably foolish and cruel. For such a law to be of use, to be just, the woman ought to have some sure support either from some public authority or, where there is a wage-earning husband, by having a right to some share of his wages paid directly to herself. But our laws are man-made.

It is not merely that men are selfish and will not surrender their advantages for the sake of social well-being: it is that men do not know, do not understand, have not the experience or the insight necessary and are too self-confident to call in the women to prescribe or consult. Problems such as the one I have mentioned are often *primarily* women's problems and require women's sagacity and knowledge to solve them, but they are also social problems gravely affecting the future of the race.

"Come and Help Us."

We need woman's moral spirit and insight in all our most urgent social questions. On all the great human issues, the voice of women would be the deliverance of the higher morality of the nation; it would be, spite of the fascination of pageantry, regalia and gay uniforms, a voice in the interests of peace against war. Not that they, as nurses, have been less brave, but that it is they who suffer most from privation at home without bands or banners or excitement, from loss of husbands abroad, and of the sons they have borne and suckled. In matters of social purity their power is almost our only hope; for that horrible cancer of vice is almost exclusively man-made. Their help for temperance reform would be, I believe, decisive; whereas now the brewer and his friends are victorious to the point of defiance and contempt. On subjects like

infant mortality, the care of the feeble, the imbecile and the unfit, medical inspection and feeding of school-children, education, Labour legislation generally, apart from all question of rights, we need women's suggestion and help and experience.

We live, let us thank God and rejoice we live, at the opening of a new era of social reform. That being so, I want the women to be in at it from the beginning. I do not want to see the politicians stir one step without the women's comradeship in the enterprise. It is not merely that all social reform legislation affects women as much as men, and often more, but that no such legislation can be wise and sound unless we have the advantage of the women's distinctive point of view right through from start to finish. From one point of view I do not care a pin whether women say they want or do not want to immerse themselves in politics. I would tell those women who wish to hold aloof that it is not a question of their personal liking or preference. It is a question of our common social necessity. We cannot get on without your assistance, and you must be brought in. The Country requires you, the Cause demands you, Humanity needs you, Duty calls you. Whether you like it or not we mean to put a moral constraint on you and to insist that you shall apply yourselves to those problems which are common human social problems that must be tackled and solved by men and women in joint comradeship and co-operation.

The Poor Law Commission.

Consider the Report of the Poor Law Commission. Has it occurred to all the men here that that most remarkable work is almost exclusively the product of woman's practical genius for social reform? I suppose those of us who have made even the most superficial acquaintance with that document will agree that it is the most wonderful result of social investigation and clear thinking and statesmanlike sagacity that has appeared in all English history. I am not speaking only of the Minority Report, but of the Majority Report too. But it is well known that the chief directive genius behind the Majority Report was a woman—Mrs. Bernard Bosanquet; and the chief directive genius behind the Minority Report was also a woman, one of the most distinguished and noble figures in the whole field of social politics—Mrs. Sidney Webb. Think of the blind stupidity, the criminal waste of keeping women of that character practically outlawed from the national political life. Those reports will some day result in legislation.

It will be a wicked thing if women are to have no say in it, and no place in working its machinery.

The New Conception of Marriage.

And what is the summing up of it all? Is it not this—an immense gain to the civic and the national consciousness through the elevation and development of woman's personality. For all this social activity and interest will react on the woman's character, lifting it out of its narrow and petty groove and giving it a range and a sweep that it has never had before. Woman has her own individual life to live even as a man has his. She will be the better wife and mother, as he will be the better husband and father, by having wide outlooks and an intimate and firm grip on that civic and national and human life in which their being lives. The day is passing, let us hope, when a man expects his wife to be a mere household ornament and convenience—or what Laetitia Dale was to Sir Willoughby Patterne, a presence that illumined him as a burning taper lights up consecrated plate. How odious to a true man would be the sense that his wife clings to him and does this rather than that, simply because she is economically dependent upon him and feels her very soul bought and sold. The essence of true marriage is an irrevocable self-committal on both sides not to crush but to develop the individuality of each and bring it to its perfect bloom and fruit. How horrible would be the thought that a woman consents to marry because it is, under present conditions, the most obvious way of securing a livelihood!

Would not every self-respecting man desire that women should have equal opportunities to acquire their own economic independence, so that they shall feel no inducements to marry except the natural and the honourable ones that ought always to prevail. How unutterably loathsome it is to know that there are thousands of women to-day driven by sheer economic necessity to sell themselves in the marriage-market—that they will marry anyone who will keep them; so that, in Miss Cicely Hamilton's phrase, Marriage has for many women become a *trade*. And how unspeakably horrible it must be for a man to feel, even to suspect, that he is being made use of in that way. Would he not really prefer that he had genuinely to please, to woo, if peradventure he might exult in winning the glory of a free and independent woman's genuine love unaided by any bribe of economic advantage?

Think what this deeper comradeship might mean to the future of the race, when women are no more the playthings and the toys of

men, no more absorbed in the punctilios of etiquette, the petty ambitions for social prestige, the little thin pleasures and affectations of a mentally starved life, the idle round of visitings and small talk and tea-drinkings, and the dilettante dabbling in literature and art as a mere drawing-room accomplishment. Think what it would mean not for her only but for men and for human society if she really counted, and had her full self-expression in life, what her influence would mean for her men friends, and for the children she is training and equipping in civic knowledge and virtue. Think of the changed atmosphere of the home-life when the woman's slavish subservience is no longer a fact, when the mother and the daughters, no less than the father and the sons, can approach all great public questions with equal knowledge and an equal responsibility, when the woman confronts her own career with courage, knowing that she is the mistress of her own destiny precisely because she is the servant of Humanity and not merely of men, the child of God and not the sport of Nature.

How Freedom will be Won.

If this day of emancipation is to come, as come it will and that right soon, it will come by the women's own daring efforts and self-reliant wills. Women may give up looking to political parties, or with much expectation to the aid of men. In the main men will give you only what you can wring out of them, and this when they see they cannot hold you down any longer. Your hope of salvation is in yourselves and the justice of your Cause, and the God of all Justice. You must make yourselves independent of parties and combine to make your subjection no longer possible. Only when men have realised that you are strong, determined, irresistible, yes, and desperate, will they accede to your claims. Until then they will play with you and put you off as they have done all through past years. So unite aggressively in your own interests and "trust no party, sect, or faction," remembering those words of John Stuart Mill: "The concessions of the privileged to the unprivileged are seldom brought about by any better method than the power of the unprivileged to extort them." You have a glorious Cause, you have perilous hazards in front, but also you have a certain victory. You are now in the dark hour, but eastward the sky is already trembling into dawn. Be of good courage, for the day is yours.

Entrance Fee 1/-

MEMBERSHIP PLEDGE.

I endorse the objects and methods of the Women's Social and Political Union, and I hereby undertake not to support the candidate of any political party at Parliamentary Elections until Women have obtained the Parliamentary vote.

I desire to be enrolled as a member.

Mrs. or Miss

Signature.....

Address.....

This page to be detached and posted, with the Entrance Fee of 1s., to the Hon. Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

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WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION CAMPAIGN.

Paper read to the Colinton Parish Church Literary
Society on 17th November 1909,

BY

Mrs JAMES IVORY.

If I had been asked to write a paper upon the Suffrage four years ago, my task would have been comparatively easy. Those who had looked into the question for themselves, and those who had not given it much thought, were alike prepared to admit that the demand for the vote was a just one. At that time, a majority in the House of Commons in favour of the Suffrage confined their sympathy to doing nothing to oppose the question, and gave the Government no trouble by trying to force a Bill which they themselves did not really want. Anti-suffrage societies had not yet been heard of, nor was there any mention of that doctrine, now become so famous, that the welfare and glory of the nation does not rest, as we had been taught to believe, on justice and equity, but on physical force. There was no opposition, because people felt that practically there was nothing to oppose, and those whose sympathies have since become alienated were still comfortably satisfied to agree in theory with women's enfranchisement, provided that they themselves were not asked to make any sacrifice to bring the reform about.

In Parliament every Bill brought in in favour of Votes for Women was either talked out or otherwise shelved, and this was made possible because, as far as the general public was concerned, the question did not exist. This attitude on the part of the nation as a whole appeared at first all the more surprising in view of the work that had been done. Women whose names many of us know, such as Mrs Priscilla Bright M'Laren and Miss Louisa Stevenson, had devoted the best years of their lives to the cause. Demonstrations had been held in all the great towns of Northern England, for the problem was well understood by the working women in this district.

In 1896 a monster petition of quarter of a million names had been sent to Parliament with no result. What the Members of Parliament, by the way, think of petitions was wittily expressed at this time by one of them at a public meeting: "Petitions," said he, "sent up by the unrepresented, are like bell handles rung outside a door that has no bell attached at the other end. They occupy the attention of those outside the house, but do not disturb those that are within." After this failure even the most enthusiastic workers had got discouraged, and many of them, grown grey-headed in working for a cause which appeared to lead nowhere, turned their energies into other channels. It was generally felt that things had come to a standstill. What the Government thought of the subject, in spite of its majority in the House of Commons, which many people have thought of so much importance, is best summed up in Mr Balfour's reply to Mrs Pankhurst in 1905, when she interviewed him on the subject. "Your arguments," said he, "are right and reasonable, there is nothing to be said against the justice of your demand; but until this question is made of national interest, and enters the arena of practical politics, the Government can do nothing."

The work of the old Society had practically come to a standstill for a very good reason. They had failed in winning the vote; they had, however, succeeded in doing a great deal—they had convinced a majority in Parliament and the country in general that their demand was based upon justice. But the Government in admitting this, at the same time refused to do more. Persuasion and appeal were no longer any use. Now if you have a friend who owes you money, it may be your duty to tell him about it, to explain to him why it should be given to you, to ask him for it. As long as he does not think you have a right to it, you may go on being friends. Let him once concede that you are right, and two courses remain—he must either give you what he admits you are entitled to, or, if you have any self-respect at all, the friendship must come to an end. This was the position in 1905. The parting of the ways was at hand. The Government, in admitting the justice of the claim, stated that justice was not enough, they must have a mandate from the people. "Rouse the country," said he, "make this question a national question, nothing less can do it." In other words, Mr Balfour practically recommended militant tactics. This reform for which you women are asking *is* a national question, and will shake the very foundations of national life. Petitions are not enough, justice is not enough, what is for the nation must be paid for in a national way. Four years ago, any of us here to-night would have considered the question a hopeless one. How was the country to be roused? I have laid

some stress upon this situation, because until constitutional and peaceful methods have been tried and failed, warlike methods are inexcusable. The most belligerent fighter will hardly dare to defend war for the sake of fight. And, if that was the situation then, where are we to-day? A great change has come over the country. Friend and foe alike are compelled to admit that this question has entered the arena of practical politics: it haunts the Cabinet Minister wherever he goes, it has given the Prime Minister a place in the National History which he shall never lose, and Asquith and the suffragettes will go down to posterity bracketed together. The bystander in the meantime looks on in amazement—militant tactics, hunger strikes, forcible feeding, dungeons, sound strangely in the ears of a nation that prides itself in being more humane and enlightened than its neighbours, especially in the treatment of its women. And the suffragette? Is she indeed a shrieking female, of which we should be ashamed? These questions are worth considering, for, whether we like it or not, the suffragette has come to stay, and has come, as one of our leading editors said to me last spring—has come to win.

But before I speak to you of the Union to which I am proud to belong, I would like to take up the main point at issue. Unless we are quite certain that there is need, nay, urgent need, for the vote, all these tactics must seem to us wrong. It is generally a wise thing in discussing a subject to find some point of agreement. This here I would like to suggest is the present unsatisfactory condition of women's labour. Suffragists, and anti-suffragists alike, admit that this is so, but I believe this confines itself with most people to a vague idea about the subject, and I venture to say that the greatest criticism of this Union comes not from people who understand the urgent need for action and condemn the tactics, but from those who have no real knowledge of what the members of the Union are really fighting for. If there are among you here to-night any who condemn because they do not understand, let me ask you to face this question for yourselves. It is a vital one this question of women's labour, for upon it hinges the welfare not only of the women, but of the children of the country. Underpay the women, keep from them a living wage, and you are brought face to face with not one problem but with several. The underselling and undercutting for which women are bitterly reproached by the men, the starvation wage which results in child labour to supplement the family need, the sweated industries which touch us women at every point, whether we buy a card of buttons, for which work from four in the morning to eleven at night is paid at the rate of 5s. 3d. a week, or a card of hooks and eyes, for which similar work brings in 3s. 3½d. Does this mean nothing to

us—we who pass by? Do you know that the average pay of 5¼ million women workers is 7s. 6d. a week, and that including all the best paid trades. Does this tell us nothing? Has it ever occurred to us to ask ourselves what must be the result of women and girls getting a wage that they cannot honestly live by? It is worth a moment's thought, worth reminding ourselves that these women are the mothers of the race, that a nation rises and falls by the standard held up by the women. Every woman, forced by the social conditions of life to live immorally, leaves the nation just that much poorer, inasmuch as she becomes a force for evil instead of for good. This question of the vote as it will affect the problem of social evil is not one discussed at any length by suffrage workers, but is one of the greatest incentives to those workers to fight for the cause.

The condition of women's labour at the present day is indeed a big question, and until we have looked into the matter for ourselves and come to some definite conclusion, based upon what actually exists, we cannot really be said to have an opinion of the Suffrage at all. And so, when some friends tell me they disapprove of militant tactics, I never attempt to argue until I find out first of all if they are aware of the need for the vote; until that need is established all argument is superfluous.

And that brings us to the second question. Granted that the need for reform exists, what has that to do with the franchise? In what way will the vote alter the conditions of women's labour. You put that question to the woman to-day, do you still put it to the working man? You do not put it to him, for he would not listen to you. Would any government dare to disfranchise the working man on the ground that his vote could have no effect upon the conditions of labour and was therefore worthless? What is sauce for the gander is sauce for the goose. The explanation after all is a simple one—men understand it; if every woman understood it, we should not have people telling us that women have more power as non-voters than they could have as citizens. The strange thing is, not that it is told to us, but that so many of us believe it.

And what is the explanation? Some of us who have not studied the question may fancy vaguely that the Member of Parliament is a kind of philanthropist who spends his time trying to leave the country better than he found it. A Member of Parliament may be all this, may enter public life filled with great ideals, but, whether he be strong or weak, just or unjust, one thing he must do. He is there primarily through the goodwill of his constituents, and they rightly have the first claim upon his attention. If he gets two chances for introducing a Bill, he may be able to give the second to

anything he considers desirable for the country, but the first chance must be given to redress any grievance, fancied or real, of his constituents; and if he does not do this he is not fulfilling his obligations. And so, when we hear of a Member who had two Bills brought to his notice, the one of minor importance sent up by his constituents, the other a serious grievance connected with woman's work, we do not blame him when he had to choose to ballot for the first. This was an actual incident; the Member was an honest man, but he realised for the first time how it was that women's grievances were so little able to command attention. As long as women are non-constituents, they cannot be sure of having anything done for them. Some stray crumbs may occasionally fall to their share, but this will more or less depend upon the goodwill of some friend in Parliament, who may be willing to help after his own work is done. And if, in trying to help some women's grievance, he runs counter to prejudices or to some supposed benefit to his constituents, will he persist in helping? It would be too much to ask or to expect. The sweated industry is a case in point. Every legislation has known of it for years, but nothing is done.

"We want," says Beatrice Webb in her "Problems of Modern Industry," "an extension of the Factory Acts to sweated industries. But this is a matter in which neither Liberals nor Conservatives are really interested. The miserable workers under the sweating system have no organisations through which they can compel the attention of politicians. But now that their sufferings have been known to us, it is our duty as citizens to insist that those who ask for our votes shall have them only on condition that they will carry out our wishes in that respect." That paper was written in 1892,—and we are no nearer to reform to-day than we were then, for the citizens whose vote might help are non-existent, and the men citizens have grievances of their own.

Up to the present time I hear some of you say, "We agree with your arguments, but that does not excuse militant tactics, which seem to us unwomanly and uncalled for." I think these arguments, however, most important. If we are once for all convinced that the need is imperative, and that the vote will alter the conditions of women's labour, the argument in favour of militant tactics is half won. The same question faces us to-day that faced the leaders of this movement four years ago. Shall we go on working with weapons we know to be obsolete; shall we be content to send up petitions which cannot fail to meet the fate of other petitions; shall we waste time and energy *talking* about a cause of which no one doubts the justice; shall we even help to send a Member of Parliament pledged

to vote for a Bill no government will bring in unless forced to do so? If this cause is worth anything at all, it is worth fighting for. It is either of no value, not worth asking for—in which case let us leave it alone—or it is a big thing worth winning.

Before giving you a brief sketch of the history of the Union, there is one point in connection with militant tactics I will mention. This cannot be too strongly emphasised, as it touches the keynote of their policy, and the understanding of it explains much that at present seems exaggerated and aggressive. The members of the Women's Social and Political Union have adopted militant tactics, not only because forty years of constitutional methods have been tried and failed, but because their attitude towards this question has gradually changed. Whereas the non-militant worker still asks for this vote as a favour, and fears to offend the men who are able to give it, her militant sister no longer asks but demands. She does this deliberately, because she knows that she is asking for no new privilege, but for an old right, dating from Magna Charta—a right that was taken away from her in 1832, when for the first time the word "male" was substituted for "persons." At the granting of Magna Charta, written in Latin, the word *homo* was used, and, translated into English, it was held that the word "man" should take its place, but this word should always include woman unless otherwise stated. It is interesting to note in passing that those trades which men now reserve to themselves were then open to women, and under lists of Freemen we find names of women. Among others, for instance, women appear as weavers, grocers, plumbers, and even parish clerks. It is interesting, further, to find that women were then paid at the same rate as men for the same work. In 1856, Lord Brougham's Act decided that words imputing the masculine gender shall be held to include females, unless otherwise stated. In 1867, therefore, when the phrase "male person" was substituted, and the word "man" appeared, there was much confusion. Much uncertainty prevailed, and in *The Times* of 3rd November 1868 we read the following:—"If women are refused the vote, the nation will no doubt be formally, and in the light of day, committing itself, through its judicial tribunal, to the dangerous doctrine that representation need not go along with taxation." That this dangerous doctrine has become law we well know, but it is worth remembering that originally it formed no part of the British Constitution.

Pause with me a moment then, fix that idea definitely in your mind that this vote is something to which women had a legal right up to 1832, and consider the situation once more. Let us take a homely illustration. Imagine to yourselves a man who, having

helped to build a house with his money and his labour, goes away and leaves it in charge of his fellow-workers, thinking it, at the time, of small value. Some years after he returns, to find the door locked and the windows barred. He knocks and knocks again. Each time he does so he gets a courteous reply, but no move is made to let him in. He is told instead that they are busy inside, setting the house in order, and investing his money; indeed so busy are they trying to find a use for his money that they cannot spare the necessary time to unbar the door. We are thinking about it, they call to him, we know that you are quite justified in wanting to come in to look after your own affairs and your children, but it is a serious step to take; you might make a mistake and spoil the result for which we are working; you must wait. Another, more friendly, tells him that he does not really want to get into his own house, as he is not strong enough to defend it, if he did enter. The man listens and waits; he sends in message after message, hears that a large number feel that he ought to get in, but he knows, every one knows, that no one has any intention of unlocking the door. What does he do? He has waited now for years. He takes stronger measures; he tries to force the door, and in doing so makes a noise. Here is a point worth noting: he is trying to break into his own house. The fact that it is his own just makes the difference. But the men inside no longer answer politely, no longer speak about him as if he did not count. The sympathy they had for him as long as he was standing outside and did not trouble them has become alienated, vanished into thin air; they begin to think that a man depraved enough to force his own door no longer deserves support. But the country meanwhile is roused. The noise is shocking, the man most ungentlemanly; yet a stray person here and there begins to think seriously about this door, begins to wonder if there is not more method in this madness than would at first sight appear, and gradually the man who began without a friend finds that his militant action, so heartily condemned at the start, is winning for him a following. People realise that he means business, and, for the first time, he is taken seriously. There is no need, I take it, to explain the illustration; no need in a community such as this to emphasise the fact that women rightly have a share in the nation, and are part of the nation; that taxation and representation should go together, and that therefore a woman who pays her share should be allowed a voice in saying how that share should be spent.

But, to return to our point; how then is this fight conducted, and how has it progressed during the last four years? The Union about which I have been asked to speak to-night is now well known. It

was formed in 1903 by Mrs Pankhurst and her daughter, and at that time had no militant policy. In 1905 only was a new departure taken. In the autumn of that year it was evident that the Conservative Government was rapidly coming to an end, and that the Liberals would come into power. On 13th October a great meeting was held in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, and Sir Edward Grey was the chief speaker. Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney went to that meeting, and at the close put their question amongst others that were being put by men. The men's questions were answered, and theirs was ignored. They asked it again several times, and were thrown out of the hall, and arrested for holding a protest meeting in the street. They were sentenced to prison, Christabel Pankhurst for one week and Annie Kenney for three days. That was the beginning of the militant tactics. In the spring of 1906 the Union moved its headquarters to London. At the end of the first year its premises there consisted of seven rooms, and eleven women were employed as inside and outside staff; at the end of the second year it had thirteen rooms and was employing thirty people; at the end of the third year it had nineteen rooms in London alone, besides eleven centres in various parts of the country, and employed eighty persons.

A resumé of the financial aspect of the movement may not be without profit, showing as it does how much real interest is taken by the public in this question. In this practical age, we are all apt to put the question, when we hear of any new scheme with which we are not very familiar, does it pay? I am not of those who feel that this test is all sufficient, and yet I realise that we cannot make fire without coal or wood, nor can one have rooms in London unless there is money to pay for them. The inquiry as to means is especially interesting in connection with this Union, as one hears so much on all sides of sympathisers having been alienated since the militants began their campaign, and people withdrawing their support. Some of us, who believe all we are told, fancy vaguely that the support those friends, now alas! alienated, have given us, was practical help, either in the shape of work done for the cause or money. I will not go into that question, but would recommend any interested in human nature to investigate that point for themselves. Meanwhile others, instead of being alienated, finding themselves for the first time facing a problem that needs practical help, have come forward to do their share. There are many ways in which friends have helped, but the filling of the war chest is not the least important. The first year members and friends contributed to this £2,700; the second year this was more than doubled and £7,000 was subscribed to the

Union. The third year brought £20,000. This fourth year £23,000 has been subscribed since the 1st of March.

Then there is the paper *Votes for Women* which most of you will have seen. It was started in a very small way, and financed for a time by Mr and Mrs Pethick Lawrence until it was able to pay its way. The circulation, started at a few thousands a month, has now reached nearly 40,000 a week. Much stress is laid upon the circulation of this paper, as it is practically the only authentic source from which one can hear what has really happened. As an anti-friend kindly pointed out to me some time ago that the paper has no literary value, the circulation cannot be based upon that, and the demand for it must arise in consequence of the interest taken in it, and in the subject of which it treats.

People hearing only of militant tactics imagine sometimes that this constitutes the whole work of the movement, whereas the Union has done as much educational work, and more, than any other society in the same length of time. During the first three years of its existence, for instance, it held nearly 20,000 meetings all over the country. Some of these were very large ones,—the Albert Hall in London, holding 7,000 people, having been filled three times. On 21st June 1908, the largest political meeting that has ever taken place was held in Hyde Park. Speaking of it *The Times* said:—“The organisers of the demonstration had counted on an attendance of 250,000. That expectation was certainly fulfilled. Probably it was doubled; and it would be difficult to contradict any one who asserted confidently that it was trebled. Like the distance and numbers of the stars, the facts were beyond the threshold of perception.”

It is difficult, moreover, to get any correct estimate of the educational work done by the Union, as since the start the papers have practically ignored such work, and the same may be said of the militant tactics, as long as they follow constitutional lines. Take, for instance, the Bye-Election Policy, probably the most effective as well as the most important part of their anti-government campaign. Those of us who have followed this campaign with interest, know what work has been done by the women at recent bye-elections, especially in England. The Union claims that they are able to defeat any Government candidate in England, except where the election takes place in districts where the Government starts with an overwhelming majority. I have no time to-night to prove this to you in detail. If any of you care to look into the matter, you will find in the issued copies of the *Votes for Women* paper extracts from local papers written during the various bye-elections, and comments from *Vanity*

Fair, The Daily News, The Times, and others. Not much is said, but enough to show that the papers are beginning to take it for granted that the political organisation headed by Mrs Pankhurst is one of the most effective and most important in the country. To take at random one of these quotations, *The Daily News* says, in speaking of the Haggerston election:—"It was like a penalty of fate that women suffragists should have been released from prison the very day of the poll, so that they paraded through the district as the victims of sentences carried out with circumstances not consistent with the Liberal view of political offences." This bye-election policy is looked upon with a good deal of disapproval, especially by Liberals. It has not met with the general condemnation that other actions of the Union have done, because, although it runs counter to lifelong prejudices, it is nevertheless a constitutional and legitimate way of action, and politicians cannot consistently blame women for helping at bye-elections, as long as they are willing to use that help when it is worth their while. But the suffragettes are told, nevertheless, that by so doing they are alienating their best friends.

Now I would like to say here that I do not know what your idea of friendship is. A friend, as I see it, is some one who will help when you are in need, who not only *talks* about the sympathy he may have for you, but who is willing to go out of his way to get for you what you want, in short to make some sacrifice, however slight, to prove his friendship. You would not put much value upon the friendship, for instance, of one who identifies himself with those who ill-treat you. Such a friendship is of no value; one is better without it. This year several candidates have been returned in Scotland who are nominally great friends of the women's movement. A section of the women who are working for the vote still believe, with a confidence worthy of a better cause, that these candidates will come forward and prove their friendship. I have, however, looked in vain for a question put by either in the House about the way women have been treated in prison.

Again, the day of the private member is over, but, even if this were not so, this reform is too important a one to be dealt with except by the Government as a whole. The Government alone have the power to give or to withhold. It is this conviction of the unity of responsibility among the Cabinet that has led to the second militant action, known as the disturbances of Cabinet Ministers' Meetings, and to all attendant results. The Union feel that their fight is with the Cabinet, and with them alone. It is this aspect of the movement which has been most heartily condemned by the general public. It is natural that this should be so. We have long

since, as a nation, passed that stage where the looking on at a struggle brings anything but a sense of pain. We cannot imagine to ourselves, for instance, looking on at a bull-fight; nor should we have cared to follow the last war in detail, could we have seen every action it involved. This struggle, you must remember, is fought in the glare of the sunlight; every action, moreover, of a set of opponents to their seeming discredit is reported in full, and those who do not sympathise with the cause feel naturally aggrieved at the idea of there being any fight at all. We do not hear, for instance, of the price women are paying for their actions, of how they are flung down stone stairs, and injured; nor is much stress laid upon the treatment meted out to the men who are courageous enough to help them. At the meeting at Limehouse, for instance, the men brave enough to protest inside were thrown out with such brutality that a Liberal member of the audience rose up and exclaimed—"I am a Liberal, but if this is Liberalism, I will have none of it." Of the twenty-five, all were so badly hurt as to need medical attendance; the leader of the disturbance was carried out head downwards, and kicked by each and all as he passed. One man had two wrists dislocated, and another a shoulder bone broken. These things are not pleasant, although a few still dare to tell me that the suffragettes enjoy it.

The depositions to the House of Commons still remain to be dealt with, and these show perhaps better than anything else the progress made by the Union since it started. Originally consisting of a handful of women, of which no word too bad could be said, believed by the public to have lost all sense of womanliness, the depositions are spoken of to-day in a very different way by the Press and by the general public. This change has been recently brought about by a number of things; one perhaps of the most important is Miss Dunlop's action in pasting a copy of the Bill of Rights on the walls of the lobby of the House of Commons. This Bill of Rights is a very important document. If, as the Union claims, and as this Bill declares, that personal appeal to the House is a perfectly legitimate and reasonable procedure, then the obstruction by the police and consequent imprisonment of the women becomes not only opposed to the treatment they are entitled to receive as political prisoners, but actually legally to be condemned in the eyes of the law. That is the position that will be decided very shortly, whether or not the unrepresented part of the community have any legal right to appeal. If they have not, then are our people as badly off as those of any despotic government in the world, and the sooner we women become represented the better. But this is not so. Quoting again

from *The Daily News*:—"The right to petition is one of the clearest privileges of a British subject. It is not confined to males. The statute of Charles II. which finally regulated it makes it perfectly clear that a petition was then naturally regarded as a personal application. Blackstone's Commentary is as explicit as it can be, and winds up by declaring that any imprisonment for the exercise of the right to petition is illegal. It was indeed on that point that the seven bishops were acquitted, and all London went into that delirium of rejoicing which Macaulay described with so much eloquence. It is no answer to women to say that petitions are obsolete. So they are for men, because men can employ the machinery of representative institutions. Women are constitutionally in the position of the unenfranchised masses, who in every country—even in Russia—have clung to the traditional right of personal access to their rulers."

We find ourselves confronted here with a curious situation which, some years ago, would have been thought impossible under a Liberal Government. Women have been imprisoned and served sentences for an offence which is admitted, even by the leading Liberal journal in the kingdom, to be no offence at all.

And now we come to the latest development in militant tactics, which has been more severely criticised than anything else that has been done; I refer to the stone-throwing. The Union would appear at first sight to have nothing to gain, and everything to lose, by this last move. If I had the time, I could, I think, prove to you that this militant action is after all more or less symbolic; that if it had been the intention of the members of the Union to harm any one, it would have been simple enough to have done it; that, up to date, more violence has been used by stewards towards interruptors at one Cabinet Minister's meeting than by all the women put together. But I do not intend to dwell upon that.

It is not a light thing to overthrow the traditions of a lifetime, and longer. Women have not wantonly laid everything down for this cause—reputation, friendship, home, in some cases life, if need be: they have done it for a purpose. The aim of this Union is not primarily to talk about this vote, or even to educate the country. This Union has come into existence with a definite aim and a definite policy—to win the vote, and to fight the Government until they give it. This being so, they are ready to go forward, but not to go back. Each move they have made has been forced upon them by the laws of warfare. Not allowed to ask questions at question time because they were women, they began to ask questions when they chose. Not allowed into the meetings at all, are they to accept defeat? Such a question seems superfluous to those who know the

strength of this movement. But what remains if they do not intend to give in? To make the Government see that they are in earnest. There are, I take it, but a few months at most before the general election. Is this the time to call a truce? Is it not rather the time for each member to do her utmost to make this question of such grave importance that Unionists and Liberals alike must begin to see that it needs to be dealt with at once?

I pointed out at the beginning that women no longer asked but had begun to demand. But no one of any sense would demand unless they were prepared to enforce—to make good, as it were, what they had made up their mind they must have. That is after all the meaning of all war—a determination to take what asking has not given. I am not here to-night to justify warfare; it exists, and always has existed. The time may come when warfare of all kinds may seem wrong and unjustifiable, but I am safe in stating there are few here who now take that point of view, and until we are ready to condemn all warfare, the question of right and wrong must turn upon the urgent need of the claim. The man who fights for his country we call a patriot. Shall we call the woman who fights for her womanhood a hooligan? The question is worth a moment's thought.

And so I have not attempted to defend each action done by the militants in detail, as I venture to submit that such defence is neither desirable nor necessary, and I believe that too much stress has been laid upon these tactics. The Union, at present, are in the position of an army fighting a campaign in a country where not only have they to perform actions which warfare renders necessary, and which would appear uncalled for in times of peace, but are also called upon to persuade those in whose interests they are fighting that the cause is a just one. The point after all is not whether this or that blow is right, but whether they are justified in fighting at all. Some people, like Tolstoi, believe that any war is wrong; others again, like Mrs Humphrey Ward, feel that the giving to women political responsibility will mean the degradation of our public life. To each of these no arguments about militant tactics are possible, but to those of you who do believe in necessary war and think the cause just, I would say this—what is worth having is worth fighting for. No cause was ever won without some sacrifice. You think women should not fight? You are right. Women do not usually need to fight, but this you must remember is no new question. Had there been six politicians in Great Britain out of those 420 in Parliament in favour of the vote, ready to give to the winning of it one-tenth of the time and energy that the militants have given, there would have been no need for these tactics. Do you know that quota-

tion—"All in life worth having has its price. It must be paid for in efforts and tears and prayers, and can be had for nothing less. The gods maintain no bargain counter. Their favours are never marked down, never going at a sacrifice. Their prices are always the highest and they give full measure. They yield the best, and the best is their demand." If that is true, that no personal success, no achievement is won without paying its equivalent in toil and trouble, why should we expect to gain this great national reform for the mere asking? If asking could have done it, forty years of asking would have given it to us to-day. But something more was needed, and women have begun to pay. You don't like the price, none of us like it, least of all those who pay it. But the fault lies, not with the women who fight, nor even wholly with the Government, but with us women who stand by indifferent because the question does not appear to touch us. So blind are we when we fancy that what concerns other women and other women's children, however poor, does not have its influence upon our own homes.

The ultimate goal before the leaders in 1905 was how to win the vote, but to do that they had to rouse the country, and in judging by results to-day we have to ask ourselves, not if militant tactics are liked by the nation, nor if the suffragette is popular, but if the nation as a whole wants the vote more than it did four years ago. People have laughed at the so-called hooligan tactics; they have ignored them; the papers have cut the suffragettes into pieces, so to speak, over and over again; but because the question at issue is not the suffragette, but the cause for which she is working, we are able to see that she stands to win.

I have dealt so far with outside policy, facts we can all verify for ourselves. Will you allow me to touch a deeper note before I close. Let us pause and ask ourselves why these apparently unwomanly actions have succeeded where milder methods have failed—succeeded if not yet in gaining the vote, at least in bringing the end in sight and in rousing the country to an extent never reached before. When the history of this movement comes to be written, the historian will, I think, pick out three causes characteristic of the members of this Union, which, taken together, lead to success. Olive Schreiner in her "African Farm" tells us:—"The secret of success is concentration. Look at everything a little, taste everything a little, but live for one thing. Everything is possible to the man who works for it and for it alone." To the suffragette the vote is no side issue, taken up with other interests; it is the main goal, the main factor in her life—for it she is ready to give up her time, her energies, her health if need be. And, in concentrating her energies upon this, she touches the

second cause—absence of fear. There is nothing as paralysing as fear, either of public opinion or of personal discomfort; until we cast fear aside, we work with our hands tied. The third cause strikes even a deeper note, and it is this thought that I would leave with you to-night. Some of you may remember hearing Forbes Robertson in the "Passing of the Third Floor Back." In it the stranger makes this remark to one of the guests in the boarding-house—"Duty soon tires, but love goes all the way." That remark holds within it all we need to know about the success attendant upon this Union. Those of you who have come into near touch with its members will understand what I mean by that. There are two sides to everything, the outer and the inner. In this case the outer may appear rough to the outside public, and one is not surprised; when one runs counter to the prejudices of a lifetime, one expects to meet with opposition. It is perhaps well that this is so; it is the national safeguard, and it would not do to lightly brush it aside. But there is an inner side as well, a side that speaks of lives given up to the cause, of self-devotion, of loyalty to themselves and to their leaders, of willingness to follow wherever duty calls, through prison bars, even to the gates of death. To some of us this power for self-sacrifice has come as a revelation; we did not expect to find it among those women of whom we had heard so much condemnation, but it has shown us what may be possible to those who care enough, who have learned what love and service are, the giving up of oneself for the good of others. And so I believe in the years to come, when the history of this movement comes to be written, the tactics that seem to many of us now so dreadful, will sink into their proper proportion, and we shall remember, not the fight, but the women who have fought, and these again not as hooligans, but as noble and devoted women, worthy of their country and of the cause. And to-day, the victory in sight but not yet won, you who believe with me that life's greatest message for us women, as well as for men, is service for God and for the race, will you not too come forward and help to win a privilege which can alone make that service most complete?

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AN APPEAL TO MEN.

By VICTOR D. DUVAL.

THE year 1910 is drawing to a close, and the women of our country are patiently waiting, with the prospect of an early settlement of a question which is long overdue. After forty years of strenuous endeavour women have reached the stage of their long journey when the goal of political enfranchisement is within sight. It is too true that men, with a few exceptions, have contributed very little to this great Cause, otherwise women would to-day be enjoying the fruits of their labours. Taking into consideration the fact that fourteen Woman Suffrage Bills have been introduced into Parliament since 1870, six of which passed their second reading, it is difficult to realise that men could be so selfish as to refuse for so long a period to do

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justice to one-half of the community. The reason of this indifferent attitude of men to woman's needs is undoubtedly the outcome of misunderstanding, for it would be difficult to conceive of Englishmen, renowned throughout the world's history for their love of fair play, deliberately setting their minds against the freedom of their sisters. We know very well that men have sacrificed their liberty and perilled their lives in pursuit of voting rights. In the last century this was the case again and again, and yet in spite of this fact, men are to be found at the present time doing their utmost to prevent one million women from exercising the right of citizenship. Is it small wonder women have become impatient of this treatment?

Those who criticise the Suffragists for adopting forcible tactics, and say their Cause has been put back owing to these acts of violence, would do well to search their own hearts and find what assistance they have given to enable women to attain their object in a peaceful manner. It is easy for those who enjoy the privilege of deciding what laws shall govern them, to dictate to a disfranchised sex. If men who possess the parliamentary vote to-day, had had to fight for it as their forefathers did, then perhaps they would understand the spirit which moves women to strong and determined action.

Few men are opposed to the principle of Woman's Suffrage, in fact, some thousands have enrolled themselves members of a League, known as the Men's League for Women's Suffrage with the object of securing the Parliamentary Franchise for Women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men. This League has been

in existence for four years and has done a great deal of educational work. Then there is the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement which has a large and ever increasing membership. The latter Society is more advanced than the Men's League, and although its object is precisely the same, the methods are quite different. Whereas, any man who approves of the object can become a member of the Men's League, he is required to sign a much more definite pledge in order to be accepted as a member of the Men's Political Union. Firstly, the policy of this Union is action, entirely independent of all political parties; secondly, opposition to whatever government is in power, until such time as the franchise is granted; thirdly, participation in parliamentary elections in opposition to the government candidate, and independently of all other candidates; and lastly, vigorous agitation and the education of public opinion by all the usual methods, such as public meetings, demonstrations, debates, distribution of literature, newspaper correspondence, and deputations to public representatives.

Whilst fully appreciating the splendid services rendered to the movement by the Men's League, experience has proved conclusively that the more effective method of bringing pressure to bear upon an obstinate government is to oppose that government in every possible way. The Women's Social and Political Union realised this at the outset of their campaign, and it is because they adopted this plan that they have made themselves such formidable opponents.

Had they allied themselves with any political party, their question would have been swamped by other issues.

It is, therefore, clearly to be seen, if a man is really anxious to help the Cause and to be of practical value to it, then he must sever his connection with party, sink all other questions and stand on the woman's platform. In this way, and in this way only, can he claim to be an whole-hearted supporter.

The members of the Men's Political Union have done this, and there is not the slightest doubt the Liberals lost a number of seats at the last general election because of the hostile votes cast by men, who were angry with the policy of the government towards the suffragettes. Again, when women have been shut out of Liberal meetings, members of the Men's Political Union have gone in to represent the excluded women.

In the first instance, questions were put by these men to cabinet ministers at the proper time, to wit, at the close of the meeting, but continued refusals of ministers to answer made it necessary for protests to be made during the speeches, with the result that the interrupters were "flung out ruthlessly," the stewards no doubt following the advice given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on a former occasion when women were questioning him. Protests of this kind were made at Bedford, Rochester, Reading, Birmingham, Bristol, Newcastle, Bletchley, Limehouse, Shoreditch, Haggerston, Battersea, Paddington, and other places, and in every instance men were knocked about in the most brutal way; frequently, these men have risked their lives only to be charged by Mr. Lloyd-George with being hirelings; yet they have not been deterred by the insults and coarse jests which have been hurled at them, and why should they be? Have not the courageous

women, who have been in the fighting line of this great battle, been subjected to far worse treatment than this? Have they not been flung out of meetings with great violence? Yes, and flung into prison and treated as common felons. Their bodies have been outraged by order of a Liberal government, and these things have happened in the 20th century, in England, the land of freedom!

Unless the men of England wake up very soon and stand by their women in their hour of need, they will no longer be able to boast of their love of liberty and justice.

Now is the time for "deeds, not words."

When a new government came into office in January, the Women's Social and Political Union called a truce. They were informed that there was every likelihood of a Bill being introduced which would satisfy all parties in the House of Commons. That Bill, the Representation of the People Bill, 1910, a conciliation bill in every sense of the word, has been introduced, and notwithstanding the opposition of three of the most influential men in the Cabinet, passed its second reading by a majority of 110, a bigger majority, be it noted, than was given either for the Budget or the Veto Resolution.

Further facilities for the committee stage and the third reading have been asked for, but Mr. Asquith has up to the present refused to grant the necessary time. The Prime Minister, however, has changed his mind before, and there is no reason at all why he should not reconsider his decision.

Parliament reassembles on November 15th and it is hoped that a satisfactory answer will be given to the

question which will be put in regard to the facility for the final stages of the Bill.

Now, it is the duty of every man in the country, be he Liberal, Conservative, Socialist or Independent to use whatever influence he has in urging the government to pass the Bill this coming season.

Help can be given in this direction in many ways. Every man must write to the parliamentary representative for his own constituency. Men who have friends in the House of Commons must go there and interview them. Letters must be sent to the press, daily, weekly, local and general, and every man must get at least one other to do what he himself is doing. If this is done Mr. Asquith dare not hold out any longer and by the end of 1910 the Votes for Women Bill should be on the Statute Book.

At the same time it is absolutely necessary that men should join the Men's Political Union, Offices, 13, Buckingham Street, Strand, London. Should satisfactory assurances from the Prime Minister not be forthcoming, and it is always as well to be prepared for such a possibility, then men must be ready to stand by the women in whatever they do. There will be no excuse for the government, they will have had every opportunity of doing the right thing, and if they choose to do otherwise then they are no longer worthy of the respect of any man, much less his support.

During the whole agitation of the last five years women have shown wonderful restraint; all the suffering has been borne by themselves, they have injured no one.

"During every month of the year 1909, women were in prison for demanding the Vote.

The total number of arrests during the year was 294, and the total number of imprisonments 163. The hunger strike was carried out in 110 cases, and in 36 of these, the barbarity of forcible feeding was practised by the government.

The aggregate sentences served during the year by members of the W.S.P.U., was over eight years, bringing the total since the commencement of the agitation to nearly 28 years in all!"

Therefore, if the government deliberately fly into the face of the constitution and oppose the wishes of the elected representatives of the people, their act will be a criminal one, inasmuch as it will be a direct challenge to the women of England to adopt other methods, which may have serious results.

In conclusion, it is well for men, both inside and outside Parliament, to bear in mind that women to-day are in deadly earnest. They have sounded the death knell of women's subjection, and there will be no turning back. They will go on at all costs, and since their Cause is a just one all men should be ready, aye, eager, to see justice done; and to that end should aid by word and deed, the heroic efforts of British women, to whom all Englishmen should say: "stand fast and let your tyrants see that fortitude is victory."

N.B.—SINCE THE WRITING OF THIS PAMPHLET, WE ARE CREDIBLY IN-

FORMED THAT THE MEN'S LEAGUE
FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE HAVE ALSO
DECIDED TO ADOPT AN ANTI-GOVERN-
MENT POLICY—WE ARE GLAD TO
LEARN THIS.

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“WHY I WENT TO PRISON.”

(An Address delivered by Mr. VICTOR D. DUVAL

at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on

November 1st, 1910.)

MR. RUTTER—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—

I am here to-night to tell you something of what led up to the City Temple protest, and to explain to you why certain members of the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement went there and took part in it.

In the first place I should like to tell you that there was no intention on the part either of myself or of any of my colleagues to do violence to the body of Mr. Lloyd George. We went to the City Temple, some eight or nine of us, in order to put this question to the Chancellor of the Exchequer: “Will the Government give full facilities for the further stages of the Representation of the People Bill (1910) in order that it may pass into law this coming session?” If we had been able to

gain admittance to the City Temple we should have put that question from inside, but as we were shut out no one need be surprised that we took the opportunity of taking Mr. Lloyd George unawares, because he has not hesitated on more than one occasion to take women unawares who have been asking for the vote. We know that he has trifled with this question; we know that he has actually stood on women's platforms and declared that he was a staunch supporter of their cause, and that in the end he voted against the Bill.

We in the Men's Political Union give a man one chance, but we do not give him two or three. Mr. Lloyd George has had his chance and we are not going to give him another.

We waited at the City Temple until the motor car came up—and of course we had two or three men at each corner watching all the exits, and not only the exits but the approaches to the City Temple, which was very much more important on this occasion. I noticed one door that had a very poor light outside, and I thought that was just the kind of door that a man like Mr. Lloyd George would make his entry by, and so I waited near it.

As soon as the car stopped, a young man (who I afterwards learnt was one of Mr. Lloyd George's sons) got down from his place beside the chauffeur, from inside the car came another son, and then Mrs. Lloyd George—Mr. Lloyd George came last. He had his cap over his eyes, and coat collar turned up, and went towards one of the entrance doors, passing me on the way. I have very good eyesight and having met the Right Hon. gentleman on more than one occasion, was easily able to recognise him. I said to him, "Mr. Lloyd George, will the Government give facilities for the Conciliation Bill this coming session?" He did not reply. "Well," I said, "we must have an answer. We have got several members of the Men's Political Union here to-night, and we are not going away until we have got an answer to our question." He took no notice and tried to escape me by darting through the crowd on our left. I managed to catch hold of him by the two flaps of his coat, held him tight, and then said, "Mr. Lloyd George, you are a traitor. You are a traitor to the women's cause, and, what is more you are a hypocrite." "You are a hypocrite because you are continually telling the women that the curtailing of the Veto of the Lords is necessary, and at the same time you are assisting your colleague, Mr. Asquith, to veto the will of the men sitting in the House of Commons, elected by the men of the country."

The language I used in speaking to Mr. Lloyd George was absolutely justifiable and was not threatening in any way.

Immediately after a police officer took hold of me and gave me a severe shaking.—As a rule policemen are very polite, but on this occasion they handled me rather roughly, although I can quite understand that, because there were a good many people about and it was very difficult for them to get at me—I was taken away to Snow Hill Police Station and I heard a friend on my left, Mr. George Jacobs, say, "Don't be rough, don't hurt him, leave him alone." Of course, I cannot say whether he struck the policeman. I understand that the policeman was 6ft. 2in. at least, so I hardly think my friend, who certainly looks a very mild-mannered man, would have had the temerity to make an assault on a police officer six feet high.

We were charged, Mr. Jacobs with assaulting the police, and I with threatening and using provoking language with intent to disturb the public peace, and the next day were brought up at the Guildhall. Probably all of you have read what took place there, but you have not read exactly what did take place. You have read the versions given by the various newspapers, and I am told they were not very good versions. When Mr. Vickery, the gentleman who appeared for the Commissioner of the Police, made his statements, I noticed that the Magistrate at first was not very inclined to listen to him. Later on, **as is known,** Mr. Vickery made a very long statement about the danger there was for public men being molested in that way, and Mr. Vickery said "Duval is well known as a professional agitator."

His remark sounded very much like an echo of Mr. Lloyd George, because Mr. Lloyd George on more than one occasion has referred to members of our Union as "hirelings." When I spoke afterwards in the Court, I said to the Magistrate, "I should like to place it on record that I have never received a penny from any Suffrage Society, neither have I received a penny from the Liberal Party when I used to work for them."

We do not mind people blurring out when in anger we are hirelings, but if we allow falsehoods to be repeated in cold blood—people might think they were true. I should like to tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that not only myself, but all the members of the Men's Political Union give a great deal of their time to the Suffrage cause and not any of them have ever received a single penny for their services and all have contributed loyally to our funds. I am perfectly certain that the statement was handed to Mr. Vickery by Mr. Lloyd George, because I have evidence to show that Mr. Lloyd George had been in communication with the Commissioner of Police. I wrote Mr. George a letter on paper with the Men's Political Union heading. I did that, because I thought it would be rather a good thing for Mr. Lloyd George to see that we were not just outside men, working without any authority or

responsibility, but that we were members of a Union which had offices and an organisation. I wrote as follows:

SIR,

You are probably aware that I have to appear at the Guildhall on Monday next at 3 p.m., to answer to a charge of having used threatening language with intent to cause a disturbance of the public peace on the occasion of your visit to the City Temple on Monday last. As your evidence is essential, will you kindly let me know whether you will attend as witness.

I had a reply to that letter to this effect from his Secretary—Mr. Hawtrey:—

In reply to your letter of yesterday's date, I am desired by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to say that he regrets that he has been compelled to leave London to-day, having some long-standing engagements to fulfil, which will involve the continuance of his absence next Monday.

I took that answer to mean that Mr. Lloyd George felt he ought to be present, but that owing to his long-standing engagements he was prevented. I could quite understand that, and so I asked the Magistrate very soon after the Court opened whether he would grant a further adjournment. Well, you know, he would not, and Mr. Vickery, representing the Home Office—or the Commissioner of Police; it is the same thing—**produced** my letter very triumphantly, waving the same in the air as much as to say, "Look, see the paper it is written on!"

That letter was marked "Private," and therefore Mr. Lloyd George ought not to have brought it up at all; but even if he did bring it up, that is all the more reason why he should have put in an appearance and given evidence in Court.

As you know, the Magistrate fined me 40s. or seven days. I afterwards learnt that my friend also was fined a similar amount. We in the Men's Political Union consider that it is not advisable that we should pay money in fines—we want all the money we can get to fight the cause of women—so I decided to go to prison.

I went to prison and my experiences in prison—well, they were all that could be desired from the point of view of a seeker after information. I am very pleased I have been; I have

discovered a great deal, and I marvel at the courage displayed in the past by women who have not only gone to prison for seven days, like my colleague, Mr. George Jacobs—but many of these heroines for weeks and months, and not only once, but over and over again. When I discovered the way in which prisoners are treated in prison, I thought to myself, "Now, and only now, do I completely realise all that women have really suffered." To think of women political offenders having to wear prison clothes is in itself a deplorable thing, and when we remember that all these women who went to prison, either had to eat the prison food or had to refuse it and go on the Hunger Strike, I certainly think that the small amount of work or the small amount of sacrifice that my friend and I have made is not to be compared with the tremendous sacrifices made by the members of the Women's Social and Political Union and of the Women's Freedom League.

When I was brought to Pentonville, I was kept for three hours in a long room, waiting for my turn to come to be questioned as to the colour of my eyes, my height, my name, where I lived, whether I was married or single. All these various questions were put to me and I answered them to the best of my ability. I had to wait three hours in a cubicle about four feet square, very stuffy and cold, and when my turn came, I went through the examination. A warder then conducted me to an ante-room, where an official sat at a table; his business was to empty one's pockets. I gave up my money, my watch and chain, and all my other belongings, and then I was told, in a very polite way, to undo my waistcoat and remove my shoes.

"Does that mean," I said to the reception officer, "that I am to put on prison garb?" He said, "Yes, certainly," I said, "I am a political prisoner, and am not going to wear prison clothing." He said, "You will have to. We know nothing about political prisoners. You come here for seven days in the Second Division for having disturbed the public peace and used provocative language. Nothing was said on the charge sheet about your being a political offender and we do not make any difference in your case."

I said, "I do not intend to put on any prison clothing." "Well," he said, "you can keep on your clothes until to-morrow, when you can see the Governor."

My friend, Mr. Jacobs, was told the same thing, and soon after we were taken to the cells. I was put in a cell, the door was shut, and presently a warder came in and asked me if I wanted supper. "What is the supper?" "Brown bread and porridge." I said, "No, thank you, I won't have any this evening." Then

he left me, I got into bed, and after lying awake for two or three hours went to sleep.

The next morning I was called at six o'clock; I did not hear the bell, though I had to for the remaining days. Having been called, I dressed myself, rolled up my mattress, my blankets and my sheets, lifted up the plank and stood it by the side of the wall. About seven o'clock, soon after I had finished my work, the warder paid me another visit. He said, "Outside tins, here is the breakfast." I said, "What is the breakfast?" It was the same piece of brown bread and a tin can containing a fluid called by the warder "tea." I told him that I would not have any, that it was not what I was in the habit of taking and that I would wait for the reply from the Home Office. He went away and brought the Governor, who told me that I must eat or otherwise I should be ill.

I said, "I have not gone very long without food up to the present and can survive a little longer." I insisted upon having the food I wanted and wearing my own clothes, and told him I should be obliged if he would hurry up the Home Office and get a reply to the communication which he had sent to them. The Governor came round again at lunch time, just as the warder was bringing in the same piece of bread and another tin containing a fluid very much thicker, called by courtesy "soup." It was dreadful-looking stuff, and I told the Governor that I really could not take it. He then said there might be trouble if I continued to act in this way. He also told me the doctor had informed him that it was a serious matter for a young man—he did not say growing, but he probably thought it—not to take his food and he advised me to take it, otherwise in after life I might suffer from the effects. I told him I was prepared to take the risk, and with that he left me. He came again with a Visiting Magistrate. (This was all on the same day; I had quite a number of visitors.) The Visiting Magistrate did not utter a word, but looked very sad, and the Governor did the speaking. He said, "You are all right, aren't you, Duval? You are just waiting to know about the clothes and the food?" I said, "Yes, I am all right; but I should like a little more fresh air." He went, and I was afterwards taken out for an hour and allowed to walk round the prison courtyard. When I returned the Governor was already waiting for me with the Chief Warder. The Governor said to me, "I have just received a reply from the Home Office which I will read to you." He thereupon produced a big blue paper and read it to me. I don't remember the exact words, but the substance of it was this: The Secretary of State does not consider that either Duval or Jacobs are entitled to special treatment, but under the circumstances, and taking into consideration the fact that the

Magistrate dealt leniently with them, the Secretary of State will be pleased to allow them to wear their own clothes and to buy their own food.

This establishes on a firm and unshakeable basis, that in future there will be a precedent to go upon when women **political prisoners** are concerned.

On the Wednesday I was able to have eggs, hot milk and bread and butter. Everything tasted of prison, but at any rate, it was better than the other fare. I should mention this rather important point. When the Governor told me that I could have what food I wanted, he said, "Now the trouble is this, that I have nobody here to go and fetch it." "I said, "That is very sad. Do you mean to tell me that though you have instructions from the Home Office to treat me in a certain way, you have no machinery for administering those instructions? If that is the case it is very ridiculous; if women had the vote they would soon alter that." Well, he did not argue the matter with me, but he managed to find a warder, a very decent fellow, who waited on me and treated me very civilly. I had the same warder to fetch me my meals right until the end of the time.

With regard to books, I asked for books almost as soon as I got there, and the schoolmaster brought me the Bible, the prayer-book, a hymn-book "The Narrow Way," and the "Healthy Home and How to Keep It." I studied the "Healthy Home and How to Keep It," and found that it said fresh air was absolutely necessary in a healthy home. I thought to myself, this evidently does not apply to my present home. I put these books on one side and told the school-master that I had studied those years ago, at least three of them, that the "Narrow Way" did not interest me in the least, and I had read all that I wanted of "The Healthy Home." I asked for a book that would interest me, and he brought me "Carlyle's French Revolution." After reading that, I ordered Shakespeare, and having read as much as I wanted of that, I asked for another book and got "John Bright's Speeches." I was very interested in John Bright's speeches, because I found that John Bright was fearless, always had the courage of his convictions and very frequently stood up in the House of Commons and attacked the Leaders of the Party of which he was a member. We have very few men in the House of Commons to-day who feel sufficiently about this question of Woman Suffrage to stand up and attack their leaders. The books I secured were very useful to me, and they helped to pass by many a weary hour. When you are in prison every hour seems a day. I think those who have been in prison will bear me out when I say that

the most dreadful time is that after lunch has been brought, and you have to sit from soon after 12 o'clock until you go out at three for an hour's exercise, and then you come in at four (perhaps you go out to exercise at two and come in at three) and do not see any more daylight for the rest of that day. It is a terrible thing for an active person to sit in a cell for twenty-three hours out of the twenty-four. I think it is very likely that if we persist it will be possible to get a few more hours' exercise added to that. Even if you are a political offender, surely four hours a day would not be too much to grant. I complained continually about being shut up in the cell, and on the Thursday I was given half an hour in the morning as well, and on Friday they gave me half an hour in the morning and $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours in the afternoon. I think if one goes on protesting and demanding better conditions it is possible to get them.

If I were Governor, I would give longer exercise even to the morally turpid. In other words—hygiene everywhere inside as well as outside of prison.

The officials at Pentonville were non-plussed when they found somebody who stood up and questioned their orders. They had been in the habit of having poor fellows, cowed and abject, with nothing in the world, most of them having no fixed abode outside prison, prepared to do anything and everything asked of them. They are in the habit of dealing with men like that and when they find somebody who comes forward and is prepared to stand his ground they are taken completely by surprise. In fact, they were so surprised that they thought we were unusual beings. One warder said to me, "Is your friend in the next cell balmy?" and I am perfectly sure that one of the warders said a similar thing to my friend about me. They are so used to men obeying them in prison that of course they do not quite understand when somebody is not prepared to do what they want.

I was told that I could go to Chapel if I wished, and take the little wooden stool from my cell to sit upon. I went three times, and although permission was given me to sit alone away from the other prisoners, I decided to take my seat amongst them. One prisoner on my left told me that he had about seven years to do, and was doing the first two in Pentonville Gaol. He asked me what I was in for, whether it was for forgery. He evidently thought that I was too well dressed to steal a loaf of bread and that I had committed a more gentlemanly crime. I told him that it was Votes for Women, and I am very pleased to say that he seemed to understand my position. I went to Chapel twice after that, and on

the third day the Chaplain took a text out of St. Peter, and he told the congregation that St. Peter was asking somebody about how many times they should forgive their brother, and I think our Lord said, "You must forgive him not seven times, but seventy times seven." Well, I thought what hypocrisy it was for a clergyman to get up in that Chapel and talk to those poor people and tell them about forgiving their brother seventy times seven times. I don't suppose that if these men had done anything wrong they were forgiven even once. More forgiveness, please, and oh! for another Elizabeth Fry. The sermons that are preached in prison Chapels are very inappropriate. They do not help the prisoners. They do not help the prisoners at all, and seem all to be delivered in that authoritative style which is going to crush them lower than ever. One warder told me that he once tried to speak kindly to a prisoner. He was brought before the Governor and he was told that if he did not mend his ways he would be given marching orders; he had no right to talk kindly to prisoners; he was there to do his duty, and speaking kindly to prisoners was not included in that at all. He said, "That is how the prison is run." I think he had been in the prison for ten or twelve years, so that he knew something about it, and he told me that men come out on the Saturday and go back on the Monday night. Does that not clearly show that our prison system is bad? Is it not proof that we need women to come in and help us in framing better prison laws in our country? I think it does. There are many things in the prisons that ought to be altered; there are many laws that obtain to-day, which, carried out in our various prisons, tend not to make less criminals but more. In fact, I told my friend Mr. Jacobs one day, although we had been forbidden to speak (there were a good many officials round and I wanted them to hear), this place might well be called a manufactory of criminals.

I came out on Saturday morning, and I must say I was very glad that I had been to prison and had seen for myself exactly what was there. I am glad I have been to prison, because it will shew the Government that there are some men who are prepared to share the women's hardships. I may tell you this, that there are in the Men's Political Union twenty men ready to go to prison to-morrow. Men have votes, and if they use them in the interests of Woman Suffrage, if they use the power they possess by means of the vote to turn the Government out and to force a new Government to do that which is right, going to prison would not be necessary either for women or men.

It is possible to do this through the vote. If only there were some good men, some honest men, some real men.

supporters of this cause in the Liberal Party, if there were a sufficient number of them, they could go to the Prime Minister and they could force him to give the necessary facilities for the final stages of the Conciliation Bill. I am glad that women have declared that they will not wait. Why should they wait? Now is the time, and I am perfectly certain that if only every one of us works during the next fortnight in every possible way by sending letters to the representative of our constituency, trying to see him if possible, because personal calls are very much better than letter writing; writing to the newspapers, and if any of you have influence with papers use that influence, there may still be a remote hope for the passing of the Conciliation Bill. I have had a good many letters of congratulation upon my action, my friend Mr. Jacobs has had a number too; some of these letters have come from men. Well, let those men do more than congratulate, let them do something themselves. It is very easy to applaud, and it is not very difficult to do something for this movement. I hope that men will come forward as they have never done before. I hope they will join the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement, which is growing, and whose membership is increasing daily. I hope, if they have not got the time to give their services, they will give money, because money, as Mrs. Pethick Lawrence once pointed out, is the sinews of war. It is the sinews of war and we must have it. We are carrying on a campaign all over the country. We have got a flourishing branch in Manchester, a flourishing branch in Birmingham, a branch in Reading, another one in Leicester, one in Edinburgh, and branches are in the course of being started in Glasgow and Dundee and in other parts of the United Kingdom. It is amazing the way in which this Union has grown, and it is simply because we started with a few men who were whole-hearted. Half-hearted people we do not want. We want people who are heart and soul in this cause, who are prepared to make sacrifices. We don't want men merely to tell us, like some of our Liberal friends do, that they believe in it and there is an end of the matter. I hope some of them are here to-night and they will take this to heart. I am as keen a Liberal as ever I was. I am as keenly interested in social reform as Mr. Lloyd George or any other member of the Cabinet can be, and although the members of our Union may be small men in their way, we are fit for the battle and have a noble and unselfish cause.

When I left the Liberal Party I was told by my colleagues that it would not make much difference, that my services, though very good, were not so great that my leaving the party would upset matters in any way. But I think I have been able to bring about a division in the Liberal ranks. At least 80 per cent. of the Men's Political Union are ex-members of that party. Four secretaries of Young Liberal branches have joined the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement; all good speakers

and all good writers. We have also got men who have worked in the Liberal Party, some of them for 30 years, and, in fact, there is a gentleman here to-night, who sits in the front row, who has worked for them, until their indifferent attitude was known on the Suffrage question, for nearly 40 years. It is not easy for men to leave their party, but if only they are prepared to put principle before party and to fight for measures and not for persons, there will not be very much difficulty in their sending in their resignations and standing on the women's platform. I have said over and over again that very little has been done by men up to the present, the women have borne the brunt of the battle and they have shewn us the way to do things. Our imprisonment would never have taken place if the women in their hundreds had not gone before.

Well, now that I have been to Pentonville prison I shall be able to speak from actual experience of prison life, about the way in which women of England have been treated by a Liberal Government. I am ashamed of the men who call themselves Liberals; I am ashamed of them because they have insulted Women—they have dragged the flag of Liberalism in the gutter and have trampled upon it. We are told that we who have left the Liberal party are traitors. I have had that flung at me many times, even at the recent Walthamstow by-election, We are not traitors. The men who remain in the Liberal party and allow their leaders to behave as they do in regard to a question of this sort are the traitors. Politicians like Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Churchill, who will have to render an account of their stewardship before long, will find they have made a great mistake. If these ministers have any worthy ambition to become greater men, they will find that they have done an evil thing in treating the women's question as they have, because they have alienated the support of thousands of men who would otherwise have given it to them. After the City Temple affair I had a letter from a member of the Liberal Christian League, who said that although he was a member of the Christian League and was inside the hall when the protest was made, he deplored the way in which Mr. Lloyd George had spoken about women and had acted in voting against their measure. So that it is perfectly plain to see that the Liberal Government is losing ground. But there is yet time for true Liberals to repudiate the Government's conduct. Let Mr. Asquith remove his Veto on the conciliation Bill and allow the expressed will of the Commons to prevail, and then I am certain that the Liberal party will be all the better for it. But if, on the other hand he remains obstinate, and continues to fly in the face of the Constitution, as Miss Pankhurst has rightly put it, then I predict, although it is dangerous to prophesy, that the Liberal Party will be rent in twain, that in a few years they will be no longer a party, but will be beaten and crushed out of existence. That will be no great calamity if the Liberal party is composed of men like the present members of the Cabinet who flout and deny women's demand for immediate enfranchisement, and I hope

that a better party will be built up on the wreckage. But there is yet time, and I appeal to Liberals to get into touch with their leaders, to urge upon them the necessity for immediate action, and by so doing they will be rendering a great service to British women of every class and to the nation as a whole.

It is not only the Liberal party, but it is only the Liberal party that is prepared to put its hands to the work of reforming the present system of government. It is not only the Liberal party, but it is only the Liberal party that is prepared to put its hands to the work of reforming the present system of government. It is not only the Liberal party, but it is only the Liberal party that is prepared to put its hands to the work of reforming the present system of government.

Well, now that I have been to Farnham, the prison, I shall be able to speak from actual experience of prison life, about the way in which women in England have been treated by a Liberal Government. I am not a member of the Liberal party, but I am a member of the Liberal party. I am not a member of the Liberal party, but I am a member of the Liberal party. I am not a member of the Liberal party, but I am a member of the Liberal party.



My fellow countrymen, I have been to Farnham, the prison, I shall be able to speak from actual experience of prison life, about the way in which women in England have been treated by a Liberal Government. I am not a member of the Liberal party, but I am a member of the Liberal party. I am not a member of the Liberal party, but I am a member of the Liberal party. I am not a member of the Liberal party, but I am a member of the Liberal party.

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**The Citizenship
— of Women —
A Plea for Women's
— Suffrage —**

By

J. Keir Hardie, M.P.

Fourth Edition.



PUBLISHED BY THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY,
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NOTE TO THIRD EDITION.

During the four months which have elapsed since the second edition of this tract was issued, the Women's Social and Political Union has kept the agitation for the political enfranchisement of women going with increased vigour. Great demonstrations have been held in nearly all the big centres of population, and Miss Kenney has suffered a second term of imprisonment—this time of six months' duration, a fate shared by two other working-class women, Mrs Sparboro' and Mrs Knight. Miss Billington was also incarcerated for a time, but was forced to leave because some unknown person had paid her fine. The Press gives considerable prominence to the doings of this intrepid band of agitators, and women of all classes are joining them in considerable numbers. The advanced women of several continental countries, particularly those connected with the Socialist movement, are beginning to take a quickened interest in the movement for the enfranchisement of their sex, partly due to the fact that in the new constitution for Finland women are given political equality with men. *Per contra*, the British Government has excluded the women of the Transvaal from the franchise, despite the unanimous appeal on their behalf made by the Boer leaders, and the example thus set has been followed by the Shah of Persia in the scheme for creating a representative system of government for his people.

September, 1906.

J. H. K.

FOREWORD TO SECOND EDITION.

The following pages were written in the summer of 1905, and first appeared in Mr Stead's series of "Coming Men on Coming Questions," issued from the *Review of Reviews* office. A demand having arisen for a second edition, Mr Stead has consented to the tract being re-issued by the Independent Labour Party.

Prior to and during the General Election campaign of this year the question of the political enfranchisement of women was much in evidence. Bands of women haunted political meetings demanding a pledge from prominent leaders of parties to give Votes for Women the first place on their programme. At a great Liberal gathering in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, when Sir Edward Grey was the principal speaker, the women demonstrated so effectively that they had to be removed by force, and two of them, Miss Christobel Pankhurst and Miss Annie Kenney—the one a university student, the other a working mill girl—subsequently suffered terms of imprisonment in connection with the disturbance. This in no wise daunted the spirits of the Revolutionists, and right down to the end of the election campaign, at every political gathering at which a member of the newly-formed Liberal Government was announced to speak, the members of the Women's Social and Political Union were in evidence. The older and more staid Women Suffragists, for the most part, disclaimed all sympathy with these noisy tactics, forgetful of the fact that 36 years of "tactful" and "constitutional" work had left little if any mark on the history of the movement. In May this year a few of the ladies of the new movement made a disturbance in the gallery of the House of Commons whilst a suffrage resolution was under discussion. Mainly as a result of these tactics a very widespread interest is now felt in the question. The present House of Commons is, I think, overwhelmingly in favour of granting the suffrage to women, but they must not leave anything to chance or take anything for granted. A big sustained agitation, in which all sections of the movement will combine their forces, would, I feel assured, result in securing the passage of an enfranchising Bill in time to enable women to vote at the next General Election. For the second time success is within their reach if only women will not be content to be put off by fine words and sympathetic professions. These are all very well in their way, but they are a poor substitute for an Act of Parliament.

May, 1906.

J. K. H.

Votes for Women.

IT is not my purpose to write a learned dissertation or even an elaborate essay on the Woman question; this has been done by men and women well qualified for the task, and doubtless will be again. My present object is to re-state in plain and homely language the case for Woman Suffrage. To deal with the Woman question as a whole would involve a long inquiry into the causes responsible for the differences in the status of the sexes, including woman's economic position, the marriage laws, and our social polity. These are all subjects interwoven with the position of women, but they are beyond the scope of my ability, and, for the moment, I leave them aside and confine myself to the one question of their political enfranchisement. I do so mainly because that is a question ripe for settlement by legislation. The other questions hinted at may be left to evolve their own solution as time and chance determine. None of them are within the ken of politics, nor should they be brought into the political arena until women are in a position to influence equally with men the creation of opinion upon them, and, where necessary, the legislation which may be required to assist in solving them. John Stuart Mill declared it to have been one of his earliest, as it remained one of his strongest, convictions, "that the principles which regulate the existing social relations between the two sexes—the legal subordination of one sex to the other—is wrong in itself, and now one of the chief hindrances to human improvement; and that it ought to be replaced by principles of perfect equality admitting no power or privilege on the one side nor disability on the other." I hold it to be true with those who say that the foundation upon which this "perfect equality" is to be reared is the political enfranchisement of women.

In sentiment we have advanced somewhat since 1790, when a learned writer of the period explained that people who should not be included in the county franchise were those who "lie under natural incapacities, and therefore cannot exercise a sound discretion, or (who are) so much under the influence of others that they cannot have a will of their own in the choice of candidates. Of the former description are women, infants, idiots, lunatics; of the latter, persons receiving alms and revenue offices." We do not now speak of women as being in the same category as "idiots" and "lunatics," but for political purposes we treat them as if they were.

No one seeks to deny the existence of differences between the sexes, differences subtle, deep seated, and ineradicable. But these, being admitted, afford no justification for the usurpation by man of the right to say what duties and responsibilities woman may be allowed to undertake, and what must be withheld from her because of her sex. Such a theory can only be upheld on the old tradition of the East that woman is one of the lower animals over whom lordly man was given dominion. The harem is the logical outcome of this belief. It is only by removing the disabilities and restraints imposed upon woman, and permitting her to enter freely into competition with man in every sphere of human activity, that her true position and function in the economy of life will ultimately be ascertained. We can at present form no conception of what woman is capable of being or doing. We have no data upon which to base any real conclusions. Nowhere is woman treated as the free and equal companion of man. Amongst coloured peoples living in a state of nature and in a tribal environment which has evolved itself, and wherein custom is the only law, the woman, though far from being the degraded creature which she has so often been pictured by superficial observers, is still her husband's drudge, and frequently a part of his wealth. In the military stage of social evolution, or the age of chivalry, as it has been dubbed by persons of a poetic temperament and a vivid imagination, the woman is pictured as being the weaker and more spiritualized sex, requiring to be protected by her lord, and almost worshipped as a superior creation. "Half angel, half idiot," aptly describes this conception of woman. This is but a perverted way of declaring her inferiority; the homage paid to her is like that we should pay to a child: in no sense is it a recognition of equality; very often it is the exact opposite. In modern life we get back to the savage stage. Woman of the working class is again the drudge who does the menial work. Her husband works for, and is dependent for the opportunity to work upon, a master; his wife works for, and is dependent for her livelihood, upon a husband. That there are varying degrees of this feeling of subjection goes without saying, and I think it could be shown that the position of women, as of most other things, has always been better, more near an equality with man, in Celtic than non-Celtic races or tribes. Thus in Scotland a woman speaks of her husband as her "man, whilst in Staffordshire the term used is nearly always "the master."

The universality of this subjection of woman is assumed by many as an infallible testimony to the truth of the theory that woman must in some way be inferior to man. Were it not so, say these quidnuncs, there would be some exceptions to prove the contrary. They overlook the one obvious explanation which

explains everything—Motherhood. In the early days of the race, the days of the huntsman and the warrior, when the spoils of war and the trophies of the chase were the only wealth of nations, child-bearing must have been a serious handicap to the woman: add to this the fact that war meant prisoners, and that from the very first, probably, even when men captured in warfare were killed as an incumbrance, women, for reasons which will be understood without being stated, were spared by their captors, and coming down to later times, when men captives were made slaves, and women-raiding became a favourite pastime, we can see explanation enough of the position which in process of time woman came to occupy, and from which she is only now slowly and toilsomely emerging. Already we see how the intensity of the struggle for political recognition is developing, in individual cases, those qualities of mind and brain which man has been wont to assume as being his special monopoly; and from these cases we may infer how richly endowed the field of human thought will become when enriched by the products of the brains of men and women working together on terms of equality and free from the debasing and sinister influences which subjection, in any form, imposes alike upon the subdued and the subduer. So true it is that one end of the chain which binds the slave is fastened round the life of his master, that the emancipation of women will also infallibly give freedom to the man.

Curious are the changes which a quarter of a century produces in the political arena. Questions arise, which after being ignored and jeered at, are ultimately brought by the force of agitation within the arena in which the political strife of the day is being waged, and keep gathering in importance until they obscure everything else. They are debated, wrangled over, and made leading issues at General Elections, and even whilst the strife which their coming has caused waxes hot, they begin to move away from sight without having been resolved. Disestablishment and Republicanism are questions which illustrate my meaning here. But so also does Woman Suffrage. In the days of the franchise agitation, the enfranchisement of woman, promoted by Mill and strenuously supported by Fawcett, Dr. Pankhurst, and other leaders of reform, promised to become a question of first political importance, but the passing of the one and then of the other of the friends of the movement, leaving no successors to carry on their tradition, it gradually passed into some obscurity. As it is again emerging and showing fresh vitality,* it may not be amiss to briefly record its history, particularly as it connects itself with the various Reform Bills.

* On Friday, May 12th, 1905, when the Woman's Enfranchisement Bill was down for second reading, there were 300 women in the lobbies canvassing for

In the Reform Act of 1832 the word "male" was interpolated before "persons." Never before and never since† has the phrase "male persons" appeared in any Statute of the Realm. By this Act, therefore, women were legally disfranchised for the first time in the history of the English constitution. In 1851 Lord Brougham's Act was passed, providing that the word "man" should always include "woman," except where otherwise stated. That seemed to clear the ground, and give women the same legal status as men. But, alas!

In 1867 the Representation of the People Act came before the House. John Stuart Mill's amendment, that it should be made expressly to include women, was defeated, but so also was the amendment that the phrase "male persons" of 1832 should be replaced. The word "man" was used instead. During the discussion the Hon. John Deman, Justice of the Common Pleas, asked the following question:—

"Why, instead of the words 'male person' of the Act, 1832, the word 'man' had been substituted in the present Bill? In the fifth clause he found that after saying that every 'man' should be entitled to be registered, it proceeds to say, 'or a MALE PERSON in any University who has passed any senior middle examination.' In the light of Lord Brougham's Act, if the Court of Queen's Bench had to decide to-morrow on the construction of these clauses, they would be constrained to hold that they conferred the suffrage on female persons, as well as on males."

After the Bill became law, it was thought, therefore, that women were entitled to vote, and in Manchester 5,347 women got on the register as voters. In Salford 1,500 (about) were registered, and large numbers in other places. Great uncertainty prevailed as to how to treat them, but most revising barristers threw them out. The Manchester women consolidated their claims, and appealed against the decision, and the case of *Chorlton v. Ling* was heard in 1868.

The case was tried in the Court of Common Pleas, with Mr Coleridge, afterwards Lord Coleridge, and the late Dr. Pankhurst representing the women. It was argued that inasmuch as women had in the middle ages been recognised as voters by the State, and as that right had never been expressly taken away, therefore they had a *primâ facie* right to vote. Further, it was contended that under Lord Brougham's Act, referred to above, the Franchise Act of 1867 must apply to women, since the term used was "men," and not "male persons," as in the Act of 1832.

the Bill, and when it was talked out, these marched out and organized a meeting in the open air. The opposition to the Bill came from both sides of the House in about equal proportions.

† Whilst these sheets are being revised a Bill comes to me, introduced by W. R. Cremer, M.P., and others, which proposes to confer the vote upon every "man" and "male person" of full age.

Despite this pleading, the judges decided that no women had no statutory right to be recognized as citizens, and that until that right was expressly conferred upon them by Act of Parliament, they must remain outside the pale of the franchise.

In 1884 Mr Gladstone procured the rejection of the amendment to his County Franchise Bill, which would have enfranchised women, by threatening to abandon the Bill if the amendment was carried. In 1899 came the case of *Beresford Hope v. Lady Sandhurst*, in which it was decided that women were incapacitated from being elected members of a County Council. The case is important from the point of view of the Franchise (Parliamentary) question, because the judges quoted, approved, and confirmed the decision in the case of *Chorlton v. Lings*. One of the judges, Lord Esher, Master of the Rolls, delivering his judgment, said:—

"I take the first proposition to be that laid down by Justice Wills in the case of *Chorlton v. Lings*. I take it that neither by the common law nor the constitution of this country from the beginning of the common law until now can a woman be entitled to exercise any public function. Justice Wills said so in that case, and a more learned judge never lived. He took notice of the case of the Countess of Pembroke in the County of Westmorland, who was hereditary sheriff, which he says was an exceptional case. The cases of an overseer and a constable were before him, and what I deduce from his judgment is, that for such somewhat obscure offices as these, exercised often in a remote part of the country, where nobody else could have been found who could exercise them, women had been admitted into them, by way of exception, and that, striking out these exceptions, the act of voting in such matters being a public function, *primâ facie* and according to the constitutional and common law, a woman cannot exercise it. But that case goes further. It says that this being the common law of England, when you have a Statute which deals with the exercise of public functions, unless that Statute expressly gives power to women to exercise them, it is to be taken that the true construction is, that the powers given are confined to men; and that Lord Brougham's Act does not apply."

The judge had in this case to interpret the Municipal Corporations Act, in which the word "PERSON" is used throughout. In addition, there is an interpretation clause (63rd section) which provides that for all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to vote at municipal elections words in this Act importing the masculine gender include women. It was held that the right to be ELECTED was not conferred by the Act, but only the right to VOTE, the word "person" not being regarded by the judges as including women, Lord Justice Fry going so far as to say:—

"I regard the 63rd section as ascertaining both affirmatively and negatively the rights which have been conferred upon women; ascertaining them affirmatively by express statement, and ascertaining them negatively by necessary implication. What is given to them is the right to vote, what is denied by the necessary implication are all the other rights which may be conferred by the Statute. I do not regard the negative implication arising

from that section (63rd) as applying to the whole Act, as applying to crimes, or to the obligations on the duties of witnesses or matters of that sort, but I regard it as applying to the RIGHTS granted by that Statute."

In Miss HALL'S case, 1900, the right of a woman to become a law agent in Scotland was denied by the judges on the ground that "person" when it is a case of exercising a public function means "MALE PERSON." The judges relied on the case of *Chorlton v. Lings* as the ground of their decision. Now, in view of these decisions, the situation is quite clear.

A woman, for the purposes of citizenship, has no legal existence in Great Britain, and has to be created before she can be enfranchised. To the uninitiated this may appear absurd and ridiculous, but it is plain unvarnished truth none the less. A woman may be a criminal, a queen, a tax and rate payer and owner of property, but she may not be a citizen of Great Britain and Ireland until a right to become such has been created by Act of Parliament. If only people would bear this fact in mind they would be saved from much error when considering her claims to the franchise.

During the past few sessions of Parliament a measure has been introduced, originally at the instigation of the Independent Labour Party, having this for its object. It is a Bill of one clause, which reads as follows:—

"In all Acts relating to the qualifications and registration of voters or persons entitled or claiming to be registered and to vote in the election of members of Parliament, wherever words occur which import the masculine gender the same shall be held to include women for all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to be registered as voters and to vote in such election, any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding."

There are those who see in this innocent-looking measure a sinister attempt to extend and strengthen the property qualification, and by enfranchising propertied women enable these to range themselves on the side of the reactionaries in opposing the enfranchisement of working-class women. Needless to add, a strong section of the Liberal Press adopts and enforces this misstatement with all the ingenuity which a fertile and untrained imagination can lend to a bad cause. One would have thought the record of the Liberal Party in connection with Woman Suffrage would have chastened the ardour of those organs of Liberalism which are opposing this Bill in the interest of "true female suffrage"; but the gift of perspective is rare in politics, and a strict desire for accuracy an inconvenient failing when there are party ends to serve. The late Mr Gladstone, as already stated, threatened to abandon his Reform Bill in 1884, if the

Woman's Enfranchisement Amendment were carried. There have been three Conservative premiers who have publicly committed themselves, in speech at least (none of them have acted), to this reform, which has yet to find the first Liberal premier who will say a word in its favour. (Since the foregoing was written the present Prime Minister has informed a deputation of 400 women that he is in favour of their enfranchisement, but could hold out no hope that the reform would be passed by this Parliament.)

Any one who takes the trouble to read the Bill quoted above will note that it does not propose any franchise qualification, but asks that, whatever the qualification, women shall enjoy the franchise on the same basis as men. It is a Bill which only proposes to do one thing, and that is, to remove the sex disability which debars a woman, because she is a woman, from becoming a voter. If the qualification for men be a property one, it shall be the same for women, no more and no less; and if it be a manhood suffrage, it shall also be a womanhood. A woman may have the brain of a Bacon, the talent of a Shakespeare, the eloquence of a Demosthenes, and the wealth of a Cræsus all combined, but being a woman she may not vote for a member of Parliament, and this Bill proposes to remove the disability which stands in the way of her becoming a citizen; to remove her from the category of "idiots, lunatics, and paupers," and to recognize that, woman though she be, she is a human being who may become a citizen.

And now let us ascertain, if we can, what women would be enfranchised under the terms of the Bill quoted above.

There are four main heads under which the franchise qualifications fall to be grouped—(1) Owners of property; (2) Householders; (3) Lodgers; (4) Service. One set of opponents of the Woman's Enfranchisement Bill say that it would be from classes one and three that the new citizens would be drawn, which, if true, would leave working-class women out in the cold. Few working women own property, and not many earn wages enough to pay the four shillings a week for unfurnished apartments, which is necessary to qualify for the lodger franchise. By what has become known as the latchkey decision the Appeal Court has now held that every male occupant who occupies an unfurnished room, irrespective of the amount paid as rent, and who has the free use of the room, is entitled to go on the voters' list as a householder. Rich men, they assert, would be able to put their wives and daughters on as voters and outvoters, which would tend to greatly increase an evil which is already of sufficient magnitude. Fortunately, we have already an index to guide us as to the extent to which this statement is true, even were the worst fears of our opponents to be realized.

There are, roughly, 7,000,000 electors in Great Britain, of whom 220,000 are lodger voters. A very large proportion of these are workmen, and it is doubtful whether rich men's sons, qualifying from their fathers' property, account for more than 20,000 of the whole. Even were a like number of daughters to be put upon the voters' roll, they would not, save in those few constituencies where the property vote is already overwhelming, and where, therefore, they could do no harm—save in these few cases, I say, they would not constitute an appreciable fraction of any constituency. As for the outvoters, we may surely anticipate, with some degree of assurance, that the Liberal Government will at least put an end to their existence, and so we need not worry ourselves about them one way or the other. In so far as the service franchise will give women the right to vote, those brought in will be working women, and we may pit these against the daughters of the rich. It will, I think, be conceded that the great bulk of those who will be enfranchised by the Bill will be householders, and here, I repeat, we have we have reliable data upon which to base our conclusions. Women may not be elected to a town or burgh council, but they may vote in the election of such councils. Owing to a difference of opinion in the ranks of the Independent Labour Party over the Woman's Enfranchisement Bill, it was decided to make a serious effort to obtain from the municipal registers some guidance as to the class of women already registered as municipal voters, and who would be entitled to be placed upon the parliamentary list should the Bill become law. Accordingly, a circular was issued to every branch of the party, some 300 in all, containing the following instructions:—

The returns to hand are not yet complete, but they comprise fifty towns or parts of towns, and show the following results.—

“We address to your branch a very urgent request to ascertain from your local voting registers the following particulars:—

- “1st—The *Total* Number of Electors in the Ward.
- “2nd—Number of Women Voters.
- “3rd—Number of Women Voters of the Working Class.
- “4th—Number of Women Voters not of the Working Class.

“It is impossible to lay down a strict definition of the term ‘working class,’ but for this purpose it will be sufficient to regard as ‘working class women’ those who work for wages, who are domestically employed, or who are supported by the earnings of wage-earning children.”

Total Electors on Municipal Registers	372,321
Total Women Voters	59,920
Working Women Voters, as defined above	49,410
Non-Working Women Voters	10,510
Percentage of Working Women Voters ..		82.45.

As will be seen at a glance, the proportion of women voters on the registers tested for the purposes of the above return—and these were not in any way selected, but were included because they were in the ward or parish within which the branch was situated—is equal to one-sixth of the whole. Assuming, as we may fairly do, that the same proportion obtains for the country as a whole, it would give us 1,250,000 women municipal voters, of whom 82 per cent. are working women, and every one of whom would at once be placed upon the parliamentary register were the Bill now before Parliament to become law.

Here, then, we have it proved beyond cavil or question that whatever the Woman's Enfranchisement Bill might do for propertied women, it would for a certainty and at once put 1,025,000 working women on the parliamentary voters' rolls of Great Britain, and a like proportion in Ireland. The fact speaks for itself. The Woman's Enfranchisement Bill does not concern itself with franchise qualifications; it is for the removal of the sex disqualification only; and yet on the present franchise qualifications and reactionary registration laws it would at once lift 1,250,000 British women from the political sphere to which “idiots, lunatics, and paupers” are consigned, and transform them into free citizens, and open wide the door whereby in the future every man and every woman may march side by side into the full enjoyment of adult suffrage.

Hitherto I have been dealing with those opponents whose objection to the Bill is that it does not go far enough, and who prefer waiting for a measure of adult suffrage under which every man and every woman, married and single alike, shall be enfranchised at one stroke. Now, I have had some experience of politics and of political methods, and I give it as my deliberate opinion that nothing would so much hasten the coming of that much-to-be-desired time as would the passing of the Woman's Enfranchisement Bill. If the workers were prepared to lay every other reform on the shelf, and begin an agitation for adult suffrage, they might, if specially fortunate, be successful in getting it about the year 1929. Manhood suffrage could probably be secured almost at once and for the asking; but the complete enfranchisement of all men and all women at once would be resisted bitterly by all parties. And the main difficulty in the way would be the enfranchisement of all women, married and living with their husbands, as well as single. The leap from what is now to what this proposes is too great for the mind of the British elector to grasp, and not by any means the least of the opposition would come from the working classes. Reformers gain nothing by shutting their eyes to facts which stare up at them from every part. I speak what most people know to be true when I say that the chief obstacle to reform of any

kind in England is the conservative, plodding, timid mind of the average man. Hence the reason why all our reforms have come to us, not leaping and bounding, but slowly and hesitatingly. Even the franchise, such as it is, has been dribbled out to us in almost homœopathic doses. This difficulty applies to women's enfranchisement in a special degree. The male man, even he of the working class, will not lightly or all at once part with the authority which has so long been his, and admit the wife of his bosom to a political equality with himself. But once women are admitted to citizenship and some women become voters, the male mind will insensibly accustom itself to the idea of woman citizenship, and the way be prepared for adult suffrage, complete and unrestricted by sex, poverty, or marriage.

To those who are opposed on principle to women having the vote at all I have little to say. These I find it easier to pity than to reason with. But when they foresee the deluge following upon the enfranchisement of women I refer them to the Colonies. There women are citizens and voters, but they have not because of that ceased to be wives—even housewives, or mothers. Their outlook on life has been a little broadened by the possession of the vote which, willy nilly, forces them to interest themselves somewhat in political and social questions. They are thus in a fair way to become better companions to their husbands, and—and I say this with deep conviction—better mothers. Women whose circle of interests is circumscribed by her pots, pans, and scrubbing brushes, varied by an occasional gossip with a neighbour or quarrel with her husband, can never, however affectionate, be other than a curb upon the opening, eagerly questioning intelligence of her children. Broaden the outlook of the mother, and you open a new world for childhood to grow in, and bind many a wild, wayward youth to his home-life who is now driven out into the hard world for lack of that sympathetic, intelligent companionship which an educated and enlightened mother can alone supply. Colonial statesmen and social reformers all admit that woman's influence in the sphere of politics has been healthy and quickening, and, as it has been there, so undoubtedly would it be here.

The "Half angel, half idiot," period is over in the woman's world. She is fighting her way into every sphere of human activity. Her labour is coming into competition with that of man in nearly every department of industry. The women's Trade Union movement is growing by leaps and bounds. In the learned professions she is forcing herself to the front by sheer determination and force of intellect in a way that will not be denied. Sooner or later men will be compelled to treat with her and recognise her as a co-worker, and they could not begin better than by admitting her right to be a co-voter. Those who prate so glibly of adult suffrage

might surely learn something of men's opinion of women by taking note of the way in which lawyers and doctors are resisting her encroachments upon their preserves. A woman may be Queen of England, but she may not enter the profession from which Lord Chancellors are drawn.

The enfranchisement of women is not a party question. Its supporters and opponents are distributed over all parties. The measure is again coming well within the sphere of practical politics, and it is for women to see that it is kept there until a settlement is reached. If they will, as I think they should, make it not a test but *the* test question at elections, and resolutely refuse to work for or in any way countenance any candidate who is not whole-heartedly with them, they will, if not in this Parliament, then certainly in the next, secure the passage of a measure through the House of Commons at least which will place them on terms of political equality with men. If this comes as part of a measure for giving complete adult suffrage, well and good; but political equality they should insist upon, whatever the conditions of that equality may be.

Disraeli, speaking on this question in the House of Commons, said:—

"I say that in a country governed by a woman—where you allow women to form part of the other estate of the realm—peeresses in their own right, for example—where you allow a woman not only to own land, but to be a lady of the manor and hold legal courts—where a woman by law may be a churchwarden and overseer of the poor—I do not see, where she has so much to do with the State and Church, on what reasons, if you come to right, she has not a right to vote."

And with these words I conclude.

J. KEIR HARDIE.

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The "Physical Force" Fallacy

By LAURENCE HOUSMAN.

OPPONENTS of Woman Suffrage put forward as their final and most irrefutable argument against the admission of women to the franchise that as the State rests in the last resort on physical force, and as women cannot fight, they have therefore no right to share in the making of the laws by which the State is governed. And this argument is put forward in a civilisation burdened by enormous problems which have mainly arisen out of our sedulous preservation of the physically unfit from their natural extinction under pressure of the physically strong. The State, that is to say, has found that it can only maintain its polity by extending to the weak as well as to the strong the rights and protection of citizenship. Had it not done so, society, as we know it now, would never have come into existence; and, surely, the anxious endeavour of every civilised community to give protection to the weak and frail among its members, even when desperately struggling for existence amid hostile surroundings, might well give pause to those who so boldly assert this unregenerate doctrine of physical force. They are, in fact, only giving utterance to a half-truth, or rather so inverting the truth as to change it into falsehood; for it would be almost as reasonable to say that a man's legs determine his course in life, because he stands and goes upon them and not upon his head, as to assert that physical force is the fundamentally deciding factor in the life of a community. What those who exalt physical force to this position of primacy in the affairs of men fail to see is that, like certain chemical substances, it only becomes effective in a given combination: left to itself, it is as sluggish and as incapable of initiative as a certain recently discovered gas named argon; and in the following pages I shall hope to demonstrate the properties and limitations of this recently discovered gas of our anti-Suffragist friends.

The True Function of the State.

It will be generally conceded, I think, that sheer physical force, the brute force of wild beast and savage man, impelled by hunger or greed, was the first external incentive to communal life, being,

in fact, the original evil which primitive society set itself to withstand. And in the putting of two and two together, with a mutual trust and for a common end, man discovered that he possessed strength *at compound interest*, and out of this discovery the State or commonwealth came into being. Its real basis, therefore, lay in man's reasonable apprehension of the advantages to be derived from combination; and with combination and consent to common action for the general good there came into play a new force—not physical, but economical. Two men fighting back to back, sure of each other's support, make a better defence against odds than two who fight independently. But the back-to-back position can only be taken up where there is mutual trust. And in that simple formula lies the secret why States not only can, but must, afford to deal justly by the weak as well as by the strong. Society thrives on the economy of its forces; economy depends on combination; combination depends on mutual trust; and from the general unity of the component parts may be broadly measured the strength of the whole.

In the long run the State which uses its resources with economy, self-discipline, and harmony prevails over States, often numerically stronger, which employ their energies in waste and luxury and discord; and that State is always strongest, other things being equal, which sets the welfare of the whole above the welfare of the individual. I need not labour a point which past records have proved. The most decisive events in the world's history are those victories which have been won by the few over the many, because their national ideal was more passionate, more absorbing, and more communal than that of their more numerous or more wealthy opponents. It is quite true that physical force is necessary to produce action; but its application through a wisely adjusted State resembles the application of a given unit of power by means of a lever, infinitely outweighing in result the same unit when applied with no such mediary aid. And just as your lever is the essential medium for efficiency, so is your commonwealth. As long as it holds together and is properly balanced it has a tremendous "pull," but only when welded without fault or flaw into a homogenous structure can it be really effective; and that which gives to this communal instrument its full balance and power is the consent of all its component parts to take their share of the strain that is imposed. It is, therefore, a far heavier blow to the welfare and power of a State for the people to lose confidence in the justice of its laws than to lose confidence in its defences or in its army. In the first case it is the moral force of the State which is called in question; in the second it is merely the physical; and while doubt as regards the latter leads only to reorganisation, doubt as regards the former leads to revolution—a curious commentary on the doctrine that physical force is the true basis of government!

Of physical force amenable to reason we have no cause to be afraid; for justice is more persistent than injustice, and the position of the women's movement to-day demonstrates how the

hardest prejudices and the most selfish interests give way to reason when once a hearing is accorded. And so in the world's history has every great cause won from a minority to a majority through the conversion of the physical by the moral power.

If, then, it is only physical force divorced from right and reason which we are bidden to fear, let us see where and in what proportion that kind of force shows itself under present conditions of civilisation. It shows itself on occasions of great disaster, such as the destruction of a city by earthquake, when, for a time, the institutions of law and order are shaken and disorganised; and it shows itself then, not in a majority, but in a small minority, admittedly the very scum of humanity, who, to do their work successfully, must hide themselves from the light of day and run at sight of their fellow-man. Even, therefore, while cataclysm lasts, it can only maintain a precarious existence, and has no binding principle by which it can prolong life after the cataclysmic conditions are over. Lacking the moral standard which alone is capable of inspiring mutual trust, it has not sufficient economic force to impose its will on society.

In Moments of Panic.

Unsocial physical force shows itself again in moments of panic, when men are thinking only of self-preservation. But there already, as we have things now, and quite irrespective of political enfranchisement, the women, the children, and the physically weak go to the wall, and are trampled under the feet of men. But when the panic is over the men are by no means proud of their exploit, or anxious for their physical prowess in the pursuit of the *ultima ratio* to be sounded abroad. A certain French aristocrat, who beat his way out of a burning charity bazaar with a walking-stick through crowds of struggling women, risked his life afterwards by fighting a duel in order to give the lie to the assertion that he had found salvation upon this "ultimate basis," which we are asked to regard as the final sanction of government. And if the individual finds the evil of that doctrine sufficient only unto the day, still less can it become for the State in its higher evolution a permanent basis of conduct.

Theorists who put forward these traits of unsocial and savage humanity as applicable in any fundamental sense to the present condition of society ignore the fact that modern States are far more ruled by economic than by purely physical forces. Far more remedial legislation has been brought about in the last hundred years by economic pressure than by threat of war or revolution; and especially is this true of legislation which has sought to better the conditions of the poor, the weak, and the ignorant. Democracy is gradually bringing us face to face with the fact that, if we remain too long deaf to the moral appeal, we must yield eventually to the economic; and unfortunately we have had to wait again and again, under our one-sided representative system, for the economic pressure to be felt before right has been done. We know

in our own history how the Jews and the Roman Catholics, though in each case a small minority, had to be enfranchised because their disenfranchisement proved a weakness to the economy of the State, and an offence to the public conscience. We know also how the passive resistance of the Quakers, whose tenets would never have allowed them to resort to physical violence, brought about, in 1843, the reform of those unjust laws of marriage registration to which every other section of Nonconformity had yielded unwilling submission. In all those matters physical force played a very small part, and conscience and economic force a very large part; and the pressure of morality and of economics in public affairs does not grow less as time goes on.

How a New Class Becomes Enfranchised.

At the present day in this country a large majority of men between the ages of twenty-one and sixty is already possessed of the Parliamentary franchise, and those who remain unenfranchised are, numerically, physically, and economically, the less powerful section of the community. From the physical force standpoint it would, therefore, be quite gratuitous for the present electorate to hand over any share of its power to others. But we know perfectly well that if, from this still unenfranchised class of the community, were to come a persistent and resolute demand for the further extension of the franchise, something would have to be done to meet the claim. The issue would not depend on a mere counting of noses or a weighing-up of physical forces, but on the genuineness and intensity of the demand, and on the straight, plain, staring fact that a strongly determined minority which puts forward a claim based on justice, can bring such economic pressure to bear on the Administration and the Legislature that even an unwilling majority has perforce to yield. The power to organise and the determination to agitate are in themselves the beginning of a qualification for political enfranchisement, for they are a proof of political vitality, and show that a fresh section of the community has awakened from sleep. As long as any class, through ignorance or lack of will, remains quiescent and consenting to the rule of others, as long as, in return for benefits real or supposed, it is willing to obey laws in the making of which it has had no share, so long can the State afford to withhold from it direct representation. But if its members become conscious that such conditions are ignominious, and begin to rebel against them; if they say, "Though weaker than you in physical power or fewer in numbers, we are willing and determined to take our share in the government of the State," then you have a new force to reckon with; a section of the community which was previously, from a political point of view, a negligible quantity, has taken to itself a new attribute, and presents, by the awakening of its will for citizenship, a claim which no democracy can afford to withstand. The mere demonstration of that desire for citizenship will draw to it a body of support from the already enfranchised—and especially from those social

workers who know how far-reaching a weakness to the State is the sloth and indifference of its citizens—such as will, in the end, bear down the opposition of class-prejudice and privilege. The willing service of its citizens is to the State like fresh air to a man's dwelling. Stupid, physical force may for a time shut it out; and when, to avoid suffocation, it resorts to ventilation, stupid, physical force no doubt imagines that it has done so entirely on its own initiative. The more ignorant a man is of the invisible forces which govern his life, the more will he fail to realise the nature of that power which drives him, "in the last resort," to open the door for the fresh air whose cold draught he so much dislikes. And so, I suppose, to the end of the chapter, a certain class of mind will continue to regard the State as the swayed and not the swayer of physical forces, being unable to apprehend the workings of that divine chemistry which, by invisible ways, is bringing about, daily and hourly, the evolution of man.

Now, if physical force is to be the basis of man's rule in the State, why should it not also remain the basis of man's rule in the home? But we know quite well that those homes where it is the basis do not show the best results, nor are they regarded as beneficent types of what a home should be. To say that the physical compulsion of wives is the *ultima ratio* of average home life among savages is true: but here in England it is an idiotic statement. Economic compulsion there very often is, and it is the unjust economic pressure imposed on married women under modern conditions which keeps many an unhappy home from falling apart. But were physical compulsion added, the turning-point, in a great many cases, would be reached, and the application of your "true basis of government" would lead to the breaking-up of many more homes than is now the case. No doubt our physical force preachers will argue that the compulsory powers of the husband have merely passed into the hands of the State. But that is not the case. The State, it is true, tried for a while to assume them, but the attempt has broken down; and, though some of the old formulæ remain, the claim—in this country, at all events—has been abandoned. Even in France, where the Napoleonic Code still gives the husband the right to the service of two gendarmes to enforce his will upon a reluctant wife, such a disgusting and farcical remedy is never attempted; the public conscience would not stand it, nor, in some cases, would the lives of the husbands who invoked it be safe.

Behind the Fighting Line.

We come now to the argument which the physical force theorists seek to draw from these very unstable premises—namely, that as women "cannot fight," therefore they must not vote. And just as we found that their definition of the modern State broke down on examination, so shall we find that their implied definition of a modern army has very little relation to anything that exists in the present day. In primitive, and even in later times, an army was really and truly composed of nothing but fighting men (with occa-

sionally a picked body of fighting women thrown in); its sustenance was drawn from the country through which it ravaged its way, or consisted in the fat of the slain left upon the stricken field. Your savage warrior, that is to say, depended in the last resort on killing his enemy in order to obtain his supper. But the conscience of civilised man no longer permits us to wage war on such physically economical lines, so savage a breed of blood being incompatible with the life of a civilised community. Yet we have at the same time not stinted to multiply and to increase the efficiency of our killing apparatus, with the curious economic result that for every enemy slain we have to incur an expenditure of £1,000 or upwards, and that often quite as many are killed accidentally by disease as intentionally by bullet.* And the organisation which we have thus produced demands for its existence a proportion of non-combatants to combatants which can certainly never be less than five to one, for at the back of every combatant we have a whole string of workers through whose exertions alone he is able to take the field; and so it may truly be said that the application of his physical force at any given point depends quite as much on their consent as on his. Our military organisation, in fact, has developed just as our civil organisation has done, and depends for its working not on mere physical force, but on an economic combination which draws upon the whole community for its supplies; and (failing moral revulsion) it is economic and not physical exhaustion which nowadays brings wars to an end.

Now this dependence of an army on its rear has in the last fifty years enormously increased. Fifty years ago we loaded our guns through the muzzle; then we loaded them through the breech; and now we load them through a magazine in the stock. And as with our fire-arms, so with our armies—the *loading-point has been put farther and farther back*. For that reason alone, then, if for no other, it is untrue to say that women cannot be fighters: the army is a weapon loaded from the rear, and women as well as men are the loaders of it; and women, even more than men, are the cleaners of it when it becomes fouled through much fighting. Not only, then, has this increasing importance of the rear given to the non-combatant a new standing in relation to war, but fighting itself has come to depend more on nerve and less on muscular force than in the old days of close combat; and though civilisation has, until the last twenty or thirty years, tended to make women less physically fit for such service, the development of arms of precision and long-distance fighting has on the contrary tended to make such service more possible.

The real question, therefore, that we have to meet is: where in a wisely conducted State can the service of women be most economically and effectively employed during war? And if it be found that in the rear of the fighting-line she is worth a man and a half, and in the fighting-line itself something less than the average man, that may be a very good reason for requiring her

*The cost of the Boer War to this country alone was £226,331,000; the number of killed on both sides is reckoned at 166,073.

services accordingly, but it is none whatever for depriving her of citizenship. If the co-operation of women is necessary for the efficiency of a modern army, then their right to representation, even on the physical force basis, clearly follows; for, if you deny it, it is within their power, when you are next engaged in war, to compel it; and that compulsion could be brought about not by any muscular effort, but by the avoidance of it. I suggested just now that behind the fighting-line a woman's value may be even more than a man's; it certainly is so in military base-hospitals, for it accords with human nature that the presence of women nurses has a more cheering and restorative effect on the sick and wounded than that of male nurses. That is a definite sex-value which the State cannot afford to let go: exclude women from your military hospitals, and your armed forces are weakened. And so, the more you examine into the economics of modern warfare, the more surely will you find that without the co-operation of women its conditions would become intolerable; for not only would its horrors and suffering be greatly increased, but its cost to the community, both in treasure and in the dislocation of trade, would prove crushing even to the wealthiest of states.

But society has, quite reasonably, come to the conclusion that woman can be better employed for the common good away from the fighting-line. In motherhood she has a battle-field of her own, where she also risks her life: but no one therefore suggests that she alone has sufficient responsibility for home legislation, nor is any attempt made so to divide our Legislature that women, excluded from foreign affairs, may have at least an equal share in all that relates to internal government. Yet in a very real sense the ultimate physical force in the internal economy of the State lies in the hands of women. It is there unconsciously even in States where women still live in passive subjection: it is there consciously wherever education and social development have aroused instincts of self-possession and free will. And the educational and social conditions to which women have already attained in this country (conditions on which it is impossible for us now to go back) are sufficiently advanced, even without the vote, to bring that consciousness of power more and more to life. You cannot, in this country, make women the mothers of live, sane, and healthy stock against their will; their power of life and death in that connection is too absolute for man's control; and continuous physical compulsion on his part would only defeat his end. Of the two extreme powers inherent in the State—to kill and to make alive—the latter rests to a preponderating extent with the women, and is the more essential of the two. That is an economic condition which must always defeat mere physical violence if the two are ever to be brought into conflict under any form of popular government. Your physical force theorists take their outlook over a society where motherhood has remained quiescent and submissive; but were motherhood to rise in revolt against the pressure of unequal laws, then "all the king's horses and all the king's men" would be powerless against it.

What physical force, however, would be unable to cure, social instinct will prevent; and it is by the quickening of social instinct, and not by physical force, that the higher values of womanhood are gradually obtaining their recognition in the State. Social or race instinct imposes on men the duty of saving women and children before themselves from shipwreck and fire—not out of chivalry, not because they are the weaker, but because with them lies, in a larger proportion, the material necessary for the increase and continuance of the race. For the same reason social instinct taught men quite early that the State could better afford to lose its males in war than its women; and the withdrawal of the latter from the fighting-line was a direct recognition that they had a higher value elsewhere. But what has become quite wisely a law of nations is not necessarily a law of nature; and, as a matter of fact, whenever a nation is *in extremis* the rules laid down in peace count for less and less; the more desperately the community stands at bay the nearer do its women approach the fighting-line; and in spite of custom, and prejudice, and long disuse, women when thus called on have proved even up to modern times that they can fight not merely with courage but with efficiency.*

We find, then, on examination that the physical force theory is merely an assertion that the majority of male electors, forgetful of past history, may become so short-sighted as really to believe that physical force can choose its own path irrespective of economics, and will turn to revolution if it finds obstruction in its way. If it does so the revolution will be short-lived. The old fable of the war which the members of the body waged against the stomach is always applicable, quite irrespective of sex, wherever ill-conducted force sets out to defeat function. The physical force party, the arms, the legs, the hands, and the loud-boasting mouth, thought to score an easy victory over their uncombative opponent. They found out their mistake: the stomach remained unconquerable. And whether in military or civil affairs it is the stomach, the internal economy, which dispenses strength to the rest, and those who seek to control it by physical violence will only live to discover that they have "no stomach for the fight."

Anti-suffragists are disturbing themselves quite unnecessarily. If the movement for women's enfranchisement has not a preponderance of the economic forces at its back it will come to nothing; but if, as we believe, those forces are its allies, then no amount of physical violence can bring about their defeat. Economy is the automatic controller of government, an instrument welded by the combined life and industry of the State: physical force is but the raw material out of which it is made, only valuable if directed to a really economic end, and, if wrongly directed, finding its mistake from the economic pressure that ensues.

* During the Indian Mutiny, the rebels produced only one leader of real military ability, the Ranee of Jhanzi. When at last defeated she died fighting in the ranks.

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FROM EAST TO WEST.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE IN RELATION TO
FOREIGN MISSIONS.

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"Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?"—LAM. i. 12.

The World's Missionary Conference in one of its pamphlets issued prior to its meeting in June, 1910, took upon itself the responsibility of suggesting that some inherent weakness of Christianity, as practised at home, might be the cause of its comparatively slow extension abroad. The exact quotation is:—"Whether the Christianity we are sending from land to land is not loaded with some disparagement that forbids its wide expansion." Thus the Church has been invited, on world-wide and pan-denominational authority, to examine itself as to its conduct of affairs at home; and coincident with this invitation, there is an ever-increasing belief amongst religious people that the attitude that the Church has assumed towards the most amazing movement of the present day, is a real stumbling-block in the way of its evangelization of the world. I refer to the manner in which it has officially totally ignored, and individually often bitterly opposed, each fresh development of the women's movement: *e.g.*, when women desired in the earlier days higher education, or the degree of a doctor, or now when they wish to serve their generation by means of the legal profession, or a participation in legislative power. It is all the more strange that it should be so, when one reflects that one of the Church's chief indictments against non-Christian religions is the low position they accord their women, but the melancholy fact remains, and the name of perhaps the greatest champion of women all down the centuries is not that of any distinguished Churchman, but of John Stuart Mill! To some, of course, the juxtaposition of a science which deals with the welfare of humanity as a whole (which is called politics), and one that deals with the good of humanity individually (a vital part of which

they consider religion) is a most undesirable anomaly. Yet I would ask them to remember that the Old Testament rings with appeals for civic righteousness, and also that it is missionaries in China who make most ado about the opium evil, and missionaries in Africa who had at first most to say about the Congo atrocities. Yet both these subjects are Parliamentary, political and even international.

So that one should be able to approach the subject in the confidence of a fair hearing: all the more, as in the pamphlet alluded to above, one day of preparation for the conference was set apart for prayer and confession concerning the work undone, and the social wrongs permitted in lands called Christian, and the blindness that fails to see the greatness of the present opportunity.

All the more again, because the following weighty words occur in the message sent out by the Conference as a whole after its close:—

“Our survey has impressed upon us the momentous character of the present hour. We have heard from many quarters of the awakening of great nations, of the opening of long-closed doors, and of movements which are placing all at once before the Church a new world to be won for Christ. The next ten years will in all probability constitute a turning-point in human history, and may be of more critical importance in determining the spiritual evolution of mankind than many centuries of ordinary experience. If those years are wasted, havoc may be wrought that centuries will not be able to repair. On the other hand, if they are rightly used they may be among the most glorious in Christian history.

“It is not only of the individual or the congregation that this new spirit is demanded. There is an imperative spiritual demand that national life and influence, as a whole, be Christianized: so that the entire impact, commercial and political, now of the West upon the East, and now of the stronger races upon the weaker, may confirm, and not impair, the message of the missionary enterprise.

“The providence of God has led us all into a new world of opportunity, of danger, and of duty. God is demanding of us all a new order of life, of a more arduous and self-sacrificing nature than the old. But if, as we believe, the way of duty is the way of revelation, there is certainly implied, in this imperative call of duty, a latent assurance that God is greater, more loving, nearer and more available for our help and conduct than any man has dreamed.

“Assuredly, then, we are called to make new discoveries of the grace and power of God, for ourselves, for the Church, and for the world; and in the strength of that firmer and bolder faith in Him, to face the new age and the new task with a new consecration.”

To begin therefore a brief examination into the subject—woman *qua* woman—is still governed in the west as she is in the east—without her consent, the very definition of slavery according to Swift. Man alone makes the laws that rule her, takes her money without her permission, and uses it without her advice (a state of affairs—taxation without representation—termed “robbery” and “tyranny” when practised by men on men), and decides what her work shall be.

Now St. Paul has commanded that “women should rule in domestic affairs” (1 Tim. 5-14, Weymouth’s translation), but notwithstanding this dictum, it is man alone, elected by man, who discusses and decides in Parliament how the infant shall be clothed, where it shall sleep, how the mother shall be attended in childbirth, when she shall be allowed to labour for her bread, etc. The woman is not, even in the eyes of the law, the parent of her own legitimate child; with the father rests the decision as to residence, religion, education, vaccination, and other things. This flagrant breach of God’s law lacks also, as might be expected, the merit of success, for no less than half the children of the working classes die under five years old.* Moreover, in the home (unless her husband actually desert her), a woman, however wealthy he may be, and however hard-working she may be, cannot claim maintenance for herself and her children. Her only remedy in case of inadequate provision is to break up the home and go to the workhouse, when the officials, to spare the rates and taxes, will recoup themselves by suing him for damages. But here, of course, the woman seldom sees her children and has no authority over them whatever.

Moreover, man, by depriving women of the protective power of the vote, prevents her from forcing the Government to standardise her wages; hence, pressed by hunger, she undersells man and consequently he loses his employment, and she is driven forth to the labour market to support the family, and has no time for domestic matters at all! The result of this state of affairs, as anyone with first-hand knowledge of the poor knows, is melancholy in the extreme. Thus are the words of God made of none effect by the traditions of men, all the while some of them ignorantly thinking they are doing God service.

Then again the laws of inheritance and divorce place woman at a great disadvantage. Even a Mohammedan woman was mistress of her own property, while the Christian woman up till 1882 had no control over hers. We condemn Mohammedanism, and rightly, for its polygamy, yet the English law allows a man to have another woman living in the same house as his wife and unless he is physically cruel to the latter she cannot even claim a magisterial separation.

* Whereas in Australia, infant mortality, which before women had the franchise was worse than in almost any civilised country, has now decreased till it is almost the lowest figure.

Early marriage is another crying evil of the East, yet what is the maximum sentence a man may receive for illegitimately forcing parentage on a child of 12 in England? Two years! Is there no beam to remove from our own eye? When has the Church officially—and on our Anglican Church especially rests a heavy responsibility—protested against these matters?

We are told that woman is sheltered and protected in a Christian country, yet, if accused of wrong doing, so far from being tried by her peers, she has a man judge, a man jury, a man counsel for and against, the trial is according to man-made laws, and she is often the only woman in court. Nay more, I have known even girl children—when they have had to give evidence in cases of immorality—who have been refused the supporting presence of their own mothers, and have seen them driven out of the court before the case has begun!

Then the sentences passed by magistrates on men convicted of assault on women and girls are notoriously inadequate. I give two instances. In one case, in December, 1906, a working man went to see a comrade. The wife, with a baby in her arms, opened the door and said her husband was out. The man had a difference to settle, he said, but the wife would do as well, so he proceeded to give the baby and herself three blows, injuring both of them. The magistrate gave the man a 5s. fine. More recently another man kicked his wife out of bed, bruised her till she was black and blue, and left her unconscious. For this he was fined 21s. Yet a hungry man for stealing 2d. worth of milk has been sentenced to as much as eighteen months' hard labour! Such is the legal preference for property over person—and yet no woman is allowed to be a magistrate!

It was a prosaic and matter-of-fact wardress who said that a few days in the police court was enough to convince anyone that women needed the vote! It was a New Zealander who, when asked at the 1910 election to sign a suffrage petition, replied in graphic language, "Not much! In New Zealand, where women have the franchise, you get 6 months for knocking your wife about, here you can do it for 5s.!" It was the Trades Unions of the country that, when towards the end of the life of the last Conservative parliament a judge gave an adverse decision against them, worked hard at the next election for the return of 40 Labour members, and who thus got the decision reversed in the early days of the new Parliament. It is a well-known city magistrate (Cecil Chapman) who says: "Half the crime and more than half the misery I come across professionally is due to the idea that man alone is lord." "And it's your fault," said an American working woman when addressing the Governor of an American State on the suffrage, "for filling his head so full of conceit."

Then we have the question of financial unfairness to woman. Woman *qua* woman is prevented from following most of the higher

professions. She is refused degrees after passing the requisite examinations; she is not allowed to engage in the more lucrative (though not by any means the more arduous) parts of many trades. She is paid solely *qua* woman again—less than man for equal work, by Government and by private firms. For instance, in the case of the Post Office, women's salaries range from £65 to £110, men's from £70 to £250. Boy pupil teachers in the L.C.C. schools begin at 7s. 6d. a week, girls at 4s. In the shoe trade men and women work side by side, receiving 29s. and 9s. a week respectively. The reason alleged is that "it is not right to pay a woman the same as a man." This, charitably interpreted, probably means that a man presumably has a family to support—a woman has not. But this argument breaks down theoretically and practically. First, men are not paid according to their needs, else a distinction would be drawn between married men and bachelors; and secondly, there are districts in London where 80 per cent. of the children are supported by their mothers. As a typical instance, I quote the case of a woman known to myself. Her husband was supposed to be employed in braiding army coats for the Government. In reality he was habitually drunk, and she did all the work. He died. She as usual went on with the business and took the work up to be paid. Her tale was met by incredulity, and not until the officials had seen her doing the braiding themselves did they graciously consent to let her do the coats at exactly half the old remuneration, because they had found out she was a woman!

Government, moreover, does not standardize women's wages as it does men's. In the case of her own work 90 per cent. of the sweated trades are run by her; and some of the work—shirt making and kindred industries especially undertaken by women—were notwithstanding irrefutable facts and figures, excluded from the influence of the recent Trades Boards Act which deals with sweated trades. So that women may still earn 3s. a week, working from morning to night, at skilled embroidery.

The sceptic may ask, what difference will the vote make? I can only give the authority of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, in the Albert Hall in 1908, stated that when women have the vote this double standard of Government pay can no longer be maintained. I can only give the authority of the son of the late Archbishop Temple, who, in one of the finest speeches of the recent Pan-Anglican Congress, concluded his address on social work by an impassioned appeal for all Christian men and women to work and pray for women's suffrage, for only so, he said, can this sweating iniquity be stopped. It is true that this fact is not widely known, for the papers that gave almost verbatim reports suppressed the final part of his speech!

I can only say that in those countries where women *do* have the vote—Australia, New Zealand, Norway, and in four States in America—the Government double standard is no longer maintained,

and not only so, but private firms are following in the Government wake. I can only say that at a Labour Conference in 1910, the question of the minimum wage came up, and it was decided that a woman's should be less than a man's, because the Government paid her on a lower scale, so why should they demand an equal! It has been calculated that in England the average wage of rich and poor women workers taken together is about 7s. a week. In Australia it used to be about 8s., but since women possessed the franchise it is 18s.

In view of these facts, we may continue to condemn the Hindu religion for its cruel treatment of widows, but would it not be more consistent for us to leave off thus devouring widows' houses first? Is this the fast God has chosen? Is this loosing the hands of wickedness, undoing the heavy burdens, letting the oppressed go free, and breaking every yoke? Is this dealing bread to the hungry and covering to the naked? Is this the way to carry out pure religion, visiting the fatherless and widows in their affliction, is this doing justice and loving mercy, as the Lord our God has required? It needs some very cogent arguments to prove that it is so, and some very weighty reasons to justify us in opposing, by indifference or opposition, the strenuous work of those who are labouring to remedy these ills.

Then again there is the terrible subject of immorality. Let us take first necessitous vice. Many women are driven on to the streets as the sole means of support for themselves and their children. There is the deadly alternative of the workhouse, but one must remember that there women are separated from their children, and the devotion of a great many of these mothers to their offspring—as I have seen it in a great many years daily contact with the poor—is a thing to admire and marvel at. Then there is the shop-girl class—not once, nor twice, nor three times have these women been told to supplement their insufficient earnings by means of the latch-key! What state of affairs is it in a Christian country, too poor, in its own estimation, to afford woman a living wage—that men can spend so much on their immoral pleasure as to make a trade in vice more lucrative than almost any other profession? If women had some share in the handling of the revenue, would this be so? Apart from the question of right and wrong, the actual physical results of immorality are terrible. Half the blindness in the world, thousands of gynaecological cases, and hundreds of thousands of cases of infantile disease and death, are due to the sins of the husband and father; while the more immediate victims of these men—driven often to their appalling existence by betrayal or poverty—seldom survive more than five years of street life. Meantime, too, hundreds of innocent girls are decoyed abroad by sham advertisements to a life of shame. Yet how slowly and inefficiently does legislation deal with these subjects!

It took Josephine Butler 17 years to get the Contagious Diseases Acts repealed in England, and the Cantonments Acts still disgrace us in India. How can we expect Indians to turn anything but a deaf ear to the claims of the superiority of Christianity, when they see a so-called Christian race sending to their villages for "attractive girls" to fill the "chaklas" (or bazaars) for their soldiers, and when they know that not many years ago a high military authority—a prominent anti-suffragist by the way—authorised this state of affairs.

Again one says: "Will the vote help?" Well, during the last Liberal Parliament, a deputation concerning the white slave traffic waited on Mr. Gladstone. He told them he fully sympathised with their aims, but that nothing could be done until sufficient pressure could be brought to bear on the Government. The women of our country, who, when they realise the state of affairs, care so much, are without the only means that the Premier, Mr. Asquith, has expressed himself as willing to recognise as indicative of the wishes of the electorate, viz., the ballot-box! There is corroboration of this view too in the dastardly remark of a recent member of the House of Commons, who said some time ago concerning this question, "that votes would make women too expensive!" They are cheap now and have little choice. There is also the evidence of our own colonies, where for 25 years the temperance party has worked for the raising of the "age of consent" in vain, but six months after women had the vote, they obtained their desire. When a somewhat similar Bill was being discussed in the House of Lords in England, one of the peers demurred to it on the ground that if it was passed (which it was not), the advantages of their sons would be curtailed. Is legislation with a moral aim likely to be sedulously striven after in a Parliament where any man can dare to give vent to such an utterance?

It is significant that this demand for enfranchisement comes not only in England, but all over the civilized countries of the world, from those who have had most experience of social work, the dwellers in slum settlements and sisterhoods, the members of the Salvation Army, etc. A large and ever increasing number of divines, bishops and nonconformists, educationists, and authors, are in favour of it, and 97 per cent. of medical women. Moreover the parliaments of countries where women have the vote are loud in the praise of its beneficial effects.

It is true that there are still many women that do not want it. Yes, but many slaves in the old days cried out against their emancipation, and many women in Indian Zenanas now regard their captivity as a compliment and an advantage. There are, too, people who maintain in the face of the above specific instances, that a Parliament elected solely by men will always safe-guard women's interests. But a member of Parliament—himself largely supported by women's wages—has before now admitted with regret

that he had no time to attend to their grievances, he must devote his energies to the men who, besides helping to pay him, also elected him. That his sorrow was genuine is seen from the fact that he is the introducer of the Bill now before Parliament. Moreover, it is now 40 years since a Bill for the enfranchisement of duly qualified women passed the second reading by a majority of 33; and from that day to this,—June 1910—though similar bills have reached that stage five times, the Commons have not found time to discuss the question on the floor of the House. As I write, we await the decision of the Government as to whether the members of Parliament are to take an extra week from the golf course or the grouse moor to finish the present Bill.

Take two very recent instances of legislation—the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill and the Bill for Old Age Pensions. We may agree with the former or not, but a pitiful Parliament now permits a widower to secure, if he considers so, the best possible mother for his orphaned children in the person of their aunt; but it has no pity for the widow, and it does not permit her to secure the best possible father for her orphaned children in the shape of their uncle! Yet such would only be in line with the Mosaic economy. Then again a respectable Englishwoman of 70, who has lived in England all her life, may not receive an old age pension if at eighteen she married a foreigner, even though she may have been a widow for 50 years. Thus does England repudiate her own honourable daughter. A man may marry a foreign wife, but he does not thereby lose his pension, yet the scriptural order is that a man should leave his father and mother and cleave to his wife, *i.e.*, that the husband should identify himself with his wife's people, not she with his.

Moreover, the history of the Factory Acts shows how necessary it is for women to deal with women's affairs. There were the usual objections to the appointment of women factory inspectors—the women workers, it was said, never made any complaints. But the first year women were appointed over a thousand legitimate complaints were lodged.

Some years' residence in India led me erroneously to imagine that one difference between a country ruled ostensibly by Christianity and one ruled by Hinduism or Mohammedanism was that, in the former as distinct from the latter, a proven lie carried with it some disgrace; but a return to England corrected this impression, for *The Times*, in July, 1910, published an article in which it said, that had voting on the Women's Bill been by ballot, the result (a majority of 109) would probably have been different. I have seen no official refutation of this statement, so it appears that the Commons acquiesce: and that they would have gone back on their pledged word to the men and women in their constituencies and lied about it afterwards again if the secrecy of the ballot had ensured their not being found out. At any rate they have not repudiated the charge, which appears to have been made

in a friendly spirit in order to excuse there being so large a majority in favour of women's suffrage.

There is a saying in the old Indian code of Manu: "It is not a sin causing loss of caste to swear falsely to a woman!" We can parallel that also in English politics. In 1884 over a hundred members of Parliament pledged themselves to support an amendment, carrying women's suffrage, to a franchise Bill. But they voted against it, at Gladstone's direction, and still continued members of the House of Commons. Manu also says, "Trust a thief, trust a murderer, trust a savage, but never a wife." This is sometimes quoted to show the inferiority of non-Christian religions, but we also say, "Trust an ex-criminal, trust a man who, by his immorality, has sown the seeds of death in his wife and children, trust a naturalised alien, but never trust a woman to vote."

There is, however, a broader aspect of the case. Is it not a moral anomaly, in a country called Christian, where we worship a God who is no respecter of persons, that we should so respect mere physical endowment that we choose to be ruled entirely by the sex who, as a sex, so far from fearing God most, commits five times more crime than the other, that drinks more, gambles more, swears more, and that, according to 7 out of 11 high legal authorities before the divorce commission, is so frail morally that it is only common-sense to allow it a little license? Has the church at home advocated Christian principles? Are her hands clean? Has she protested where a protest is due, or, while ostensibly offering to humanity abroad the liberty that is in Christ Jesus, has she by silence connived at the restriction of that liberty at home whereby women are not free to serve their generation either by the legal defence of the poor and the oppressed, or by a participation in legislation, as well as other ways? Has she not rather permitted the binding on their shoulders of burdens too grievous to be borne?

It must be remembered, too, that without one word of official protest the Christian church has heard the highest court of appeal in this land—one in which Bishops sit—state that in law women are not to rank as persons; she has heard the judicial bench compare them with cattle (for on the finding of one judge only and on that argument rests the whole of their disability which Parliament really removed in 1867), it has seen the highest legislative body class them with criminals and lunatics, and the country generally in all its fervid appeals to the populace in January, 1910, virtually deny that they are people.

Now amongst these 12 million women, so vilified, are multitudes of living temples of the Holy Ghost. To them has a human personality been denied, and while the Body of Christ does not protest at hearing His temples thus traduced, is it to be wondered at that God withholds His blessing from her work for Him abroad?

While we compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and yet refuse our moral support to the enfranchisement of women at home,

are we not in danger of meriting our Lord's contemptuous terms of reproach, "pharisees, hypocrites?"

This unworthy estrangement, too, of Christian Missions from the suffrage movement is responsible for the loss of sympathy on the part of people at home, and is creative of difficulties in the mission-field abroad.

At home we have thousands of capable, educated, devoted women and men, who to such an extent love their neighbours as themselves, and who so greatly hunger and thirst after civil righteousness, that they will stand incredible amounts of fatigue, insult and suffering in pursuance of their object. What is their attitude to the women of the East? Sympathetic enquiry. Now when the vote is theirs and they apply themselves effectively to the solution of these Eastern problems—are they to act without the co-operation of missionaries? Are we not already regretting the secular character of advancing Eastern education, and yet I believe no missionary society has even as much as passed a resolution in favour of the object and aim of these splendid women, whereby we may bind them to us for united service when the opportunity shall arise! May I give one personal instance? Not long ago the committee of a huge international (non-religious) congress was in process of formation. Those composing it were foremost in the professional, philanthropic and social world. To my intense surprise I received a request to interview the secretary and join the committee. I did so. I had over an hour's conversation on things Indian. I was asked for models of women's mission hospitals and lists of operations. The Secretary wanted, he said, all the evidence of women's work in India he could gather to show at the exhibition. I wondered still how he had discovered my insignificant name, and at last found that, at some Anglican meeting for women's suffrage, I had sat next a prominent professional woman, a friend of his, had discoursed to her on India, and she had told him about me. Now if that can happen to the least of missionaries, what interest could not accrue from the interest of Mission Boards and Councils? As a matter of fact, when we do not treat women's suffrage with silence we generally treat it with contempt.

There are, unhappily, still Christians in England not interested in missions, still people in England not in favour of Christianity. Are these people likely to change their convictions when they know that inside an Anglican Missionary meeting they may listen to appeals for pity for the low and degraded position of woman abroad, and outside they may see a woman also pleading for woman—by the distribution of notices of an Anglican suffrage meeting—treated with scorn and contempt by the clergy that have supported the meeting?

When non-Christians at home ask how the Church is dealing with this great reform the reply must be given with shame and humiliation.

Yet again. Continually in missionary magazines do we see reports of Zenana women who were eagerly listening to their Gospel lessons, but who had suddenly, with tears, to cease to have any more lessons from their Miss Sahib because the men of the house had forbidden it, and they were thus completely cut off from all missionary effort! Is that nothing? Yet when you have at home a Christian man who is such a tyrant in his own house that, for the sake of scenes before the children, the wife dare not mention the subject of suffrage—or work for it much as she longs to—when you have that, can you expect public opinion, which for all legislative purposes is man's opinion—to urge forward any wise schemes to remove the helpless women of India from the undisputed control of their men relatives? These may and do often treat them kindly it is true, but they may, as at home, cut them off from their children and all that life holds dear, and they may, as I know full well, do them to death with poison, without fear of discovery or retribution.

What we need is the ardour and the tact of women who have chafed under restraint themselves and seen their highest powers of service thwarted by artificial and man-made restrictions, to press for reforms in these matters.

Then the hindrances to mission work abroad. We approach the Indian man and demand in the name of Christianity a more enlightened treatment of his women. Is he so stupid as not to see the illogicality of our own "thus far and no further." He maintains, *i.e.*, that his own womenfolk are well enough off without learning to read. A century or so ago this Christian country maintained much the same. 75 years ago we were aghast at the idea of their receiving higher education. 50 years ago nursing and doctoring horrified us. 25 years ago the presence of women on public bodies, and now we still vehemently oppose women in law or women with political power.

What is the educated Hindu to think? He can see a Prime Minister during the entire length of his tenure of office in one Parliament—a Prime Minister that has leisure to interview bodies of working-men—refuse after repeated requests to receive a deputation of English women, though amongst those that wait on him are peeresses of the realm, wives of cabinet ministers and colonial statesmen, the first woman mayor of England, the earliest and the foremost women educationists, well-known authoresses, distinguished women doctors and prominent social workers.

We can hear a Member of Parliament publicly state that thousands of the best women of England are engaged in a grossly immoral movement (woman's suffrage), can hear him refuse to justify his statement publicly, and see no man man enough to make him retract his words.

We can learn also that a great pro-consul of Empire can state at a public meeting that women are corrupting and corruptible, and, therefore, unfit to vote.

Alas! we know what the educated Hindu does think! In a letter, circulated in tens of thousands all over the world, he asks, where is the superiority of Christianity in its treatment of women? All the pioneers—the leaders of every step in woman's advancement—Josephine Butler, Florence Nightingale, Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell—have met with opposition, misrepresentation, and often foul abuse.

Therefore, as a matter admitting of no delay, I entreat all who are interested in the extension of the Church of Christ abroad, and the advancement of His Kingdom, to give their warmest moral support to the advocates of the enfranchisement of women.

July, 1910.

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THE "CONCILIATION" BILL

An Explanation and Defence

By H. N. BRAILSFORD

FORTY years of quiet argument more than sufficed to establish the theoretic basis of Woman Suffrage. Behind the arguments was the rush and pressure of economic facts. Women had left the home, five millions and more of them, to become wage-earners in shop and factory, while the State in its turn, perpetually intervening in the most intimate concerns of a woman's life, be she mother or industrial worker, has itself created the best of all cases for her citizenship. Five years of gallant and devoted agitation have given the question an immediate urgency. The debate of last July was a faithful register of the position which it now holds. The Government granted what no other Government has ever given before—two entire days for a comprehensive debate. The Conciliation Committee had to face obstacles which none of its predecessors encountered. Its Bill is a working solution, a practical compromise, framed to become law, and with no other object. It asked for no academic support. It lost on the one hand Liberal supporters who demand adult suffrage in one cataclysmal measure, and on the other Unionist supporters who fear that its Bill may eventually pave the way for that vast change. It was assailed as none of its predecessors had ever been by two of the most powerful Suffragist Ministers in the House, who directed all their ascendancy and eloquence to the end of defeating its Bill on the Second Reading division. The anti-Suffrage movement is at last alert and well organised, more especially on the Unionist side. In spite of all, the Conciliation Bill rallied a larger number of supporters than any previous Woman Suffrage measure, and was carried by a majority (110) greater than the Government has itself obtained for its own principal measures.