

# SUFFRAGETTE

EDITED BY CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

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"Each of these three pillars—Liberal, Nationalist, and Labour—must be shaken in order that the Government may be brought down."—THE SUFFRAGETTE, October 18, page 6.

## A SACRED STRUGGLE.

### THE W.S.P.U. MESSAGE TO WOMEN.

"To our Countrywomen.—Our sacred obligations towards our country, our enslaved sisters, and humanity make it incumbent on the W.S.P.U., after the failure of our efforts to maintain peace, to have recourse to militancy with the object of putting to an end the sufferings endured by women for so many centuries, and obtaining for them the free exercise of the Vote and a guarantee of human rights.

"This Union is undertaking this sacred struggle for the rights and liberties of our sex. Our members are fully conscious of their duties towards the nation and towards womanhood.

"Mindful of their national traditions and proud of their moral superiority, they enter full of confidence upon the struggle, in which they intend, by their militancy and self-sacrifice, to win liberty for the oppressed. The women of the W.S.P.U. will pursue at all costs this sacred object, invoking the support of the Almighty in their rightful struggle for civilisation. Our cry is: 'Votes for Women! Liberty or Death!'"—Adapted from the Greek King's Message to his people.

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Review of the Week.

THE SUFFRAGETTE has made a very promising and successful debut, and has met with the kindest reception by Suffragists and the public. All the newspapers published extracts from our leading articles on militancy and the latest developments of the W.S.P.U. policy.

Members of the W.S.P.U. rose to the occasion and organised poster parades and street-selling parties. Our first issue was prepared in what is surely the shortest time on record, for the first arrangements for printing, publishing, advertisements, and the rest were made only on Monday and we went to press on Wednesday. Defects, inseparable from so hasty a production of a first number, will disappear as soon as may be. We have great ambitions for the paper, as regards both its quality and the circulation and influence to be attained.

Miss Helen Craggs Sentenced.

Miss Helen Craggs has been sentenced to nine months' hard labour upon the charge of being found at night time on July 13 armed with picklocks, keys, and other articles with intent to break into the house of Mr. Lewis Harcourt and set fire to it. Nine months' imprisonment was the punishment given to a man who lived upon a woman's immoral earnings and finally tried to murder her. Two dealers in white slaves, guilty of the wholesale ruin of innocent and unsuspecting girls, were recently sentenced to only six months' imprisonment! Women are much cheaper than property as the law stands to-day! Miss Craggs has been sent to prison as a common criminal and ordered to do hard labour, but she is, in fact, no criminal at all and ought to be at liberty. It is her motive that makes her innocent. Counsel for the prosecution urged that a crime is a crime in English law, whether it is committed from a political motive or not, but Miss Craggs transpierced that fallacy by saying, "I hold that militant Suffragists stand in a position analogous to that of soldiers. Soldiers would be hanged as murderers but for their motive. Because of their motive they are not only permitted to kill but are ordered to do it. Suffragist attacks upon property are committed from motives quite as pure and patriotic. Therefore, whether courts of law admit it or not, they are not criminals."

The Hunger Strike.

Miss Craggs began the hunger strike immediately after sentence was passed upon her. She is determined not to be kept in prison as a common criminal while Sir Edward Carson and other Irish rebels and law-breakers are at large, and while a Cabinet Minister hails a savage war, involving bloodshed and not a mere attack on property, as a means of "extending the bounds of freedom and good government." The Government cannot carry out its plan of coercing Miss Helen Craggs. Forcible feeding will not enable them to keep her in prison. Either death or they who are her gaolers must release her. If they have recourse to the abominable process of forcible feeding, the Government will do themselves a grave political injury, because forcible feeding is now universally recognised as being neither more nor less than a method of torture.

Mrs. Leigh on Trial Again.

When the Government thought that they had got Mrs. Leigh safely in prison for five years they let it be known that the charge of hatchet throwing would not be proceeded with. Now that Mrs. Leigh has regained her freedom the hatchet charge has been revived with a view of getting her into prison once again; though we understand the case will not come on until December.

The Albert Hall Meeting.

The autumn campaign of the Women's Social and Political Union was opened by the great meeting held last Thursday in the Albert Hall. Mrs. Pankhurst, who presided, after declaring unity of policy to be a vital condition of success, dwelt upon the magnificent and unforgettable service done to the Union by Mrs. Petlich Lawrence and her husband during the past six years. Mrs. Pankhurst then proceeded to discuss the election and militant policies of the Union. "We have," said she, "to deal with an anti-Suffrage Government kept in office by a coalition, and therefore every party in the coalition, including the Labour Party, must be opposed." True approval with which the audience greeted this declaration of war upon general Labourism was again expressed with the greatest enthusiasm when Mrs. Pankhurst proceeded to formulate the militant policy as being an attack not on life but upon property. Criticism by politicians of militancy reminded her of beasts of prey reproaching the gentler animals who turn upon them in self-defence. The only recklessness concerning human life shown by militant Suffragists had been recklessness of their own life, not of the lives of others. Property owners would have their remedy; they could call upon the Government to remove the cause of the discontent which had prompted women to attack and destroy property. "I incite you to rebellion," Mrs. Pankhurst cried, and the meeting burst into cheers. Mr. Barnston and Lord Robert Cecil asked the Home Secretary in the House of Commons, "Whether the Government intend to proceed against Mrs. Pankhurst in consequence of her speech?" They were referred to the Attorney-General for information on that point.

The Other Speeches.

"He broke the law to save the girls, and thank God for him," said the Bishop of London of the man who rescued a band of young girls from white slavery. The law-breaking of militant Suffragists, Mrs. Tuke explained in her Albert Hall speech, was prompted by exactly the same motive. It was to save women from this and other evils that the militants and suffering were as the work of the hail and the sledge, which liberate the wheat, not harming it, but only taking from it that which is useless and fruitless. Miss Annie Kenney's speech was a call to battle. Constitutional agitation was valuable in so far as it helped to make militants, but it was no substitute for militancy. A Home Rule Bill for men only, and a Franchise Bill for men only were the reasons for militancy. She agreed with Mrs. Pankhurst that while Ulster rebels were left free to foment revolution, Suffragists must not be called upon to stay in prison. To Mr. Lausbury's fine speech we have referred elsewhere. A fighting fund of £3,600 was raised and further contributions have since been received.

"Democratic Control."

The announcement that the W.S.P.U. will henceforward oppose the official Labour Party has excited great interest in the political world. The Labour members are trying to parry the attack by criticising the methods of organisation and management adopted by the W.S.P.U., which they are pleased to describe as a "Czardom." Our answer to such criticism is: that the W.S.P.U. is an army, and is organised and controlled in the same fashion as other armies. Membership of the W.S.P.U. is, moreover, an absolutely voluntary matter. Nobody is obliged to belong to the Union, and those who do not like its ways have about a score of other Suffrage societies, to any or all of which they can belong. But, as a matter of fact, it is the Labour Party which, with all its pretence of being "democratically governed," pursues a policy out of harmony with the wishes of its members. The leaders of the Labour Party are steering a course which is very far from acceptable to the Labour rank and file. That is to say, the Labour members are in close alliance with a Government which is distrusted and despised by the mass of labour men and women in the country. The leaders of the Labour Party must not talk to us of "democracy," for we know too much of the way in which the affairs of associations professing to be democratically governed are really controlled.

A Disappointment in Store.

The Labour Party has declined to give a united vote against the third reading of the Manhood Suffrage Bill if women are not included in it. Moreover, it is reported that they will not even vote as a Party in favour of Mr. Philip Snowden's amendment on the Home Rule Bill, but have decided to leave each individual member to vote as he pleases. No vestige of an excuse now remains to any Suffragist for supporting the Labour Party. Only by an anti-Government policy could the Labour members give service of real value to the Suffrage cause, but their

refusal, even to vote unitedly in favour of votes for Irish women and against votes for men only, gives added proof that they merit, not the support but the vigorous opposition of women. Constitutional Suffragists are still hoping that the Labour Party will fight against the Government at elections, and they are urging the Labour Party to give the Government "more Crewes and Midlothians." Our constitutional friends must prepare for a severe disappointment. Mr. J. R. MacDonald and his colleagues are more than willing that the alliance between themselves and the Government, which already exists in the House of Commons, shall extend to the constituencies. There will be few, if any, "Crewes and Midlothians" in future.

What Mr. J. R. MacDonald is Doing.

We would further beg our constitutional friends to place no reliance whatever upon Mr. J. R. MacDonald's mysterious assurances, that he and his Party "are doing everything that can be done for us in the House of Commons." If Mr. MacDonald does nothing for women in public, we may be perfectly sure that he will do nothing in private. At any time during the past six years Mr. J. R. MacDonald has said precisely what he is saying now, but his efforts have had singularly little result. It is being suggested that Mr. MacDonald will be able to influence the Nationalist Party not to repeat in committee on the Reform Bill the hostile action they took last March against the Conciliation Bill. Suffragists must be on their guard against spurious and worthless bargains with the Nationalist Party. No arrangement with the Nationalist Party is of the least use which is not embodied in a Government measure. An undertaking, however plausible, that Nationalist members will vote for an unofficial amendment will, so far as the W.S.P.U. is concerned, be treated as worthless.

The Llanystumdwy Outrages.

At last the Government have been shamed and goaded into action against the perpetrators of the outrages at Llanystumdwy, and it is stated that criminal proceedings are likely to be taken in two cases. Unfortunately, these prosecutions will not lead to the punishment of Mr. Lloyd George, who is the real culprit. As Mr. Morley Roberts, in a further statement in reply to Mr. Lloyd George's attempt to exculpate himself, aptly says:

"Mr. George tells us that he did appeal to the crowd of his countrymen not to harm the interrupters. Students of politics and the platform understand such appeals without any comment, especially when they are read side by side with what he said previously at Wrexham and other places. At Wrexham he is reported to have remarked pleasantly: 'I remember little eisteddfodau at which prizes were given for . . . the best walking stick. One of these sticks, by the way, would be rather a good thing now.' At Swansea he calmed his excited audience in his best sedative style, a style which he apparently thinks I should admire: 'By and by we shall have to order sacks for them.' She and her friends must be flung out ruthlessly."

What we should like to know, and this Mr. Lloyd George carefully refrains from telling us, is what did he do and say beforehand to prevent the outrages which everybody knew were to be committed at Llanystumdwy?

Votes for Irishwomen.

The "Irish Citizen," the Suffragist paper published in Dublin, says that in Ireland it is thought that Mr. Philip Snowden's amendment providing that the Irish Parliament shall be elected by the Local Government electors may be shelved. In order to cover this piece of dishonesty, thinks the "Irish Citizen," Mr. Crawshaw Williams's amendment may be brought on for discussion, because it is anticipated that this amendment, which proposes not only votes for every man over twenty-one and every woman over twenty-five, but also the transferable vote, will be defeated. As a means of guarding against this apprehended treachery it is essential to show that Mr. Snowden's amendment is expected to be discussed and is supported by a vast number of electors and others. We urge our readers to communicate at once with the Government, the Nationalist and Labour leaders, and with the rank and file members of the House of Commons.

How to Abolish the White Slave Trade.

There is now some likelihood that the White Slave Bill will be enacted in its original form. There is a certain degree of vagueness in the Home Secretary's undertaking, but it is probable that the Government will not dare to add fuel to the Suffrage agitation by allowing the Bill to pass in its present mutilated condition. Let no one imagine, however, that the present White Slave Bill is going to put an end to White Slavery! The new law will have to be administered, and we know with what tenderness towards men such laws are administered so long as

AN ANTI-SHOCK.

By JAMES BARR

(Whose articles are a regular feature of "The Red Magazine").

It's like this.

Nature, when she created me, chalked on my back in great, plain, readable letters, "Please Shock Me." As a result I go through life as the village idiot through a fair. Folk happen along, take one squint at me, see the chalk marks, administer the shock, and pass me on. You can guess that I find this world a very interesting place. I get shocks from the most unexpected quarters.

Very well. A few mornings ago there stepped into the tiny room in which I do my epoch-making writings my secretary. She (you can wager she's a girl, for there's got to be one of us intelligent), she is young, and capable, and enterprising. And there she stood—you will not believe me, but it's true—there she stood, and close beneath a delicate sprig of blossom pinned to her breast there shone a round, round button. On my word, sure as I'm alive, you-see-this-wet, round the flange of the button in modest, yet distinct, lettering there appeared the words, "The National League for Opposing Woman's Suffrage."

The shock was too great. I fainted. Now, why did I faint? I am hardened to shocks. Why faint? Well, you see, Daniel, of Lion's Den celebrity, was really a trifle and a cringer compared with the girl. You see Daniel, before he entered, was assured of a safe exit. You see Daniel knew he could stand off those lions for sure, and further, that the feat would be heralded broadcast. More than this, Daniel knew that when he came out of the lion's den he would find his job still open for him, and waiting. But here stood a girl not yet male-voter age, who quietly, and with eyes wide open, stepped into the maw of the most infernal Votes-for-Women lion's cavern in all London and, plainly risking her job, proclaimed her platform. "Dare to be a Daniel" is as nothing to "Dare to be an Anti" here on the spot where I earn my daily porridge.

The first thing I did when I came to was to quietly secure the door so that the other more ferocious lions might not know what had blown in. Next, I placed my elbows on the desk, and my prone brow on my hands, and I thought great thoughts, a few of them unprintable. How to get the girl safely out of the veritable Hurrak's-nest of Suffragettes she, for the good of the cause she had at heart, had bravely invaded? That was the gate post I had run against. Her action was as though a red-headed white man had walked into a Sioux war camp and asked Sitting Bull that gory chief's opinions of red-haired scapls. I realised the proposition set me was how to get the girl out unscapled.

Of course, had she been a Suffragette and the crew that womans this house Antis, the matter would have been simplicity itself. All I would need to have done would be to revert to the primeval, call up the ghosts of my oched ogar originators, seize upon the girl, tear out her hair, pummel her face, pinch her purple, double-double her up, beribbon her clothing, and heaving hurtle her into the street for the police to punch and kick to a place of safety in the interest of law and order. Why, the thing would have been simple and exhilarating, and the years that lie before me I could have gone through with puffed chest and virtuous arrogance. But, hang it all, she was not a Suffragette. And when one is dealing not with a Suffragette I'll have you know there's law in the land. Further, I'll have you know that this is a law-abiding land.

So it was up to me to ponder. I pondered. Then came Shock the Second. It was this: Here, in the shape of that button, stood forth one of the finest testimonies possible to the virility of the Woman's Rights Campaign. In pre-Woman's Social and Political Union and Freedom League days such a staunch enunciation of principles as this made by the young girl would not have been possible quite. Before that day she would have been ashamed to publicly proclaim in the face of friend and foe the political platform on which she elected to take her stand. No such an "unwomanly" proceeding would have been dreamt of, not for one moment. But here, with her opposing-Suffragette button, she

appeared a living attestation to the sterling new spirit flung broadcast over the world by, the clean new soul permeating the world coming from the splendid rebellion of woman.

At first glance I had been disposed to believe that the new spirit, in this case, had got mixed up with itself. But first glances are silly things. It's the forty-second glance that counts. And the forty-second glance at that button made plain a whole lapful of mighty pleasant truths—truths brought into active being by the inspired woman who, during the last few years, have flared up before the eyes of the world, who have announced themselves and their cause and their sex, and who by means of every conceivable form of rational expression, from bashful lip to well-flung brickbat, have told self-satisfied, fatuous man that in the immediate future, and from the immediate future to the crack of doom, woman shall have her full share in the doings of the world, her full place in the sun, her just position in the universe, and that that position is one of frank equality with man's. That anti-button is inspired evidence to the reality of Woman's fight for freedom. Woman now dare wear the badge of her beliefs. A truly wonderful evidence to the aliveness of the to-day woman to her being and importance.

Some Suffragettes may be disposed to look upon the Antis as eyesores, as renegades to their sex. I used to. But that ponder behind the closed door cleared my vision. In that button I saw the result of the stirring of conscience and development of woman. No cause worth a tinker's condemnation but has its Antis. If there were no Antis there would be no cause. The fact that opposition exists is the very surest evidence of the virility of the cause. You Suffragettes have equally inspired Antis and Pros. From you has come the spirit that inspires the Antis to proclaim aloud their Antiness. You have carried your followers the whole way, you have carried the Antis halfway of the whole way. They can protest as they please, but it is the uplifting flame of rebellion kindled by you that fires them to announcing themselves and to do the very thing they cry shame on you for doing, that is to take part in the active movements of the times, to "unwomanly" come out in the open with speech and button and banner to proclaim their worth and their right, and even though they have been born female instead of male, to say their say, to think their thought, to act an active part, to have their platform, to influence boldly and by direct ways.

A sprinkling of Antis (they amount only to a sprinkling among the intelligent) gives savour, gives tang to your campaign. Thole them patiently. Suffer them gladly. Take the Anti hand and tell her you are delighted to meet her, for that she is such telling evidence to the reality and worth of your campaign. Tell her she is splendid testimony that your campaign has stirred her to do the very things she publicly proclaims she resents women doing. She says what she shall never do is—

- 1st. To insist on her individual worth and opinion. She does it.
- 2nd. To do such an unwomanly thing as to announce out loud that she has an opinion, and is entitled to out-loud express that opinion. She does it.
- 3rd. To "dabble" in politics. She does it.
- 4th. To hold that her judgment is as good as any one else's. She does hold.

But there is no need for me to enumerate all the ways your campaign has inspired all women. The Antis as well as the others. The Anti is a Suffragette that has travelled but halfway on the road, and, my experience proves, that one by one they are accomplishing the full journey, and reaching the goal. By the gods as I pondered I began to grow fond of the Antis.

So I flung open that closed door and called in the Suffragette lions that den here. We all examined the button and compared it with the "Votes for Women" button which the lions wear, and we broke up in friendliness. But any day now I expect to see appear at my writing room door a capable young woman who has shed a negative for a positive.

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# GREAT MEETING IN THE ALBERT HALL

## MRS. PANKHURST DEFIES THE GOVERNMENT.

For the third time this year, and for the fifteenth time in the history of this union, the vast building in Kensington was thronged with expectant auditors. Even to one who has attended many of these great Suffrage meetings the sight of that great bowl-shaped hall filling—filling to the brim with a living flood—is of absorbing interest.

The entry of the file of white-gowned women, each bearing a lance with a glittering pennon, soldiers all, in a warfare with evil forces, for all have been in prison; the swelling chorus of their voices chanting "The Women's March," with the most famous of women composers, in her robes of honour, holding the baton. No other political meeting ever had such entrancing diversions as these.

The triple-hued draperies enclosing the great circle—the unity of purpose flowing like an electric current through all minds—the thousands of eyes focussed on a single point—the magical Leader of the militant forces holding her audience in the hollow of her hand—these are impressions that will never fade from the memory of at least one woman present on that night.

Mrs. Pankhurst (who on rising was received with loud cheering), said:

From all over the world come messages to this great meeting. Of those messages I have selected two representing the rest which I think of special importance at this particular moment. The first comes from the seat of war in the East to the seat of war in England—to this meeting. It is from our friend, Mr. Nevinson—(applause)—and I think when he wrote it he had not only in mind the events of which he was a witness, but he had in mind the situation at home and the enemy with whom many have to deal in this war of ours. He says: "My thoughts are with your meeting. Forward against all Turks." (Laughter and applause.)

The second message to this meeting comes from Paris—from Christabel Pankhurst, who would be here did she not feel it her duty to be where she is. She says: "We must fight as never before, and give no quarter to the enemy." (Applause.)

It is my duty from the chair to move the following resolution:

"That this meeting pledges itself to continue the militant agitation for Women Suffrage, and declares relentless opposition towards the Government and its allies until they abandon their anti-Suffrage policy and introduce a Government measure for the political enfranchisement of women."

### Unity of Purpose.

Whenever I stand upon this platform in the Albert Hall I can never feel that I am speaking in an ordinary political meeting. It seems to me rather that I am assisting at a review, and to-night I feel more than ever that we are reviewing our forces. We are considering and measuring our strength, we are seeing where we stand, considering the force of the opposing army, and deciding how our campaign is to be pursued. One thing is essential to an army, and that thing is made up of a two-fold requirement. In an army you need unity of purpose. In an army you also need unity of policy. In the Women's Social and Political Union, from its initiation until quite recently, we have had complete unity of purpose, and we have had complete unity of policy. That unity of purpose is still the same. I cannot continue my speech without referring to a statement which has been published, by the agreement of all parties concerned, in two Suffrage papers to-day—in "Votes for Women," which is so well known to you all, and in the new infant of the Women's Social and Political Union, which henceforth will be its official organ, "The Suffragette." (Applause.) That statement is signed by four persons—by Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, by my daughter and myself. When unity of policy is no longer there, then I say to-night, as I have always said, a movement is weakened—(hear, hear)—and so it is better that those who cannot agree, who cannot see eye to eye as to policy, should get themselves free, should part, and should be free to continue their policy, as they see it, in their own way, unfettered by those with whom they can no longer agree. I give place to none in appreciation and gratitude to Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence—(loud applause)—for the incalculable services that they have rendered to the militant movement for Woman Suffrage, and firmly believe that the women's movement will be strengthened by their being free to work for Woman Suffrage in the future as they think best, while we of the Women's Social and Political Union shall continue the militant agitation for Woman Suffrage initiated by my daughter and myself and a handful of women more than six years ago.

Now for the resolution. In that resolution we declare that we mean to continue the militant agitation for Woman Suffrage, and that we offer uncompromising opposition to the Government and its allies. We have to deal not merely with a Government composed of mem-

bers of one party, we have in this country a Coalition Government. That Government is kept in office by the coalition of three parties. You have the Liberal Party, which is nominally the governing party, but they could not live another day if it were not for their coalition with the Nationalist Party and the Labour Party. And so we say, not only to the Liberal Party, but we say also to the Nationalist Party and to the Labour Party, "So long as you keep in office an Anti-Suffrage Government you are parties to their guilt, and from henceforth we offer to you the same opposition which we give to the people who are kept in power by your support." We have summoned the Labour Party to do their duty to their own programme and to go into opposition to the Government, on every question until the Government do justice to women. (Hear, hear.) They apparently are not prepared to do this. Some of them tell us other things are more important than the liberty of women—(cries of "Shame!")—than the liberty of working women. We say, "Then, gentlemen, we must teach you the value of your own principles, and until you are prepared to stand for the right of women to decide their lives and the laws under which they shall live, you, with Mr. Asquith and Co., are equally responsible for all that has happened and is happening to women in this country in their struggle for emancipation." (Loud applause.)

### Property to be Attacked.

What do we mean when we say we are going to continue the militant agitation for Woman Suffrage? There is a great deal of criticism, ladies and gentlemen, of this movement. We have critics whose intentions we have every reason to suspect when they criticise us. It always seems to me, when the Anti-Suffrage members of the Government criticise militancy in women, that it is very like beasts of prey reproaching the gentler animals who turn in desperate resistance when at the point of death. It seems to me that gentlemen who do not hesitate to turn out armies to kill and slay their opponents, who do not hesitate to encourage party mobs to attack defenceless women in public meetings—(loud cries of "Shame!")—when we get criticism from them, their criticism scarcely rings true. But we have friendly critics. I get letters from people who tell me they are ardent Suffragists, but who say they do not like the recent developments of the militant movement, and who implore me to urge the members of our Union not to be reckless with regard to human life. (A voice, "White slavery!") Ladies and gentlemen, the only recklessness the militant Suffragists have shown about human life has been of their own lives, not of the lives of others; and I say here and now that it has never been, and it never will be the policy of the Women's Social and Political Union to recklessly endanger human life. We leave that to men in their warfare. (A voice, "Lloyd George" and hisses.) It is not the method of women. No; even from the point of view of policy, militancy affecting the security of human life would be out of place. There is something that Governments care for far more than they care for human life, and that is the security of property. Property to them is far dearer and tenderer than is human life, and so it is through property we shall strike the enemy. I have no quarrel with property, ladies and gentlemen, and it is only as an instrument of warfare in this revolution of ours that we make attacks upon property. I think there are a great many people who own property who understand it very well, but if they would only understand it a little more quickly they would do what we want them to do. We want them to go to the Government and say, "Examine the causes that lead to destruction of property. Remove the discontent—(hear, hear)—remove the sense of outrage; remove the outlawry; then women, who always have been law-abiding—although they have no voice in making those laws—will return to what they formerly were, the most law-abiding members of the community." (Hear, hear.) But I say, from henceforward the women who agree with me will say, "We disregard your laws, gentlemen, we set the liberty and the dignity of women and the welfare of women above all such considerations, and we shall continue that war as we have done in the past, and what sacrifice of property, what injury to property occurs will not be our fault. It will be the fault of that Government which admits the justice of our demands, but refuses to concede them without the evidence—so they have told us—without the evidence afforded to Governments of the past that those who ask for liberty were in earnest in their demands."

### Why We Are Militant.

Now, why are we militant? There are women in this hall who still think it right to be patient, who still think they can afford to wait until there is some time to deal with the enfranchisement of women. I tell you, women, in this hall that you who feel like that, you who allow yourselves to be tricked by the excuses of politicians, have not yet awakened to a realisation of the situation. The

day after the outrages in Wales I met some of the women who had exposed themselves to the indecent assaults of that mob. ("Shame!") I say "indecent" advisedly, because in addition to the facts reported in the newspapers—facts verified by photographs—in spite of the contradictions of Mr. Lloyd George, in addition to what found its place in the newspapers, those women suffered from assaults of a kind which it was impossible to print in a decent newspaper. There was one woman whom I saw the day after, a woman with grown-up children, the mother of a son twenty-five years of age. She described to me the way in which she had been assaulted. She said she did not feel she could even tell her husband or her son the nature of the assault, and then I said to her—"How could you bear it? It seems to me that is the hardest thing of all to bear." And she said, "All the time I thought of the women who day by day, and year by year, are suffering through the White Slave Traffic—('Shame')—and I said to myself, 'I will bear this, and even worse than this, to help to win power to put an end to that abominable slavery.'" (Loud applause.) In our speeches on Woman Suffrage, we have not dwelt very much on that horrible aspect of women's lives, because some of us felt that to think of those things, to speak very much about them, was apt to cause a state of feeling which would make it impossible for us to carry on our work with cheerful hearts, and with courage and with hope; but it seems to me that recent developments—legal developments—will regard to that question have made it essential that we should use that question to rouse women to a realisation of the simple fact that until women have the Vote, the White Slave Traffic will continue all over the world. Until by law we can establish an equal moral code for men and women, women will be fair game for the vicious section of the population inside Parliament as well as outside it. Women will be fair game for the worst section of the population, inside Parliament as well as outside. People will tell you that in order that you may live happy and protected lives it is necessary. (Cries of "Never!") That is a lie. But even were it the horrible truth, there are other things we women have to deal with. Even if we tolerated the degradation of the grown women, can we tolerate the degradation of the helpless little children? When I began this militant campaign—("Bravo!")—in the early days of the movement, I was a Poor Law Guardian, and it was my duty to go through the workhouse infirmary, and never shall I forget seeing a little girl of thirteen lying in bed, playing with a doll, and when I asked what was her illness I was told that she was on the eve of becoming a mother, and she was infected with a loathsome disease, and on the point of bringing, no doubt, a diseased child into the world. Wasn't that enough? (Cries of "Yes!") A little later, in a by-election campaign against the Government candidate in Leeds I had occasion to visit a Salvation Army hotel in that city, and in the matron's room there was a little child eleven years of age. She didn't look older than eight, and I said: "How was it she was there? Why wasn't she playing with other children?" And they said to me, "We dare not let her play with other children. She has been on the streets for more than a year." These, women in this meeting, are facts. These are not sensational stories taken from books written to attract the attention of those who like to think about matters that we have been accustomed to believe ought not to be spoken about. These I vouch for from my own experience, and they are but specimens and examples of a horrible state of things which flourishes in every so-called civilised centre of Europe and of the whole world.

### A Great Mission.

Now, I say to the men in this meeting, can you put an end to this horrible degradation of the race without our help? It is you who are responsible for the present state of things. You have inherited it. It is not the men of to-day who are directly responsible, but you are responsible so long as you refuse to women the right to help you to deal with evils which you are admittedly unable to cope with by yourselves. We women Suffragists have a great mission, the greatest mission the world has ever known. It is to free half the human race, and through that freedom to save the race. You, women in this meeting, will help us to do it! ("Yes!") Well, then, if you will, put aside all craven fear. Go and try your hammer; be militant. Be militant in your own way. Those of you who can express your militancy by going to the House of Commons and refusing to leave without satisfaction, as we did in the early days—do so. Those of you who can express their militancy by facing party mobs at Cabinet Ministers' meetings, and remind them of their unfaithfulness to principle—do so. Those of you who can express your militancy by joining us in anti-Government-by-election policy—do so. Those of you who can break windows—(great applause)—those of you who can still further attack the sacred idol of property so as to make the Government realise that the property is as greatly endangered by women as it was by the Chartists of old days—do so.

And my last word is to the Government. I incite this meeting to rebellion. (Tremendous applause and great enthusiasm.) You have not dared to take the leaders of Ulster for their incitement. Take me if you dare! ("Bravo!") But if you dare, I tell you this—that so long as those who incite to armed rebellion and the destruction of human life in Ulster are at liberty you will not keep me in prison. (Great applause.) You will not keep militant Suffragists in prison any more than you kept Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans. As long as men rebels and voters are at liberty we will not remain in prison, first division or no first division!

Women in this meeting! Although the vote is not yet won, we who are militant are free; our souls are free, and you who have free souls forget all about the body. Remember only the freedom of the spirit, and join in this magnificent rebellion of women in the twentieth century.

Mrs. Tuke: I have the very greatest pleasure in formally seconding this resolution.

Mrs. Pankhurst: What I have said has been said by a woman on behalf of women. The resolution has been moved and seconded, and now I am going to call upon a splendid exception—Mr. Lansbury, M.P.

### Mr. Lansbury.

Mr. George Lansbury, M.P. (very enthusiastically received, the audience singing "For he's a jolly good fellow"). Mrs. Pankhurst and Friends,—I want, if you will let me, to say first of all that coming to this magnificent meeting to-night, and being received in this manner, rather takes—I was going to say—all the steam and go out of me. Because I have the feeling that if there are any people in this hall who are really not the right people to stand upon this platform, it is we who are members of the House of Commons. After all, we have made no sacrifice, we have none of us done anything that can approach in any kind of way—(cries of "You have!")—none of us have done anything that can in any kind of way approach the tremendous and the heroic sacrifices that have been made by Mrs. Pankhurst, the Lawrences, and other members of this Union. I always have the feeling that English public meetings are altogether too generous to people like myself. The most that any politician ever does is to talk, and that is about the easiest thing that a man can do.

Now, in coming here to-night I have very divided feelings indeed. It is always difficult, and it is always very critical when people one reveres and respects all at once separate, and although they carry on their work in their own way, the bond of union appears for the time being to be severed. I think I have a kind of affectionate regard for Mr. Pethick Lawrence—(applause)—and I have exactly the same feeling for Mrs. Lawrence and for Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughter; and you won't expect that in this matter of policy a man like me, who is more or less an outsider, should really take a definite side so far as the women themselves are concerned. Numbers of people have written to me practically told me—not in as many words, but the spirit of their letters conveyed it—that I ought not to come and speak at these meetings at all unless I advise the women, especially the militant women, to call a truce and not go on with their militancy. There is only one answer to that. It would be downright impudence and impertinence on my part to attempt in any kind of way to say what women under the present circumstances ought or ought not to do. I always remember when I get such letters that certainly the people who write them have left the Suffrage movement severely alone except for pious meetings once a year or so, until six years ago, and the whole question—say what people may—the whole question has been brought into the region of what is called practical politics, because six years ago women there what was known as respectable conduct to the winds and came out and fought for the Vote in a militant kind of way.

### Position in Parliament.

Now, to-day we are face to face with a condition of things in regard to Parliament which I think is almost unparalleled in the history of our country; and I want to say so far as my own conduct is concerned, now that our party has decided definitely in one direction—that is, that they are going to hold their hand and hold up their decision as to what ultimately they will do till later on—I am in honour bound to consult the men and the women who returned me to the House of Commons nearly two years ago, and when that has taken place I think I shall be in a position to take my place with the people who are actually fighting—at least to be free to do as I please, either inside or outside Parliament. For my part—(a voice, "You're a man!")—when the necessary time for consulting my people down where I live, in Bow and Bromley, has elapsed, I am going to take just this stand—that I cannot be a party, and won't be a party to keep in office either a Liberal Government or any other Government that refuses by any kind of subterfuge to see that justice is done to women during the present Session. Whatever may be the case with other parties, we who stand as the Socialist and Labour Party in the country, if there is one thing we stand for, if there is one thing we are pledged to, it is equality between the sexes in the eyes of the law. Other parties have particular reasons for voting for women to have the franchise, but people who belong to the same political and social faith that I do—we come out and say that we believe that men and women should be equally treated, that they should be citizens, all of them, and that our

business in life is to secure economic, social and political freedom for men and women alike, and in the House of Commons just now the thing we are up against is this. It is true that you have a Coalition Government, but it is also true that one part of that Coalition at the moment appears to have the power to determine the whole policy of the parties that make up the Coalition. Now, I have been what many of you probably are not—a Home Ruler—ever since I had anything to do with political life. I learnt a good deal of my ideas of freedom from working in the Home Rule movement a good many years ago. I know, too—and I learnt this very thoroughly—that political emancipation, offences committed in the struggle for political emancipation, Liberals always declared that people who committed those offences should never be treated as criminals in the ordinary sense; but to-day Home Rule has taken on another guise, and we are all very respectable, decent gentlemen in the House of Commons. All the old militant methods are forgotten, and everyone speaks quite kindly and respectfully of each other. And I think that we should bring up the fact that if Ireland wants Home Rule—and I believe that she should have Home Rule—that on this question of Votes for Women the eighty Irish members have no right to cast their vote against us, simply because they want to maintain their position as Home Rulers. What I mean is this, I don't think it can be defended, really, that those who are asking for the right to manage their own affairs in Ireland should also claim the right in this Session to use their votes in such a manner merely to keep the Government in power and prevent you getting the franchise this present Session. The position that we are in is just this, that if the Irish members were to abstain, if our own members of the Labour Party fought as tenaciously for this as many of them want to fight for other questions, there is no question that Votes for Women could be obtained, and obtained very quickly. But we have got—unless something is done, and done pretty quickly—to make the Irish Party understand the sort of indignation that will rise in this country if they want to dominate not only their own affairs, but to dominate this question of Woman Suffrage; and I say that unless something is done to make them realise and understand that, I believe they will reap exactly what they are sowing just now. I don't believe it will be possible for them to carry through the piece of work they are hoping to carry through, because, after all, friends, we ought to have the same sort of right to settle this question as people in England, and Scotland and Wales want it settled. There ought not to be any question of its being settled simply because the Irish wish to maintain the prestige of Mr. Asquith, or want to maintain the prestige of the Government. It is surely very nearly time that on a great question like this we were able to get it settled on its merits rather than on some other dozen questions!

When people argue that we can get the amendments, and that the amendment may get through, you have to remember this, that Government Whips and the manœuvring of the House of Commons—and everyone who knows it knows that there are manœuvrings going on every hour of the day—knows perfectly well that Government has means of cajoling and persuading their supporters not to do the thing they want to do, and it is perfectly easy for the Government to say, "You are free. The Whips will not be put on," etc., etc. But everyone knows quite well that if the word goes forth—as it did go forth on the Conciliation Bill—that it will be very bad for the prestige of the Government if the Prime Minister is defeated on this matter, then we know quite well what will happen.

### Labour Party Pledged.

Now, it is said that the Labour Party, as a party, ought not to have been circularised in the fashion that I circularised the rank and file. I sent that circular round with a definite, set purpose. I wanted to discover where our own people in the country were, and where our own people in the House of Commons were. Because many people believed till the other day that the Labour Party were pledged to at least the minimum that they could be pledged to—were pledged to vote against the third reading of the Bill if women were not included in it; but we know now quite well that in this hall months ago, when people thought such a pledge was given, no such pledge was given. Well, language is understood by different people in different ways. I never thought the pledge thought it had been given, but a good many people in the hall thought it had been given and cheered in a very rapturous manner. Well, now we know where we are, and I don't think that even if we were pledged to vote against the third reading, it is anywhere near enough. The real fact is that whenever you are leaving it to private members to bring in amendments, you are leaving power to the Government, not by putting their Whips on—there are heaps of other ways in which to get at members—not by putting their Whips on, but in a hundred and one other ways to compel their members not to do the right thing. Therefore I asked the rank and file to pelt their members, to pelt the Labour Party, to pelt the Prime Minister, with resolutions saying what they wanted to be done, and my feeling, friends, is that the rank and file of the Labour movement up and down the country will be behind you in your fight to get emancipation. They will be behind you because they know quite well every working man who has thought at all, every man who has considered the position of his own wife knows that the denial of the right of citizenship marks the inferiority in the eyes of the law of his wife as against every man in the land; and they know quite well that you will never get the kind of things that Mrs.

Pankhurst spoke of—because don't forget, friends, it is the working man's daughters who are treated in that kind of way—they know quite well that that business will never be put right until women are able to stand side by side with their men and help to get them put right. Therefore, I have a sort of feeling that the Labour movement generally will be behind the women in their demand that the Labour Party should not keep in power—should not help to keep in power—a Government that refuses to do this act of justice.

One other thing in that connection. A friend said to me the other day that he did not think I ought to have said that the Labour Party would be dreadfully disgraced if it kept in power a Government that cheated women of the franchise. Well, there are some things that men may do, some things that politicians may do that are bad enough, but I want to say this about politics in this country, if we have got to the pass when a man may promise at election times to do a certain thing, in a solemn manner give a pledge that he will do it, and then, when the time comes, find all sorts of reasons for not doing it; then, if he is going to be excused by public opinion, I don't think politics could be debased any more than that. I think it has reached the very lowest level. Therefore I say, quite unreservedly, that if we do keep a Government in power that refuses by any sort of means to do this simple act of justice, when we know that the majority of men in the House of Commons are pledged to do it, I say that those of us who keep the Government there are equally guilty with the Government of the betrayal of women. (Applause.)

### Victory Through Sacrifice.

I should like, if you will let me, to say just two or three things more on the general question. You, who have been fighting your fight in the vigorous sort of manner that we are all so well acquainted with during the past six years, ought not, I think, to be in the least degree depressed or downhearted about the progress you have made. Despite Governments, despite party discipline, despite all the trickery and all the manœuvring in the House of Commons, I believe your movement is stronger to-day than ever it has been before. It is quite true that you have irritated statesmen, and it is quite true that many people have laughed and jeered at what they have been pleased to call the hysterical actions of militant women, but I believe—as I believe always in the history of the world it can be proved—that when a body of people determine that life itself is of no account when compared with the cause they are fighting for, that the common people in the long run rise up and respect and revere those people. I have travelled in this country a good deal, and everywhere I go I can see a growing sense of responsibility on the part of men and women, and I can see growing up a tremendous regard and respect for the women who have been carrying on this campaign. It is all very well to talk about putting back the hands of the clock. I have lived through too many agitations to believe anything of that sort. There has been no movement worth the name that has ever been carried without sacrifice of some kind or the other. You know this perfectly well. Read over the history of your own movement since its inception. Only when people have been willing to sacrifice something have you made real progress—and there are no people in the world who respond more to that than the poor people who live away in poor districts. Very often rich and well-to-do people are hardly able to understand what sacrifice really means. But the poor know what it means, understand what it means. (Applause.) And they can respect those who bear ills, who bear troubles, who have faced difficulties when they are not called upon to do so. If there is one thing I am glad to notice it is that the W.S.P.U. is carrying on an agitation in and around the industrial quarters of London and in other centres. Believe me, friends, you waken up this fight very quickly. I am certain that when they hear the story of Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans, when they know that an English Government, Ireland, the man who, with his wife, welcomed the Irish prisoners some years ago—William O'Brien amongst them—who went out into various parts of England protesting against the treatment of William O'Brien and other Irish prisoners; when the common people understand that these same men have been treating those two women, two Englishwomen, in the fashion that those two women were treated in a Dublin gaol, they will throw this Government out. It is for you to make them understand it, make them realise it, and make them see all that it means.

Then there is another thing in connection with the whole movement. I do not know whether any people here (and I am sure there are some people) who disagree with militancy, are prepared with some other policy, some other way of getting this thing done. I read the speeches, I read the articles in the newspapers, and it all seems to me that the gist of it is—trust the politicians. Somebody once said, "Put not your trust in Princes." I should like to say to you, put not your trust in politicians! If princes are not to be trusted, I can assure you politicians are not, because in the House of Commons the two things that both sides keep in mind are how to keep on the Treasury Bench and how to get on to the Treasury Bench. Principle plays no part in the business at all. I had only been there a short time—one has only to sit and listen and understand the unreality of the debates to know quite well that that is what it all amounts to, and to ask you to

put your trust in them is to ask you to lean on a broken reed. These people will only be moved by the power of public opinion outside the House of Commons. I am always telling my friends in the Labour movement that the House of Commons is not the place where you get things really done; you get them done by the people outside demanding that they shall be done, and showing that they are in dead earnest and won't be content until they are done. And therefore it is that I want you to go to the common people. I have absolute faith in the ordinary man and the ordinary woman of our land. I believe that when they see a thing they will stand for it irrespective of parties; and I want you to go to them with a message; a message that we are out—all of us, I hope, who are here—not for any party, but for the entire nation. We are out, not for any sex, but we are out to fight for the emancipation of women, because we believe it will help to free men as much as it will help to free women. I was in this hall last Friday, and we were engaged then in commencing a campaign of War against Poverty. Friends, poverty is here, gain, and unrelieved, all around you. The greatest sufferers are the women and the children; the people who bear the burden of it are the helpless women and the helpless children. I want that women should have put into their hands the weapon that our fathers fought to put into the hands of men—the weapon of political emancipation, so that we shall no longer have a Parliament that talks of everything under the sun except the condition of the people, that feels away time on all kinds of things that don't matter. Well, friends, the Government and the House of Commons generally stand condemned, not merely because of their treatment of women, but because of this betrayal of the common people all the world over. They talk of a great nation, of a great people. A great people can only be great when justice reigns throughout the land. Just one other word on that. You have heard Mrs. Pankhurst on the White Slave Traffic. I wonder whether any people here who believe in Imperial England ever sit down and think what an infamy it is not merely to Christianity, but to any code of ethics, that in the twentieth century the British Parliament should have laid on its table a Bill to deal with the White Slave Traffic—admitting that there are white slaves! Well, whoever faults it is, whether it is the fault of the men living to-day, or whether it is the fault of us all, this one thing is true—that the British Parliament has allowed this thing to grow up and is only tinkering with the question. Believe me, men and women, you can pass all the White Slave Traffic Bills you like, but the real thing to do about prostitution, about destitution, about everything that is wrong with men and women, is to remove the cause that led to them. I am down here to-night—just one ordinary man coming here amongst you women—to say to you that I am proud to have had ever so tiny a hand in this tremendous agitation. I am proud to have lived to have had the privilege of speaking on platforms and asking for justice for my wife, and—if my mother were living—for her, and for my daughters. I am proud to be in the Suffrage movement, because I believe it is the movement of the world. I believe it is the cause of the world that is going surely in the end to make for the salvation of our race. I look around me to-day and I see all the misery, all the wrong, that has grown up while only men conduct our affairs. I want the women to come in and take their place with the men—not merely to put things down, I want to build up England; I want to build up this country—and none of you, rich as you may be, none of you really can enjoy your lives if you know that your sisters and your brothers are unable to live decent, wholesome lives. You rich people have to remember the men and women who are in this fight—I want you to realise that on you is cast the tremendous responsibility of coming out and taking your place, irrespective of consequences in the fight, taking it because you want men and women to join hand in hand, and destroy the hard economic condition, the harsh political condition, and bring about that kind of comradeship between men and women which will help us, as Blake said, to "build Jerusalem in England's fair and pleasant land."

Mrs. Pankhurst then called on Mrs. Tuke to address the meeting.

Mrs. Tuke.

Mrs. Tuke: A few days ago I was reading a religious newspaper containing, amongst other matter, a sermon by the Bishop of London, and the report of a speech delivered by him at a meeting recently held in support of the White Slave Bill now before Parliament. The text from which that sermon was preached struck me, a Suffragette, as being extremely suggestive. It ran thus: "They that have turned the world upside down have come hither also." You will remember the story. There was trouble in a certain town in Palestine, owing to the fact that a little band of people had arrived, preaching a wildly revolutionary doctrine, making things supremely uncomfortable for the authorities, and flouting all their conventions. We can imagine the insults which were hurled at those brave pioneers. We know something of the efforts which were made to get them out of the place—efforts then, as now, wholly useless, because directed against people convinced of the righteousness of their own cause and inspired by sincerity and enthusiasm. The Suffragette knows something of that sort of treatment in this twentieth century. We are turning the world, not upside down, but right side up. We think it is time that there should be a readjustment of values, that the cant which has been written

and spoken about women in the past should give way to something real, something vital, and something true. We think it is time that unjust laws as between men and women should no longer disgrace the Statute Book. We think it is time that the horrible fate of thousands of girls destroyed body and soul by the White Slave Traffic should be known in all its hideous truth.

These are but a few of the reasons which have determined us to do all in our power to fight these things and to win for women the power to directly influence the legislation in this country through the Parliamentary vote.

In the report of the bishop's speech to which I have alluded there is related an incident concerning a devoted social worker, who saw two girls in the company of men well known in this hideous traffic. It was obvious that they were in the greatest danger of being enticed away, and it was necessary that by some expedient the arrest of the whole party should be effected. "He broke the law to save the girls," said the bishop, "and thank God for him." If we, my friends, had no other reason for our militancy than this, we are justified over and over again. We, too, have broken the law to save the women. In obedience to that spirit which underlies all that we do, that spirit which drives us inexorably onwards, we have faced prison, we who are on this platform, and these brave comrades of ours, and many who are not able to be here to-night. We shall doubtless face it again in the future, but we remember that tribulation and suffering are the work of the flail and the sledge which crushes and tears and bruises, not the wheat, but the outside chaff. It does not touch the grain inside; it only takes from it what is useless and fruitless. We are prepared, friends, for prison. We are prepared for tribulation, because, like pioneers all down the ages, we know that no great cause was ever won without it.

While announcing the various sums contributed, and showing jewellery, etc., which had been sent to be sold for the cause, Mrs. Pankhurst said: Mrs. Leigh, who is still ill in Dublin, sends her ticket-of-leave licence! She thought that somebody might like to purchase it for the sake of the cause.

Miss Annie Kenney.

Miss Annie Kenney: Mrs. Pankhurst, Friends—I think most of us, either in our younger days, or later on, have often read in the Scriptures one line which always appealed to us, and a line that has come into my mind to-night, "If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare for the battle?" Well, I think the trumpet that has been blown to-night has been of no uncertain sound, and what we have to do is to respond to the call to battle and fall into line ready to attack the enemy.

I should like to say a few words about the second part of the resolution, which declares that we will relentlessly oppose the Government and its allies. Now, this means that at the next election, if a Labour man—with the exception of Mr. Lansbury—stands for Parliament at a by-election the Women's Social and Political Union will be there, and we shall use the same relentless opposition against the Labour candidate that we have used against the Liberal. We are being told on all sides that the best way to tackle the Labour Party is inside the House of Commons. We have come to the conclusion that we have not only to fight them in the House of Commons, but we have to prevent them from getting there, because so long as we have Labour men who are prepared to acquiesce in all the Government does, in forcible feeding, in the imprisonment of hundreds of women, then we say that those men must be opposed and they must be looked upon as the enemies of women equally with the Liberals themselves.

Now, a great issue is at stake in the Balkans. They are fighting for liberty—we are fighting for liberty also; and we ask ourselves, what can we do to help the movement at the present time? I think Mrs. Pankhurst has made it very clear to us where our duty lies. There is one thing women have not to do, and that is to help the Government, either in one way or another. The time has come when all women should rebel. We have got to be in open rebellion. We have not to be afraid of a conspiracy trial, or of anything else that the Government cares to do. We have got to have the courage of our forefathers in order to get this question settled once and for all. Constitutional agitation is all right so far as constitutional agitation helps to make militants. That is as far as constitutional work is good, but gradually the women, when they realise the issue at stake, will become more militant as the days go on.

Now, what we want to know is, what moves politicians? Well, I think we have had proof in our agitation that meetings do not move them, that petitions do not move them, that demonstrations do not move them—the one thing that moves politicians is active warfare, a fighting policy, giving no quarter to the enemy. We in this movement think that the situation is far too serious for delay. What have we before us to-day? We have a Home Rule Bill, proposing to give liberty and government to the men of Ireland, with the women left out. We have a Manhood Suffrage Bill, proposing to give every young man of twenty-one a Parliamentary vote and making him a responsible citizen—and the women are excluded. More than that, we are now in the second session of this Parliament, and if a measure giving Votes to Women does not pass the House of Commons this session it means that it will not have the benefit of the Parliament Act when it goes to the House of Lords.

Therefore, if ever there was a time for militancy, the time is now. Mrs. Pankhurst has spoken very clearly about the different rumours that are afloat with regard to the policy of the Women's Social and Political Union. People are asking us if we are going to attack human life. Well, this is the only revolution, I believe, that has ever been in existence that has always laid it down that the one thing we should stop at was the taking of human life. The policy of this Union is destruction of property. Whether that destruction is in one way or another, that will be left to the individuals who will have to suffer for their actions.

We should like to know what you are prepared to do. If you are prepared for window-breaking, then, we say, get your hammers ready and go out and break them. We do not want another week to pass over our heads without hundreds of women all over the country rising up and destroying property, if the Government prove to us that it is the only argument that they understand. Some people want to know whether we shall have another deputation. Well, I do not think we of the Women's Social and Political Union will officially organise a deputation, because we do not want hundreds of women in prison. We would rather the women were skirmishing up and down the country, creating an intolerable situation wherever they went. And more than that, when they have done all the damage they can to property we say to them—get away, in order to do it again the day after! (Applause.) Then people say, is militancy right? Well, you have got to reckon up what lies behind militancy, and Mrs. Pankhurst has shown to us very clearly to-night what it is that has roused all of us to take up this militant agitation and made us prepared to go on with it and to fight to the end. Militancy, as far as we can see it, is right, not only politically, it is right morally, and it is right spiritually, and every one of us pledges ourselves that whatever action we take, we shall be responsible only to ourselves and our own consciences. I, personally, if I have to be militant to-morrow, shall do it with a calm serene conscience, knowing that I am doing the right thing, knowing that through being militant we are saving others from great suffering and degradation. Therefore we say to all those people who wonder whether it is right morally—"We cannot judge for you; we can only judge for ourselves, and if we feel that we are doing right, if after serious consideration we have arrived at the conclusion that militancy is the only thing to win political enfranchisement for women, then I say that we should not be doing our duty if we did not join in the militant action and do all that lay in our power to force the Government to settle this question once and for all."

Now, we say, who are going to join us? We want you to respond; we want you to give in your names; we want you to come and help in this militant agitation. We have to march forward; we must come to the front, and be prepared to fight the enemy. What is there to be afraid of? At the end of life there is death, and then there is peace. So long as we feel that we are doing the right thing there is nothing that we need be afraid of. The one thing to be afraid of is that we should be cowardly and not have the courage to do what is right. We will march forward until victory is won.

The resolution was then put and carried with three or four dissentients.

Mrs. Pankhurst then said: The members of the Women's Social and Political Union will put that resolution into practice, because our motto is "Deeds, not Words."

THE LIMERICK RIOTS.

To the Editor of THE SUFFRAGETTE.

Dear Editor,—I am writing to inquire if any of your readers can give me any information as to the sentences the people got who broke the windows and looted the private property at Limerick, a report of which appears in "The Times" of October 18 (Friday), and runs as follows: "As a result of the riots which followed the meeting addressed by Mr. Wyndham in the Theatre Royal, Limerick, last Thursday, claims amounting to more than £1,518 for compensation for window smashing and looting private property were received yesterday by the Town Clerk." Having as a voteless woman received the following sentences—two weeks for throwing a stone at Churchill's window (doing no damage), ten days for a window valued 3s. at the War Office, and two months for a window at Mr. Asquith's house, valued 3s.—I naturally am interested to hear how those who have Votes fare, for I feel sure there is more value in a vote than the "antis" would have us believe.—Yours, etc., E. K. MARSHALL.

Re-arrest of Miss Evans.

As we go to press the news reaches us that Miss Gladys Evans has been re-arrested in Dublin on the charge of failing to notify her whereabouts to the police. Miss Evans was remanded in custody for a week.

ART AND LITERATURE.

At the Little Theatre.

Let me begin by a rash statement: Lady Cicely Waynflete, the heroine of "Captain Brassbound's Conversion," is, to me, the most ideal character in fiction. Shaw has been accused of lack of idealism. Lady Cicely is the answer. No modern writer—personally I should say no writer of any age—has succeeded in giving us so sweet a woman.

"Captain Brassbound's Conversion" has a tremendous significance for Suffragettes. Here is the ideal Suffragette—the woman who "interferes" with each and every woman that comes under her notice; who bends all her energies, all her powers of mind and body, to help those with whom she comes in contact; who sews or nurses, or acts as counsel in a law suit or walks unattended through Africa, or outwits judges or releases prisoners—just as it happens, without the slightest fuss, the slightest aggressiveness or—the slightest solemnity.

That is the dominant note in Gertrude Kingston's presentation of Lady Cicely at the Little Theatre—the lack of solemnity. Miss Kingston has happily grasped the Shavian philosophy; one may mock philosophies, upturn dynasties, kick divinities, but one must do it with a smile.

Lady Cicely, as impersonated by Miss Kingston, manipulates the destinies of men as Paderewski manipulates the piano-keys. He touches brute matter with his finger-tips—and we are aware of a flood of melody. So engrossed are we by the melody that we fail to remember till afterwards that tremendous strength and dexterity were needed to make the dumb thing speak.

Lady Cicely typifies the modern movement in its most winsome form. No more "advanced" lady has ever been conceived of by man. Yet no more "feminine" woman has ever been imagined.

There are so many, many people who think that when a woman becomes a human being she ceases to be a woman. To all such we say, "Go to see 'Captain Brassbound's Conversion.'" Here you will find a woman whose femininity is as evident—and as unobtrusive—as the perfume of a flower, yet whose will is serenely indomitable and whose sense of convention is nil.

"Do as you like; that's what I always do," she informs Captain Brassbound. And she speaks the truth. When she nurses dirty Italians, and sews brigands' sleeves, and sets unjust laws at defiance, she does "what she likes." She has as little respect for man-made law and order as an unfranchised Suffragist. She says, as Mrs. Pankhurst did last Thursday, "I incite you to rebellion." Not to rebellion against good things or noble things; but to rebellion against all wicked and foolish laws which you have had no hand in making, and which cripple human endeavour.

Lady Cicely's age is not mentioned in the play; yet, from various indications we gather that she has attained what Shaw, in another play, calls "the prime of womanhood—thirty-six to fifty-five."

Here let us pause for a moment. We are face to face with a phenomenon of the twentieth century. Shaw has struck a new note in fiction with this bold saying. We are all familiar with the chivalrous and charming proverbs of former centuries, "Old maids lead apes in hall!" and similar statements. Yes, here, in the twentieth century, we find the most brilliant of our playwrights choosing, as heroine of his most delightful play, a woman who would have been in other ages a most unqualified "old maid."

In the beginning of the last century there were three classes of respectable women. First, young girls, who were ranked high or low according to their ability to attract men and make "good" matches; second, married women who wore little caps soon after the wedding and vegetated till death; third, those miserable beings, "old maids" who, being neither young nor married, were justly treated with universal disrespect.

These were the "good old times" to which we are always being asked to go back. Now, turn to this work of the twentieth century, "Captain Brassbound's Conversion," and behold this amazing anomaly—a woman who, instead of being despised for not possessing a husband, is admired and respected by every man whom she meets, and loved by younger men than herself as well as older. More wonderful yet! We hear nothing of her beauty; apparently her position depends on something more subtle than a fine pair of eyes.

Such a character as Lady Cicely's could not have been conceived by our immediate ancestors. What—oh what would the Vicar of Wakefield have said to her! She moves through the play, a winning, smiling, indomitable force, moulding everyone with whom she comes in contact, leaving no evil circumstance untouched, refusing to countenance any unkindness or injustice; and all with the utmost sweetness and apparent unconsciousness. She is the only woman in a company of degraded and vicious brigands, yet, one after another, all submit to her cheerful interference and do what she advises. Even the captain, Black Paquito, a soured and embittered misanthrope will, but one purpose in life—revenge—is turned by her from that purpose, which else

renders ridiculous in a few quiet words. She is a born leader; a few words from her alter lives and change destinies.

But what would the good Vicar have said to her! Can you imagine him politely requesting her to make goose-pies and leave argument to him!

Lady Cicely, as I said before, typifies the modern outlook in its most winsome form; she is always womanly and never weak.

True, the heroines of all time have resembled her in this respect. In the most degenerate ages we have always had women who set tradition at defiance and insisted on following Shakespeare's advice, "To thine own self be true!" In the eighteenth century we had Elizabeth Fry. In the nineteenth century we had Florence Nightingale. Lady Cicely, however, seems to me not so much an exception as a type—a type of true womanhood in its modern form. She is not a public character, a saint, or a genius—just a woman of the twentieth century whom no one ignores because she is no longer young, or despised because she is unmarried. A woman who is, in short, a human being before she is anything else, just like all the men whom we respect and emulate.

No doubt many of you will think that even now, such a character is hardly typical. I shall be disposed to agree with you. Shaw is the most modern of writers, and he depicts the latest types—the types which become universal shortly afterwards, but which he is the first to show to the world. A little later on we trust that Lady Cicelys may be as universal as—let us say—R. J. Campbells. No one asks whether Dr. Campbell is married, or what his age is; he goes on his merits as a human being. We have not yet, it is true, quite reached the stage of development which Shaw depicts, but we are making steps in its direction.

FRANCIS FENWICK WILLIAMS.

The Book of the Year.\*

The book of the year is undoubtedly the correspondence of Sarah, Lady Lyttelton.\* Since the publication of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's letters and those of her scornful, gossip-loving contemporary, Horace Walpole, no such book has been presented to the world. Creevey, the flâneur, with his dinner-table and club gossip, Hélène de Racovitzka, the tragic heroine of Lassalle's romantic passion, the auto-ratrice Lady Holland, and numerous others, have filled the shelves of book-lovers with pictures of contemporary life, more or less amusing and interesting. But the charm of a beautiful personality and the culture of a mind that criticised as well as assimilated the problems which agitated the intellectual milieu in which Lady Sarah grew up, permeate the letters. They present to us a field of vision in which art, politics, travel, literature and character-sketches of distinguished personages vie in contending interest.

Sarah, Lady Lyttelton, was born in 1787, ten years before Walpole died, and a quarter of a century later than her great pen-sister, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Her letters begin in 1804, when she was seventeen, and cover a period of nearly twenty years. During all that time Europe was the arena of great political disturbances, and contemporary events are chronicled and commented on as brilliantly as the light and girlish chatter that depicted the manners of the times.

The new drawing-room carpet . . . which affords conversation to all . . . will be trod and spit upon without scruple by dogs and men.

Hartington . . . who was supposed to be at Cambridge . . . and William Ponsonby went to a masquerade as two young ladies dressed in the latest fashion, with diamonds, spotted muslin and silver turbans and feathers.

The signing of the Convention of Cintra produced the following:

We are to-day full of this deplorable news from Portugal. What a shameful piece of work that stupid Sir Hew Dalrymple has made of the capitulation. Oh that Sir Arthur Wellesley had been at the head. He would not, I am sure, have thrown away the fruits of his glorious victories in this blind manner. Bedingfield wrote us the whole account from town, and ended capitally. He says: John Bull is angry, so is John Bedingfield!

Lady Lyttelton bewails the lack of a literary pen, but her descriptive gifts are of a high order.

This place (Brighton) is grown quite immense and fourmille with barouches, tandems, curricles, men, women and children on horseback and on donkey-back, jostling each other, quite in London-like pribble-prubbles in the streets.

In November, 1808, she writes to her brother, hoping that a chance shot will hit Napoleon and remove him.

\* "Memoirs of Sarah, Lady Lyttelton." (John Murray, 15s.)

from the scenes of action. She compares Europe to Cinderella, and foresees kingdoms falling to dukedoms, dukedoms to counties, field-marshal's in jail, and soldiers returning to the plough.

Then comes peace . . . all ports open, no privaters to prevent coasting excursions, no expeditions, no fleets to be stationed God knows where . . . no taxes to grumble at, no grievances to complain. In short, my dream is beautiful.

It is a pretty imaginative letter of a high-spirited girl of twenty, but it would scarcely have brought about the results she hoped for.

Here is another picture of the times which, with a few changes of names and dates, might have been written of 1912, and which makes one feel the perennial truth of the Frenchman's "plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose!"

Politics are the order of the day. Wherever one goes, one can hear of nothing but the first divisions in the House of Commons, the awful crisis of affairs, the gloomy prospects of the poor country. . . . politicks, politicks, and more politicks, that's all one hears in these parts at present. I began with hating the subject as I used to hate hunting talk. . . . Now all my newly-acquired interest about foxhounds and hunters is supplanted by majorities, minorities, debates and divisions.

And here speaks a thoroughly earnest Suffragette. She writes of a friend who is travelling in the Mediterranean:

I wish it was the fashion for young ladies to travel in the Mediterranean. Why shouldn't I? I am sure most of the young gentlemen who do are much more helpless than any girl, and I am convinced we should manage quite as well, and perhaps n'en déplaise à vos hautes puissances, ye lords of the creation, we might derive something more of knowledge and advantage from the journey than is common to the said young gentlemen.

In 1813 Lady Sarah married Mr. Lyttelton, and went for a year and a half's trip to Scandinavia and Russia, where she justified her friend's words: earlier date and sent back the most brilliant descriptions of the places she visited and the people she met. She writes of the curious Swedish customs, the balls beginning at six and ending, Cinderella-like, at twelve, the quaint travelling equipages, drawn by four horses abreast, galloping down hills, and followed by a Swedish barouche, "occupied by beds, trunks, canteens, and bread baskets." Russia, too, bears her share in the description, with her inns, in which the people herded with inadequate and partial screens, the freezing winter, the roads, the visits to Court. A trenchant picture of the political situation is drawn with vivid comment.

One could multiply the quotations ad lib.

Riga: Talked a good deal of politics. Corruption of every man in office in Russia. No manner of use for an English Minister to be there; could do nothing but bribery.

Dresden: The Burgerschule, a great, clean, orderly establishment, for 700 citizens' children, girls and boys. Each pays about a guinea and a half a year and learn reading, writing, accounts, geography, Latin, and general knowledge on subjects of natural history.

London: Parliament is tottering on the brink of dissolution. . . . The Ministers' very unexpectedly failed in carrying some point in the Alien Bill. . . . Every creature who can get a conveyance will pour out of London to go and vote or be voted for or against at some town, and the country will be filled for forty days with drunkenness and riot, and quarrelling and chaffing.

The Coronation of King George IV. and the painful position of the Queen Consort are touched on with the pen of an eye-witness, the sympathy of the mob for the woman they deemed ill-used, the subservience of the Ministers to the King.

Intimate delights on the changing political situation and particularly during the strenuous troubles of the Reform Bill are vividly presented. A humorous picture of the respect for Lord Althorp, Lady Lyttelton's brother, and leader of the House, is conveyed by a story. He had prepared some notes against an amendment which were conclusive to his own mind, "but—he added—he had mislaid them and could not remember what they were!" The House voted with him.

In 1836 Lady Lyttelton was made Lady Lytton in Waiting to Queen Victoria, and from that time her letters are filled with intimate and charming pictures of the home life of the Royal Family. In 1842 she was appointed Governesse to the Royal Children, and filled the post till 1850. The letters close with the death of the Prince Consort.

The girlhood, through maturity to old age, the sweetness of a charming individuality, full of character and intensity of feeling, pervades the letters like a scent of old-world lavender. The editors have done their work well.

TREASURER'S NOTE.

The Women's Social and Political Union is facing in the near future activities of work in every direction which will absorb a vast amount of energy and organisation.

It will not be out of place, perhaps, in a Treasurer's Note if at the same time I make a timely and special plea to all our friends, asking them to obtain advertisements for "The Suffragette" from the firms with whom they deal.

EMMELINE PANKHURST.

The Woman's Press.

This department of the W.S.P.U. has now moved in to

LINCOLN'S INN HOUSE, KINGSWAY, W.C.

TELEPHONE NO.: HOLBORN 2724.

A SOCIAL CLUB FOR MEN AND WOMEN

interested in the Suffrage Movement has now been formed, and premises have been taken at

3, YORK STREET, ST. JAMES', S.W.

There are still vacancies for members at £1 ls. and no entrance fee.

Early application is advisable. Letters only for the present.

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THE SUFFRAGETTE.

LINCOLN'S INN HOUSE, KINGSWAY.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 25th, 1912.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

Obtainable at all Newsagents and Bookstalls, or By Post, 6s. 6d. per annum; Foreign, 8s. 6d. per annum.

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BUSINESS and Advertising communications should be addressed to the Business Manager at the same address. Matter for insertion should reach the office by first post Monday.

SUBSCRIPTIONS should be sent to the Publication Manager, THE SUFFRAGETTE, LINCOLN'S INN HOUSE, KINGSWAY, W.C.

Women at War.

The time has come when the honourable and glorious character of Suffragist militancy can no longer be denied.

Last week we argued that no one who approves either the war in the Near East or Civil War in Ulster can condemn the war of women against the Liberal Government, and we propose again to emphasise that point.

Those who are fighting against the Turks in the name of freedom claim that theirs is a "sacred struggle." They call down the blessing of God upon their armies and upon their warfare.

The people whose hearts and souls are thrilled with sympathy and admiration for the Allies in the Near East must not forget that in this country a warfare is in progress, in which the rights of the matter are even more clearly on one side and the wrongs on the other.

In Suffragist militancy there is no bloodshed to be condoned by these champions of the oppressed, and while the war against Turkey may cost a quarter of a million lives, the Suffragist war for the vote is likely to cost none—unless we count the lives of Suffragists themselves.

The violence done by Suffragists is directed against property, and surely Liberals care little for property when weighed in the balance against freedom. Attacks even upon private property cannot be condemned by any follower of the Government now that Sir John Brunner, the President of the National Liberal Federation, has so widely advertised the fact that the present Government refuse to accept the proposal made by America and Germany to exempt private property in the shape of peaceful merchandise and shipping, from capture and destruction in time of war.

As for arson, the less men say about that the better, considering that their man-made rule of war permit the devastation of whole tracts of country and the wholesale burning of houses and other buildings.

We notice that the comparison which we draw between Suffragist militancy and Ulster militancy is not altogether pleasing to the Ulster militants and their friends, who retort that Ulster has not broken the law yet.

It is not a question simply of words and of speeches. We are talking of deeds. Ulster, at the instigation of Sir Edward Carson and others, is arming and drilling and preparing for war.

ULSTER COVENANT.

SALE OF ARMS AND AMMUNITION.

To-night there is advertised in Belfast a sale by auction of arms and ammunition at Belfast next month. The advertisement is headed—"Preliminary Announcement," and states:

Important to Unionist Clubs, etc. Great sale by auction, 500 cases of high-grade rifles, 7 machine guns, 3 modern cannons, 1,000 Army revolvers, latest and most powerful type; 250 field tents, 25 stretchers, 2 ambulance waggons, 500 ground sheets, enormous quantity of ammunition.

This announcement is so amazing in its terms that it is difficult to believe it serious, but the "Irish Times" prints it in all seriousness. If this sale is really to take place, let no one talk any more of the law remaining unbroken.

A Cabinet Minister, Mr. Birrell, speaking a few days ago to his constituents, said:

As a man responsible for affairs in Ireland, I ask you to agree that the matter of Ulster is not one to be treated with levity. It is really a national difficulty that has got to be faced and treated in a rational manner.

Yes; and the women's rebellion has also to be seriously considered, because, even more than the Ulster discontent, it is "a national difficulty that has got to be faced and treated in a rational manner."

If the Government are not going to give votes to women how do they propose to deal with the Suffragettes? What are they going to do with Helen Craggs? What are they going to do with Mrs. Leigh? What are they going to do with Mrs. Pankhurst? What are they going to do with the whole army of militant womanhood?

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

"HOLLOW EXCUSES."

THE OFFICIAL LABOUR PARTY AND VOTES FOR WOMEN.

The declaration of war issued by the W.S.P.U. has made a great stir in the world of labour.

Let us consider the hollow excuses which the official Labour Party has to offer for continuing to maintain in office the Government who betray women. One of these excuses is to be found in the "Labour Leader," which says that if they voted against the Government the Labour members would be acting in disobedience to the commands issued by the Labour Party Conference and the I.L.P. Conference.

It is pretended by the "Labour Leader" that when we ask the Labour members to oppose the Government we are putting votes for women in one scale and all other popular interests, "questions of peace and war and of national and labour well-being," in the other.

Attempts are being made to satisfy at least the more guileless Suffragists by the statement that the Labour members will "fight hard" to secure the enfranchisement of women. The only hard fighting which is possible is a fight against the Government.

and the policy of political independence which they were elected to pursue. The Liberal Party and the Nationalist Party are of the opinion that the Labour members have the Government at their mercy.

Although the Government's intrigues against Woman Suffrage are notorious, Mr. J. R. MacDonald has actually said in a letter to the Woman's Labour League that militancy "now stands as the only serious barrier between women and the franchise."

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £250,000 FUND OCTOBER 14 TO OCTOBER 18.

Table listing contributions to the £250,000 fund from October 14 to October 18, 1912. Includes names like Mrs. N. L. Stansfield, Miss A. F. W., and various other donors with their respective amounts.

Table listing names and amounts, likely a continuation of the contributions table or a separate list of donors. Includes names like Mrs. Currell, Miss Gornie, Miss Alice Easton, and others.

Programme of the Week.

LONDON. FRIDAY, OCTOBER 25. Balham High-road, Caistor-road. Miss Jacobs. 8 p.m. Croydon, Katherine-street. Mrs. Dacre Fox. 8 p.m. Hackney, Graham-road and Mare-street. Miss M. Wright. 8 p.m. Chair: Miss Gargett. 8 p.m. Homerton, Sidney-rd. and Wick-rd. Miss E. Glidewell. 8 p.m. Hford, outside Town Hall. Miss Harvey. 8 p.m. Kingston, 15, Union-st. Hostesses: Miss N. Gormall. 2.30-6 p.m. Rosa Leo. 7.45 p.m. Seven Sisters-road, Thane-villas. W.C. Speakers' Class. Miss Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway. Miss Haslam. 7.30 p.m. Barfield. Miss Cox, Miss Clifford. 7.30 p.m. SATURDAY, OCTOBER 26. Collier's Green, Miss Gibson. 6.30 p.m. Hammersmith, 95, The Grove. Speakers' Class. Miss Moore. 8 p.m. Harlesden, Manor Park-road. Mrs. Davies, Miss Hoffman. 8 p.m. Hitchin, Market Place. Miss G. Brackenbury. 8 p.m. Holloway, outside Jones Bros. Miss Barry, Miss Shonks. 8 p.m. Hford, Halfour-road. Mr. Mark Wilks. Chair: Miss Haslam. 8 p.m. Kingston, Church-street. Mrs. Penn Gaskell. Chair: Mrs. Dacre Fox. 12 noon. Lewisham, 1, Lewis-grove. Members. 7.30 p.m. Palmer's Green, Alderman's-hill. Miss P. Ayton. 7.30 p.m. Richmond, Heron Court. Miss E. Wylie. 8 p.m. Stamford Hill, corner of Amhurst-road. Miss Jacobs. Chair: Mrs. Eliott. 8 p.m. Stratford, Maryland Point Station. Miss Hopkins. Chair: Miss Hooper. 8 p.m. Walthamstow, Church-hill. Miss Harvey. 7.30 p.m. Wandsworth, outside Council School. Miss Rogers. Chair: Mrs. Threacher Chapman. 8 p.m. Willesden Green Library. 8 p.m. Wembley. 8 p.m. Wimbledon, 9 Victoria-crescent, Broadway. Members. Rally and sale of work. 8 p.m. Wimbledon Broadway, Dr. Letitia Fairfield. Chair: Mrs. Dacre Fox. 7.30 p.m. SUNDAY, OCTOBER 27. Catford Tram Terminus. Mrs. Bouvier. 7 p.m. Clapham Common. Miss P. Ayton. Chair: Mrs. Bateman. 8 p.m. Finchbury Park, N. Men's Federation for W.S. 3.30 p.m. Hampstead Heath, Flagstaff. Miss Hacks, M.A. 11.30 a.m. Hyde Park, near Marble Arch. M.P.U. Miss E. Myers. R. Pott, Esq. 8 p.m. Regent's Park, N.W. G. W. Sykes, Esq. Chair: Mrs. Smithwick. 3.15 p.m. Streatham Common. Mrs. Baines. 3 p.m. Wimbledon Common. Miss E. Davison, Mrs. Hunt. 3 p.m. MONDAY, OCTOBER 28. Brixton, Russhorff-road. M.P.U. Miss H. Townsend, Rev. Wills. 8 p.m. Croydon, 50, High-street. Debate. 8 p.m. London Pavilion, Piccadilly-circus. W. Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Naylor. 3 p.m. TUESDAY, OCTOBER 29. Clapton, Stamford Hill. Miss Naylor. 8 p.m. Deptford Broadway. Miss C. Townsend. Chair: Mrs. E. Leigh. 7.30 p.m. Kilburn, 310, High-street. Mrs. Cather, Mr. Cameron Grant, Miss Muriel Hutchinson, Mr. Frank Witty. 8 p.m. Merton, The Grove. Mrs. M. Davies. Chair: Miss Bell. 8 p.m. Palmer's Green, 6, Stonard-road. Fettes Talks. 8 p.m. Pinner, Rockstone House. Sewing Meeting. Hostesses: Mrs. Terro. 3-5 p.m. Stafford, 32b, Bedford-road. Work Party. WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 30. Ealing, 65, Uxbridge-road. Drawing-room Meeting. Mrs. Drummond. Chair: F. G. Amery, Esq., M.A. 8 p.m. Edmondoe Court, Meeting Room, opposite Victoria Cottage Hospital, Barnet. Miss Richard. Chair: Joseph Clayton, Esq. 8 p.m. Homerton, Church-road. Miss E. Glidewell. 8 p.m. Hford, Manor Park, Earl of Essex. Miss Wingrove. 8 p.m. Islington, 347, Goswell-road. Annual Meeting. Miss Jessie Kenney. 7 p.m. Stafford Broadway. Miss Hopkins. 8 p.m. Thornton Heath Clock. Miss Gibbs. 8 p.m. THURSDAY, OCTOBER 31. Crutch End, Council School, Park-road. Laurence Housman, Esq. Chair: Miss Gladys Kevel. 8 p.m. Finchbury Park, 52, Brownwood-road, Queen's-road. Social. Miss Della Wilkin, Miss Gwynne. Hostesses: Mrs. Macnamara. 8 p.m. 52, Praed-street, W. Mrs. Cameron Swan. Chair: Mrs. Cook. 8.15 p.m. Steinway Hall, Lower Seymour-street, Portman-square, W. Miss S. Pankhurst, Miss E. Wylie. 8 p.m. Twickenham Green Fountain. Miss Leslie Hall. Chair: Mr. Hennigway. 7.30 p.m. Wimbledon, Queen's Hall, Broadway. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Leonard Hall, Esq., Chair: Mrs. Lamartine Yates. 8 p.m. FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 1. Balham, 21, Culverden-road. Whist Drive. Hostesses: Mrs. Grubb. 7.45 p.m. Barnet, Tibury's Tea Rooms. General Meeting. 8 p.m. Camden Town, Cobden Statue. Miss Bonwick, B.A., Mr. Hawkins. 7.30 p.m. Croydon, Katherine-st. Miss Leslie Hall, Miss Hardy. 8 p.m. Hackney, Wellstreet and Berger-road. Miss Haslam. Chair: Miss Newstead. 8 p.m. Hford, East Ham, The Oaks. Miss Harvey. 8 p.m. Kingston, 15, Union-street. Members and Friends. Hostesses: Miss N. Gormall. 2.30-6 p.m. Kingston, Scotch Cafe. Social Evening. Mrs. Zangwill. Chair: Miss Stewart. 7.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C. Speakers' Class. Miss Rosa Leo. 7.45 p.m. Woolwich, Eleanor-road. Miss Gwen Richard, Miss Clifford. 7.30 p.m. COUNTRY. FRIDAY, OCTOBER 25. Ayrshire, Catrine, Wilson Hall. Mr. S. D. Shallard. Chair: Miss Allan. 7 p.m. Bath, Twerton, Maybrick-road Hall. Drawing-room Meeting. Miss A. Williams. Hostesses: Mrs. Davis. 4.15 p.m.

Bath, Twerton, Maybrick-road Hall. Miss A. Williams. Chair: Miss Francis. 8 p.m. Edinburgh, Tollcross. Miss M. Scott. Chair: Miss Moorhead. 8 p.m. Edinburgh, Hunter-square. Miss A. Scott. Chair: Mrs. Charlton. 8 p.m. Edinburgh, Smith's place, Leith. Miss E. Macdonald. Chair: Miss Shaw. 8 p.m. Ipswich, St. Michael's Hall. Miss Margaret West. 8 p.m. North Shields, Borough-road. 7.30 p.m. Worthing, Seaford. Miss Elsa Myers. 5.45 p.m. SATURDAY, OCTOBER 26. Bath, Saw-close. Miss A. Williams. 7 p.m. Edinburgh, Mound. Mrs. Finlayson Gauld. Chair: Miss Moorhead. 4.30 p.m. Edinburgh, West End. Miss M. Burn Murdoch. Chair: Miss Brown. 8 p.m. Edinburgh, St. David-street. Miss Melrose. Chair: Miss E. Macdonald. 8 p.m. Hitchin, Market-place. Miss Georgina Brackenbury. 3.50 p.m. SUNDAY, OCTOBER 27. Ayrshire, Springburn, Co-operative Hall, Angus-street. Mr. S. D. Shallard. Chair: Mr. Robert Seanders. 7 p.m. Bramley, Socialist Church. 4 p.m. MONDAY, OCTOBER 28. Birmingham, Northfield Institute. Miss Dorothy Evans. Chair: Miss Ravenhill. 7.30 p.m. Cambridge, 25, Lynwood-road. At Home. Miss Georgina Brackenbury. Hostesses: Mrs. Causton. 7.30 p.m. Dumbarton, Parish Church Hall. Mr. Shallard. Chair: Mrs. John. 8 p.m. Hastings, Lower Public Hall. At Home. Mrs. M. Cook. 4-6 p.m. Jarrow, 1, York-street. Women's Meeting. 5 p.m. TUESDAY, OCTOBER 29. Bexhill, W.S.P.U. Shop. At Home. Mrs. M. Cook. 4-6 p.m. Ipswich, Public Hall. Miss Annie Kenney. Chair: Mrs. Vans Agnew Corbett. 8 p.m. Leeds, 5, Cookridge-street. Tea. Hostesses: Mrs. Waugh. 3.30-5.30 p.m. Leicester, No. 4 Room, Temperance Hall. Mrs. Cameron Swan. Chair: Miss Frisby. 8 p.m. Newmilns, Morton Hall. Mr. Shallard. 7.30 p.m. North Shields, Albion Assembly Rooms. Mrs. Saul Solomon. 8 p.m. Nottingham, Large Mechanics' Hall. Mrs. Pankhurst. Mrs. Dacre Fox. 8 p.m. Portsmouth, 4, Pelham-road. Committee Meeting. 8.30 p.m. WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 30. Birmingham, Queen's College, Paradise-street. Mrs. Dacre Fox. 8 p.m. Bradford, Mechanics' Institute. Mrs. Pankhurst. Mrs. Dacre Fox. 8 p.m. Cardiff, Queen's Hall, Queen-street. Miss G. Brackenbury. Chair: Rev. W. Lewis Robertson, M.A. 7.30 p.m. Clapton, Work Party. Hostesses: Mrs. Sykes Mendip. 8 p.m. Cleveland, Lesser Town Hall. Mr. Shallard. 8 p.m. Dundee, Ward Meeting. Miss Muriel Scott. 8 p.m. Liverpool, Theosophical Society, Colquhoun-street. 8 p.m. Newcastle, Barra Bridge Rooms. Mrs. Saul Solomon. 8 p.m. Walsall, Small Co-operative Hall. Mrs. Dacre Fox. 5 p.m. THURSDAY, OCTOBER 31. Eastbourne, 56a, Grove-road. At Home. Miss L. Sharp. Kilmarnock, Oddfellows' Hall. Mr. Shallard. 7.30 p.m. Leeds, 5, Cookridge-street. Mrs. Kinston Parkes. 8 p.m. Reading, Palmer Hall. At Home. Mrs. Hinchey. 8 p.m. Sunderland, 9, Homelands park, N. Mrs. Saul Solomon. Hostesses: Miss Sutherland, Miss Thompson. York, Assembly Rooms. Mrs. Pankhurst. Chair: Rev. R. S. Payne. 8 p.m. FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 1. Watford, Small Co-operative Hall. Miss Crocker. Chair: E. Jones, Esq., M.D. (Lond.). 8 p.m.

Announcements.

At this critical juncture of the movement members will realise how important it is that the circulation of THE SUFFRAGETTE should be worked up. If the paper is to be a success members must realise their individual responsibility in bringing it before the public. This can be done in many ways, but one of the most important is by street selling. An urgent appeal is, therefore, made to London members to come forward and give some time every day, however short, to selling on one or other of the London pitches. Schemes of advertisement to bring this new organ of the W.S.P.U. to public notice are in preparation, but these cannot be carried through without the hearty co-operation of the members. A poster parade will leave Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, every Friday at 12 noon. Volunteers urgently needed. Names should be sent in to Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, where all information may be had.

Procession To-morrow, Saturday.

Miss Helen Craggs, who was sentenced on Saturday last to nine months' hard labour, is now in Holloway Prison. To-morrow (Saturday) her comrades outside are going to march to Holloway to express their sympathy with her and their deep indignation at the harsh and vindictive sentence imposed upon her, and to demand her release. A procession will form up in Kingsway at 2.30, and will proceed via New Oxford-street, Tottenham Court-road, Hampstead-road, and Camden-road, to Holloway, where a protest meeting will be held. Members in and near London are earnestly asked to come forward in their hundreds and take their place in the ranks. It is hoped that every local Union will be well represented. The paper cart will be in Kingsway at 2.30, volunteers to sell papers along the route are urgently needed.

Christmas Sale.

(Hon. Secs.: Miss Vibert, Miss Fergus, Miss Good-life.) From November 1 we shall be ready to receive parcels for the above sale, which should be plainly marked "Christmas Sale." The sale will be held in the hall of Lincoln's Inn House, where contributions should be sent. Cakes, home-made sweets, jams, marmalade, new-laid eggs always find a ready sale. We shall be grateful if contributors will send us signed copies of their books. Donors are requested kindly to bear in mind that this is to be a sale for the purchase of Christmas gifts, and to present only such articles as they would themselves wish to receive. Children's clothing and goods suitable for parcels to working people will also be very welcome.

London Meetings.

The speakers at the London Pavilion on Monday, October 28, at 3.15 p.m., will be Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Naylor. On Thursday, October 31, the speakers at the meeting at Steinway Hall, Lower Seymour-street, at 3 p.m., will be Miss Sylvia Pankhurst and Miss E. Wylie. Mrs. Pankhurst will speak at the Steinway Hall on November 21.

THE TRIAL OF MISS HELEN CRAGGS

"I AM MORALLY GUILTLESS."

An Impression.

To those of us who were at the Oxford Assizes on Saturday last, when Miss Helen Craggs was sentenced to nine months' hard labour, those words will always be remembered. The spirit of uprightness, gentleness, dignity, and calm determination which seemed to radiate from her made itself felt in the Court surroundings. The Court was filled. The crowd—men, women, and undergraduates—had evidently come with the intention of taking the matter seriously, and on leaving many expressions of regard were heard. The judge had thought fit to impose hard labour. A strong impression of vivid contrasts remains in my mind: the aged, old-world judge, facing the youthful, modern-spirited prisoner, the stolid, unimaginative jury, materialism incarnate, and that frail, spiritual-looking girl in the dock. What had they in common with her? She, who with a deliberate and full sense of responsibility towards the race, burning with just indignation against the cruel sentence of the country, and after a long and arduous fight, had come in conflict with the law. The last glimpse we had of Helen Craggs was as she drove away from Paddington Station to Holloway Gaol, attended by a constable and an inspector of police. She was smiling grimly and serenely—conscious in every fibre of her being of what awaited her—treatment as an ordinary common criminal, with hard labour added. We, who saw her thus, know that whatever penalties the Government may enforce upon her body, her spirit and her soul are free and far beyond the reach of tyranny.

In the Court.

In a crowded Court, before Mr. Justice Ridley and a jury, the trial of Miss Helen Craggs was taken at the Oxford Assizes on Saturday, October 19. Dr. Hazell conducted the prosecution and Mr. Cecil Walsh undertook the case for the defence. The Clerk of the Crown read the indictment, composed of two counts, which charged Miss Craggs: (1) with having on July 13 last been found by night armed with picklocks, keys, and other articles, with intent to break and enter the dwelling house of Mr. Lewis Harcourt, and to set fire to it with intent to injure it; (2) with being at the same time found by night, unlawfully having in her possession, without lawful excuse, certain instruments of house-breaking, nine picklocks, keys and other articles.

Miss Craggs pleaded "Not guilty." Dr. Hazell, having dealt in his opening speech with the facts in support of the charges, proceeded to say: Miss Craggs was a young lady of good education, who had in the past taken an active interest in the movement in favour of woman suffrage. She was connected with an organisation known as the Women's Social and Political Union. Now this organisation was one of those whose members had become notorious by the extreme measures they had taken in support of the cause they supported. That was all by way of explanation, but he wished to point out to the jury that although in the course of the case something might be heard about the cause of woman suffrage, that or any other political question had nothing at all to do with what they had to judge.

Proceeding with the details of Miss Craggs' preliminary visit to Nuneham and the firing of the canon, Dr. Hazell described how Police-constable Golden while on duty there at ten minutes to one, saw two women standing by the wall in the north wing of Nuneham and hiding themselves in the crevices. Seeing two women at that hour of the morning attempting to conceal themselves in the wall of the house, he naturally inquired what they were doing there, and not receiving a satisfactory answer took Miss Craggs into custody, the other lady having disappeared. When he returned to where the arrest had taken place, he found what could only be described as a most extraordinary outfit for ladies. There was a basket with a mackintosh tied to it, in the basket were two cans, one of which has been subsequently found to contain paraffin oil and the other methylated spirit, and a bottle which was subsequently found to contain a quantity of turpentine. Not only this, but there were twelve fire-lighters wrapped up in cotton waste, also an inflammable material, four tapers, a box of matches, and nine picklocks. In the satchel which was near by, there were an electric torch, a glass cutter, some matches and a rule, and a typewritten document. This document, he said, would be read to the jury in the course of the evidence, and he did not propose to read it at length then, but he did want to call attention to the character of that document, because he considered it had an important bearing on the question of intent.

After reading extracts from the letter in question, Dr. Hazell pointed out that the document, forming as it did a sort of apology for some deed of violence which had been committed, fitted in exactly with the theory put forward by the prosecution—that the ladies intended to break into Mr. Harcourt's house, make a fire there, and then to leave the document behind as evidence that the deed was done by those who thought that it was a sort of way in which to bring about woman suffrage. That document, he said, taken with the house-breaking and arson equipment found in the basket

and in the satchel, exactly where the lady was arrested, ought to satisfy the jury of illegal intent. Reference was then made to the canon found in the grounds below the house, and the finding in it of several articles, including a copy of the "March of the Women" and a small notebook containing the telephone numbers of Mr. Lewis Harcourt's house and the Oxford Central Fire Brigade Station. This last, he was inclined to believe, was proof that the ladies intended doing something which would require the attention of the Oxford Fire Brigade.

Prosecuting counsel then related how Miss Craggs, on being charged, applied for bail, which application, he suggested, showed that she fully realised that what she had done and wished to do was a serious matter. The same day she was brought before the justices and was charged with being on the premises of Nuneham House for an unlawful purpose, namely, to set fire to the house of Mr. Lewis Harcourt, and to that charge made formally by the justices' Court she pleaded guilty. The charge on which she was now indicted was different. He did not intend to refer to that charge any more than to say that although the charge was now different, that admission had an important bearing on the

from the highest possible motives. The charge against her was that she went to these premises with felonious intent. He asked them to come to the conclusion that there was no felonious intent, but that what was done was done in the furtherance of a political motive. Even if they could not accept that view, but adopted the view that his learned friend had taken, and were driven to the conclusion that the young lady was guilty, he would impress upon them that although it might be a misdemeanour, it was a misdemeanour without any criminal intent.

The prosecution, he pointed out, was the Government, and one could not ignore that a crisis had arisen in the agitation with regard to this question of Woman Suffrage. It was farcical to go on prosecuting as they were doing and were apparently intending to do in such cases as these. It was common knowledge to everyone that not many months ago three of the leaders of the movement, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Pankhurst, were at enormous expense to the country, and after a prolonged trial at the Old Bailey, convicted of conspiracy and sent to prison for considerable terms of imprisonment. They were now free. A few weeks ago two ladies were convicted in Dublin on very much the same charge as Miss

cattle drivers in Ireland, nor those in Ireland guilty of agrarian outrages. They had not got votes. Women do not get the same from very much the same motive, the same spirit animating them, the same sincerity of purpose, the same purity of motives, were to be prosecuted. They prosecuted them, they invited juries to convict them, judges to pass sentence upon them as ordinary criminals, and sent them to gaol to be treated as ordinary criminals, to be kept with ordinary criminals. In a few weeks they were liberated, and this was done by men who were supposed to have the instinct of political wis-

Government Responsible.

dom. The Government were responsible for the present crisis that existed in this matter, and there was not a man living who understood how to deal with it. Everybody knew that when these women went to gaol as ordinary criminals they demanded treatment as political offenders, and he suggested that the lady before them was nothing more than a political offender. She was no criminal in the ordinary sense of the word. Everybody knew that the more they sent women to prison the more they would refuse to recognise the law, in the constitution of which they were allowed to take no part. The Government would be forced to keep them in prison until they were half dead or half mad, and then liberate them. That was what had happened, and he said that such prosecutions were farcical. Juries in the past had refused to convict when convict on would have meant violation to their consciences, and he considered it would be perfectly reasonable, owing to the way in which this question has been dealt with by the Government, that juries should decline to lend themselves to this attempt to turn these women into ordinary criminals. It was not prosecution, but legislation that was wanted. The Government had brought this upon themselves. They promised and promised, and then resorted to the miserable recourse of prosecuting women, young ladies like Miss Craggs, and convicting them as burglars, as criminals. Everybody knew such methods would never put an end to the agitation. A genuine agitation animated by pure motives, by high convictions, would never be stepped by oppression and persecutions of that kind.

Mr. Justice Ridley, in summing up, said that motives, political or otherwise, could not be taken into consideration. The law of the land did not allow people to commit crimes and then say they had done so from political motives. After the jury had brought in a verdict of guilty on both charges, the counsel for the defence asked that Miss Craggs might be treated as a political offender and in support of his application cited the case of the "Jameson raiders." Miss Craggs then addressed the Court: "I will not keep you many minutes. I had intended to speak to-day, but I have to thank Mr. Walsh for expressing very clearly to the jury my own views upon the matter. I will not dwell on motives, as I understand this Court has nothing to do either with motives or the question of the moral aspect of the case. I should like to put only one point to you. I hold that militant Suffragettes stand in an analogous position to soldiers. You do not regard them as murderers because they fight in a good cause, and neither am I, as a militant Suffragist, a criminal because I fight in a cause as good as any which they have ever fought in. I say this: that I am morally guiltless, and more than that, for my share in this agitation small though it is, I am proud to stand here to-day."

His Lordship said that the accused could not be regarded as a political offender. It was impossible for any agitation to succeed by such methods as she had adopted, and the sooner these methods were abandoned the better. It was fortunate that the constable had stopped her when he did, otherwise she must have gone into penal servitude. He was making the sentence as light as he could, but it would be nine months' hard labour.



Miss Helen Craggs. (Photo by Lambert Weston & Son, 20, Broadwood-st., London.)

"I hold that militant Suffragettes stand in an analogous position to soldiers. You do not regard the latter as murderers because they fight in a good cause, and neither am I as a militant Suffragist a criminal because I fight in a cause as good as any which men have fought, I say, my lord, that I am morally guiltless."

LEGAL DEFENCE FUND.

The following list was unavoidably omitted last week. The sentence on Miss Craggs will rouse much sympathy, and other friends will wish to help in the expenses of her trial. "A Man Sympathiser" thinks the Government must be pro-Suffrage, because they seem to be trying to rouse sympathy for the women by maltreating them: Already acknowledged £186 5 2 Mrs. Lang 0 10 0 Mrs. Wylie 0 10 0 Oxford W.S.P.U. (per Mrs. Rowbottom) 2 16 0 Mrs. Massey 0 10 0 Mrs. L. E. Wylie 0 10 0 A. Rebel in India 1 0 0 Mrs. Rowe 1 0 0 Mrs. Vans Agnew Corbett 5 0 0 Miss K. Roffe 0 2 6 Miss Lowe 0 2 6 "A Man Sympathiser" 0 10 0 £207 16 9 Hon. Treasurer: Miss Goodlife, 62, High-street, Hampstead, N.W.



Photo by [unreadable] ENTRANCE HALL, LINCOLN'S INN HOUSE, TO BE OCCUPIED BY THE WOMAN'S PRESS. (Kehrhaun, Beatty Heath.)

THE EAST-END CAMPAIGN.

In Bethnal Green we have held many open-air meetings during the last week. The afternoon meetings are those that I like best, for in the afternoon the streets are crowded with women who seem to feel that we are talking especially to them.

On Thursday last I was canvassing in Cambridge-road, when coming to a place where there were numbers of fishermen, butchers, grocers, and greengrocers' shops with stalls for selling everything in the gutter opposite, and the road was specially thronged with women.

At the Government, that the Government must include votes for women in the Reform Bill. Several men who were voters in the constituency came into our shop at 34, Green-street, to tell us that during his election campaign Mr. Masterman had said that he was opposed to the Conciliation Bill, because he did not consider it democratic, but that he would do what he could to forward a measure to give votes to all women.

At the Liberal Club in Pollard-row, an advertisement of Mr. Masterman's meeting at the Liberal Club in Pollard-row, announced that "all" were "cordially welcomed" and that "questions were invited" but a crowd of men, who stood on the steps of the club and around its doors, insolently scrutinised all the women who appeared and refused admission to many of us, on the ground that they wanted "to protect private property."

At the meeting of the Reform Bill, the speaker, Mr. Masterman, said that he was opposed to the Conciliation Bill, because he did not consider it democratic, but that he would do what he could to forward a measure to give votes to all women.

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MEETINGS ARRANGED.

Table listing meetings for Friday, Saturday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, November 1st. Columns include date, location, speaker, and time.

Miss Naylor and Miss Burke were now holding a meeting at the Bethnal Green-road and Pollard-row for two hours. Miss Naylor spoke to a large gathering that during the greater part of the time was absolutely orderly.

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REMINDING MR. MASTERMAN.

(A MAN'S ACCOUNT.)

I had seated myself upon one of the long covered forms in the large room of the Liberal and Radical Club in the Borough of Bethnal Green. Mr. Masterman, our Parliamentary Secretary, was coming to address us for the first time since his election, and I was thinking of the lady who was being hustled out of the front door at the moment of my arrival, and of the crowd of bores men and boys who surrounded her, and of the two big policemen who hustled her from the pavement in front of the doorway.

Government going to pass a Reform Bill without including women? The whole audience had risen, and several men pounced upon me, but my left arm was free until I got out from the benches. I held out a piece of paper to Mr. Masterman on which was written the question, but he shook his head. As I went out of the room the men shook their fists at me, but beyond hustling no harm was done. At the top of the stairs I attempted to draw back as I thought I was going to be thrown down, but one of the men took me up under his arms and carried me bodily down the stairs in front of me. Between the steps and the street a man attempted to twist my arm.

On Friday night, October 19, I went along to Mr. Masterman's meeting at Bethnal Green. As I got near the place, a man called out to me, "Don't you make any mischief there!" Near the door there was a crowd of men, and I went towards the door of the hall a burly man with "Vice-President" on his hat said to me: "You cannot go in here!" I at once said quietly: "Why may I not go in here?" This is a public meeting!" He answered rudely and threateningly, "It does not matter; you can't go in!"

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THE SUFFRAGETTE

BETHNAL GREEN (organised by Kensington W.S.P.U., hon. organiser, Miss E. N. Dalglish), address 54, Green-street, Bethnal Green. Meeting in Excelsior Baths, Mansford-street, 8 p.m., Friday, November 1. Speakers, Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Drummond. Poster parades to advertise this meeting, October 25, 12 a.m.; October 31, 12 a.m.; November 1, 12 a.m. Volunteers wanted. Stove to warm the shop and forms or chairs for women's meetings in shop still wanted.

POPULAR (organised by Paddington W.S.P.U., hon. organiser, Mrs. Cook, address, East India Dock-road). Meeting in Town Hall, November 4, 8 p.m. Speaker, Mrs. Pankhurst. Volunteers wanted for poster parades. CULMINATING EVENT, Sunday, November 10. Procession from Old Ford, Bow-road, via Bow-road, Mile End-road, Grove-road, to Victoria Park. Meeting in Victoria Park, with fifteen platforms. Procession assembles 2 p.m., start 2.30, meeting begins 3.30.

LABOUR RESOLUTIONS. Mr. George Lansbury's resolution, a copy of which appeared in last week's issue of THE SUFFRAGETTE, has been passed by the Halifax, Colchester, and Cudworth Branches of the I.L.P., and the Dockers' Trade Union of Dundee. The Working Branch of the I.L.P. passed the following resolution on Monday last: "That this branch of the Independent Labour Party desires to confirm its previous resolution advocating complete and equal suffrage for women."

PETITION FROM AUSTRALIA. Miss Goldstein has forwarded to us a copy of a petition signed by representative Australian women and sent by the Women's Political Association of Victoria to Mr. R. L. Outhwaite, M.P., a former resident of Melbourne for presentation in the House of Commons. The petition runs as follows: "We, representatives of the enfranchised women of Australia, intercede on behalf of our unenfranchised sisters in the United Kingdom with the plea that honorable members should direct the Government to introduce and pass into law a measure to enfranchise the women of your country on equal terms with men."

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THE GOVERNMENT AND WOMEN.

MR. PHILIP SNOWDEN AT KINGSWAY HALL.

Mr. Snowden, M.P., speaking on the political aspect of the Woman Suffrage movement, said that though the present position was a critical one, such a stage frequently preceded the final triumph of a very noble cause. He said that the Government were free to express its unfettered opinion and to redeem the pledges of its members, a Woman's Emancipation Bill, the Reform Bill would be introduced. He wished the Government would make the matter a Government question. Mr. Snowden further expressed the opinion that women could not obtain the vote on the present basis. If the amendment that he proposed were carried, the Government would be bound to give the vote to women on the husband's qualification. The policy suggested to the Labour Party of opposing the present bill was a disastrous one. Several members of the W.S.P.U. were present and made pertinent criticisms all the way through his speech. The audience seemed to appreciate these very much and no attempt was made to behave in the way usual at Cabinet Ministers' meetings.

THE WOMEN'S MARCH.

EDINBURGH TO LONDON.

Within the past few days the Women's March has appeared, comelike, upon the Suffrage sky, leaving a trail of goodwill and enthusiasm as it travels Southward. On Saturday, October 12, a little band of Suffragettes, drawn from all societies and supported by a Scottish contingent, left their homes, rallied at Edinburgh to carry the flag of the Emancipation of Womanhood from one capital to the other. "Co-operation and Goodwill" is the motto of the march, and without doubt they have sought and found it. Reports which have reached us speak of generous hospitality given at every halt, of enthusiastic meetings, a great demand for literature, and an eagerness to sign the Great Petition which has exceeded all anticipations. This Petition is the great feature of the March. We, the undersigned, pray that the Government will give votes to women this Session. Very effective canvassing is being carried out, and hundreds of signatures in our Northern towns and villages. So eager are people to sign that the names of the marchers are being written on the scroll before it has been filled when the march moves on to the next stage of the journey, while at Haddington an enthusiastic lady rode many miles in order to secure a portion to take back for signatures. A very effective canvassing is being carried out, and hundreds of signatures in our Northern towns and villages. So eager are people to sign that the names of the marchers are being written on the scroll before it has been filled when the march moves on to the next stage of the journey, while at Haddington an enthusiastic lady rode many miles in order to secure a portion to take back for signatures.

CANADIAN PRESS.

Miss Barbara Wylie has not been exaggerated. She is a fact, and Toronto unfolds her. Miss Barbara Wylie is a neat little negotiator. She succeeds as well with Premier Borden as she did yesterday with the executive of the Toronto Suffrage, the women of Canada may wake up on Christmas morning to find votes in their stockings.—Toronto Daily Star. "China is not the only Oriental country where women have a vote," writes Mrs. Chapman Catt, president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. "Not only the women of some of the British Empire, India and Burma, including Bombay and Rangoon, have the same voting rights as men, but the native women of Java share the small amount of political power vested in men. There are millions of women in the Orient who are held in the most pitiful bondage and denied every prestige of personal liberty, but there are other millions who have always enjoyed more personal freedom than was accorded to most European women a century ago, and more than is now permitted to thousands of women under our boasted Western civilisation."—Woman's Journal.

PROTEST AT THE MANSION HOUSE.

The Lord Mayor presided at a meeting on Wednesday afternoon, held at his official residence, to discuss the memorial to Lord Lister. The chairman opened the proceedings by apologising for the absence—through severe indisposition—of Mr. Asquith, who had been announced to speak. Lord Haldane, who took his place, paid a glowing tribute to the memory of the great scientist, who he said, had revolutionised the practice of medicine. At this a woman in the audience rose and called out, "The women will have to revolutionise the franchise of this country. You are driving us to rebellion." The interrupter was at once seized by several constables, who clapped their hands over her mouth and took her out. By the door she managed to disengage herself and to call out, "See to it, Lord Haldane! The Lord Chancellor smiled, saying, "We expected this," and proceeded with his speech. Later on, the word revolt being mentioned, another woman cried out, "The women are in revolt against the white slave traffic. They demand the vote and the power to do away with the white slave traffic." The police again came forward, but the interrupter, saying, "I have made my protest," withdrew quietly. The meeting then proceeded without further interruption.

FURTHER REPORTS.

I sat near the front, four or five seats back, and was a little bored. When I saw that there was a spoke of execution. I said, "Mr. Masterman, I wish to ask a question. Is your Government going to pass a Reform Bill without including women?" The whole audience had risen, and several men pounced upon me, but my left arm was free until I got out from the benches. I held out a piece of paper to Mr. Masterman on which was written the question, but he shook his head. As I went out of the room the men shook their fists at me, but beyond hustling no harm was done. At the top of the stairs I attempted to draw back as I thought I was going to be thrown down, but one of the men took me up under his arms and carried me bodily down the stairs in front of me. Between the steps and the street a man attempted to twist my arm.





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