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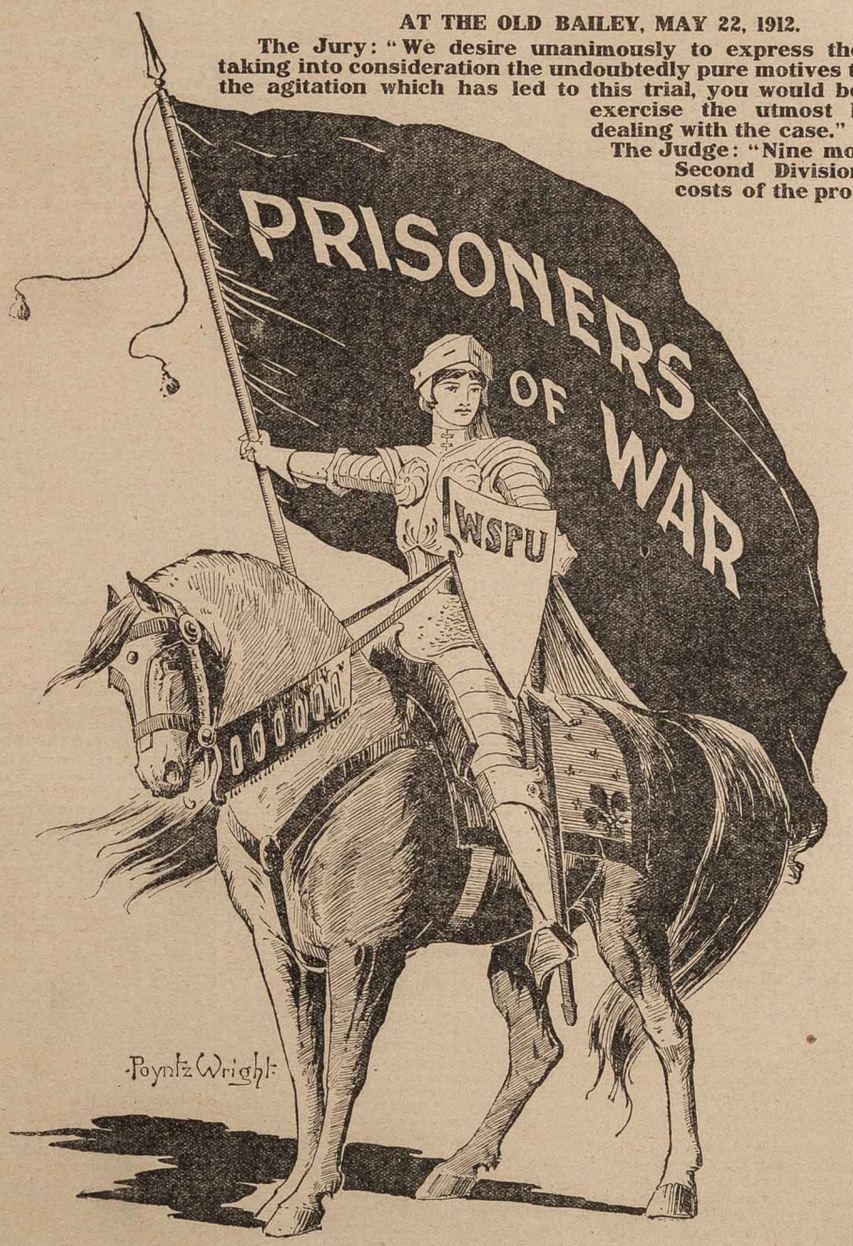
VOTES FOR WOMEN

VOL. V. (New Series), No. 220. FRIDAY, MAY 24, 1912. Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free, 1½d.)

AT THE OLD BAILEY, MAY 22, 1912.

The Jury: "We desire unanimously to express the hope that, taking into consideration the undoubtedly pure motives that underlie the agitation which has led to this trial, you would be pleased to exercise the utmost leniency in dealing with the case."

The Judge: "Nine months in the Second Division with the costs of the prosecution."



"We wage war, O disciples; therefore are we called warriors.
Wherefore, Lord, do we wage war?
For lofty virtue, for high endeavour, for sublime wisdom;
Therefore are we called warriors."

— Sayings of Buddha —

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

THE OUTLOOK.

As we go to press the news reaches us that the Conspiracy Trial is over, and the three leaders of the Women's Social and Political Union are sentenced to nine months' imprisonment in the second division, with the additional and almost unprecedented penalty of being ordered to defray the costs of the prosecution. And this, although the jury, in consideration of their "purity of motive," recommended them to the "utmost leniency"! The injustice of the sentence is in keeping with the vindictive spirit that prompted the Government to institute these proceedings. The far more serious offence proved against Mr. Tom Mann is considered sufficiently punished by a sentence of two months; while the Unionist leaders who have incited to violence and bloodshed in Ulster are allowed to go free. The Government, bent on denying political recognition to the movement that they, the real conspirators, seek to crush by fair means or foul, have not even had the grace to arrange that their prisoners should be placed in the first division. What right have such a Government to demand the release of a woman political offender in Russia? Let them see that their own hands are clean first! For our part, we demand nothing less than the release of the W.S.P.U. leaders, whose imprisonment is a scandal as long as the Unionist leaders are at large.

The Real Conspiracy.

Our prophecy that the trial would be of immense educational value has been entirely fulfilled. There have been laid open to the public view the magnitude of the W.S.P.U. constitutional campaign, and also the course of events and the Cabinet treachery which led to the use of militancy. Mr. Hobhouse's challenge to violence, and Sir Rufus Isaacs' justification of violence were read with great effect. The *Standard* has given each day magnificent reports of the proceedings, and has thus strengthened its position as the daily paper which no well-informed woman can dispense with. The *Daily News and Leader* has inaugurated badly its new career by giving very scrappy and brief accounts. This may have been due to a desire to screen the Government from the unfavourable comment which a full account of this trial would have inevitably called forth. Indeed, the treatment recently accorded by the *Daily News* to the whole Suffrage question has been anything but adequate. The *Daily Chronicle's* account of the trial was also tantamount to a boycott. In one particular issue of the *Daily Chronicle* three columns were devoted to the subject of Sir Cosmo and Lady Duff-Gordon's behaviour on the night of the Titanic disaster, while a report of the Conspiracy Trial occupied no more than four inches of space. To such a level has Liberal journalism fallen!

A Testimony to the Union.

Whatever may be thought of the result of the trial, one salient feature of it must have struck the most prejudiced opponent of Woman Suffrage. No attempt to bring to light facts that would cast a slur upon the financial and business methods of the Women's Social and Political Union was successful. That such attempts have been made was evident from the admission elicited in cross-examination from one of the witnesses for the prosecution, of the secret enquiry made into Mrs. Pankhurst's private affairs, an enquiry that she rightly stigmatised as "a discreditable proceeding." The Union, like its Founder, has come through the Conspiracy Trial absolutely without a stain. From first to last, the proceedings in court have been a splendid testimony to the honour of the Union and those who have conducted it. In view of Mr. Lloyd George's unworthy accusation, made, not for the first time, at Carnarvon last Saturday, it would be interesting to know if all other political organisations could emerge from such a scrutiny and such an ordeal unsullied.

Mr. Lansbury's Bill.

Mr. Lansbury sought leave on Tuesday last to introduce the Sex Disqualification Removal Bill. Our readers will remember that this was the original Woman Suffrage Bill, first introduced in 1870, which would, if passed, give the vote to women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men. The Speaker made the startling announcement that the Bill was out of order, and therefore could not be introduced. The excuse given for this decision is that there has already been a Woman Suffrage Bill before Parliament this Session, and because that Bill was rejected, no other Woman Suffrage Bill, notwithstanding that its provisions are different, can be brought forward. If the rules of Parliamentary procedure are really such as to create this monstrous absurdity and this crying injustice, it is time these rules were altered, and altered they must be. But evidently the Speaker has strained them to breaking point. Thus interpreted they are a species of nightmare folly. If the Speaker's ruling be correct, what becomes, we ask, of the suggested Woman Suffrage amendment to the Manhood Suffrage Bill? Will that be out of order, too? No doubt the Government are vastly pleased by the Speaker's action. Torpedoing the Conciliation Bill was indeed a profitable piece of business from their Anti-Suffragist point of view!

The Manhood Suffrage Bill.

According to the Press Association the Government intend to introduce the Manhood Suffrage Bill, and to take its second reading after the Whitsuntide Holiday, and to reserve the remaining stages, including the consideration of any amendment for Woman Suffrage, until the autumn. The attitude of the Women's Social and Political Union towards Manhood Suffrage or any other franchise reform for men only is well known. The Union's hostility to the Government will, if possible, be intensified upon the appearance of any franchise measure which does not include women. There can be no question of waiting and seeing what the autumn will bring forth, and what will be the fate of an unofficial Woman's Suffrage amendment The fate of that amendment, even if the Speaker's ruling on Tuesday last does not prevent its being moved at all, is decided already. The Government and the Nationalists, conspiring together, have prepared and secured its defeat. That is why pressure, heavy and relentless, must be exerted upon the Government by all who care to win emancipation for women. There must be no hiding in a fool's paradise during the coming vitally important months. Women will not win votes this year or any other year if they consent to trust to crafty and unscrupulous politicians. Suffragists are faced by a great crisis. All the courage and passion and strength they have in them will be needed if they are to prevent another betrayal of women, such as a Liberal Government carried through in 1884.

Votes for Irish Women.

The plan of employing the Municipal instead of the Parliamentary Register for the election of the Irish Parliament, and thereby enfranchising women, is finding increasing favour in Ireland. Irishwomen, even though they may be ardent Nationalists, are realizing that the enfranchisement of their sex involves no real danger to the cause of Home Rule. They see that there is no necessity whatever to sacrifice the interests of women in order to advance what they deem the interests of the nation, and that, on the contrary, if women's interests suffer, those of the nation must suffer too. The triumph of the Chinese women, who at the very moment of national emancipation have entered into their own inheritance of political liberty, has naturally put Irishwomen on their mettle, and made them more determined than ever to secure satisfactory treatment for themselves and their sex in the proposed settlement of Irish national affairs. The demand of Votes for Irish Women is strongly supported by the newly-formed Independent Labour Party of Ireland. We understand that Mr Redmond, the leader of the Nationalist Party, is shortly to be approached with a view to enlisting his support for the enfranchisement of women as part of the Home Rule Bill.

A Contrast in Methods.

It is with amazement and with sorrow that we notice that Dr. Sophie Bryant (if she is correctly reported in the Press) has neglected a magnificent opportunity of serving the cause of women. At the Conference of the Women's Liberal Association, and in the very presence of a Cabinet Minister, the Chief Secretary for Ireland himself, Dr. Bryant spoke in favour of Home Rule and did not even mention the question of Votes for Irishwomen. No protest did she utter against the omission of Woman Suffrage from the Home Rule Bill, and no demand did she make for the amendment of the Bill! It was an unpardonable sin of omission—an act of grave disloyalty by a woman towards other women. Very cheering is it to turn to an account of most spirited, dignified action by women who have shown that they know what sex loyalty means.

"The Shining Hour."

Mr. Walter Long, a prominent Anti-Suffragist, as well as one of the leaders of the Unionist Party, was speaking at a meeting of the Saltburn and Cleveland Women's Unionist Association. To his surprise, he found himself required to speak on the all-important question of Votes for Women. This he did, explaining his reasons for being an Anti-Suffragist. Nothing daunted by this attack on their Suffrage principles, delivered by a leader of their Party, the two women speakers who followed both firmly and forcibly expressed their disagreement with his views, and urged him to change those views, declaring that great men were those who could change on conviction. Mr. Long was evidently impressed by their determined speeches, for in replying to a vote of thanks he said that he had always heard that a wasp in a beehive suffered excruciating agonies, and he had certainly felt like that wasp that afternoon. In referring to the remark that he was a great man, and great men on conviction changed their opinions, he said if that were a proof of greatness he might change. We commend to Dr. Sophie Bryant's notice the example set by the Unionist ladies of Saltburn and Cleveland.

Mr. Lloyd George at Carnarvon.

There were, said Mr. Lloyd George at Carnarvon, many ways of earning a day's wage, but the one adopted by the Suffragettes and their friends was the most contemptible. "There are," we retort, "many ways of earning £5,000 a year, but the dealing in slander and trickery selected by Mr. Lloyd George is the most contemptible." Considering the entirely scandalous way in which he has alternately wrecked and betrayed the cause of Woman Suffrage, Mr. Lloyd George can hardly wonder that vigorous protest against his policy is made wherever he appears on a public platform. To charge his accusers with acting from mercenary motives and not from motives of principle is adding insult to injury. But perhaps insult is, under such circumstances, to be preferred to compliment. Moreover, Mr. Lloyd George is possibly quite unaware of the fact that there exist some people who, when they say they love justice, are really speaking the truth, and not merely exploiting great causes for private ends. After all, a man, whether it be Mr. Lloyd George or any other, can only speak of what he knows, and service of principle for its own sake, with no thought of private gain, is outside Mr. George's comprehension. It remains to add that, acting under his incitement, the audience ejected the protesting Suffragists with what he no doubt regards as religious fervour, but is regarded by impartial witnesses as sheer savagery.

Suffragists and the Labour Party.

We have been asked by many what is the opinion of the W.S.P.U. concerning the plan of an understanding and alliance between Suffragists and the Labour Party. We will preface our remarks on this subject by recording once again the deep appreciation felt by all militants of the great services to their cause rendered by Mr. Keir Hardie, who is at present promoting a Bill for the proper treatment of political offenders; by Mr. George Lansbury, who took charge of the Sex Disqualification Removal Bill; and by Mr. Philip Snowden, who is working to secure Votes for Women under the Home Rule Bill. These three Labour Members are, however, acting as individuals, and acting, we may add, out of pure enthusiasm for an ideal, whereas the question at issue is the attitude to be adopted by Suffragists towards the Labour Party as a whole. To put the matter briefly: The W.S.P.U. has never seen, and does not now see, any reason to depart from a position of complete and entire independence of all political parties. Of course, if Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and his Parliamentary forces were forthwith to institute a relentless and sleepless opposition to the Government and all its proposals, with the object of securing the enfranchisement of women, or failing that, the defeat of the Government, then a very new situation would arise! That situation would be considered by the W.S.P.U., and a decision would be arrived at, the nature of which it is profitless to try to foretell before the event.

A Policy of Independence.

But at the present time, and it is impossible to ignore the fact, the Parliamentary Labour Party is, notwithstanding its belief in the principle of Woman Suffrage, in alliance with an Anti-Suffragist Government. Labour votes are counted as part of the Ministerial majority. Labour support is given to each and every Government proposal. It is by the aid of Labour Members that the Government hold office. Under these circumstances, we think it unnecessary, to say the least of it, for Suffrage societies to identify themselves with the Labour Party or to raise funds for the support of Labour candidatures. The Labour Party, whose very foundation is the principle of independent political action, will be the first to recognise that women also do wisely to pursue a policy of independence. That policy would, as we have already indicated, be open to reconsideration, if, for the sake of women's enfranchisement, the Labour Party in Parliament were to adopt strong Anti-Government methods. They have not yet, however, indicated their intention of so doing, and, on the contrary, are day by day helping to maintain the Government in office.

This Week's Paper.

This week's paper is an exceptional one. Our intention being to provide our readers with a complete record of the historic trial of the W.S.P.U. Leaders (which will be found in the three consecutive issues of May 17, 24, and 31), we have been compelled to hold over much matter of general interest, and to reserve until our next issue the report of the speeches for the defence made by Mr. Pethick Lawrence and Mr. Healy, K.C.; also the closing speech for the prosecution made by the Attorney-General, and the Judge's summing up. We give in full the evidence for the prosecution which occupied the Court on Wednesday afternoon, Thursday, Friday, and part of Monday, Mr. Pethick Lawrence's lucid and eloquent opening address to the jury on Monday, the evidence that was then called for the defence, and Mrs. Pankhurst's great speech on Tuesday. Next week, if space permits, we hope to publish a special account of the life and work of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, joint-Editor of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

The following message has been sent by wireless telegraphy to Mr. Asquith from the Governors of the three Suffrage States, Colorado, Idaho, and Wyoming: "We urge you to trust the women of Ireland as we have ours."

MRS. PANKHURST'S GREAT SPEECH.

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

Mrs. Pankhurst, addressing the Court after the luncheon interval on Tuesday, said: Before I enter into my personal defence in this matter, I would like to say a few words to you as laymen about the matter of conspiracy. Like you, I am not a lawyer, and, unlike you, I have an additional disadvantage of being a woman. It is assumed that men by their education and training are fitted to deal with these matters. Women have never been encouraged to think questions of law were the concerns of women; but in spite of that, a certain number of women have tried to study law and qualify themselves, because the law does not admit that women to-day are in a position of calling upon members of their own sex trained in law to plead for them, defend them, or to put their case. And so, when I speak of this charge of conspiracy brought against us, I can only speak to you as a lay woman to whom, presumably, the same advantages as yours are not given; but I do, having paid some attention to these matters and having been much interested in public affairs, wish to say a few words about the word conspiracy. I know the legal interpretation and legal meaning of the word conspiracy is not our meaning of the word. In the public mind the word conspiracy contains some suggestion of secrecy, suggesting intrigue.

Nothing to Conceal.

I know what we say of conspiracy: we naturally think that that means something done by people who are ashamed of what they are doing—people who think that it is essential that they should preserve secrecy and intrigue to make their conspiracy successful. I am sure that you came into that jury-box with the idea that you were going to hear of some disgraceful conspiracy, some conspiracy in which the parties did things of which they were ashamed, and things which they wished to conceal in order to succeed. That interpretation has by this time been entirely removed from your mind. If one thing more than another has been made plain in this trial it has been that we defendants at the bar have not behaved as people who are ashamed of what they are doing and who desire to conceal anything which they do, or desire to intrigue in any secret way. I venture to say, although I am not a lawyer, had it not been for the evidence which we ourselves have openly supplied there would be absolutely no case to come before you to-day. Through our newspaper, through our speeches, through our acts, we have been beyond reproach so far as any disgraceful reproach can attach to us, so far as any criminal intent is concerned, and the word criminal in the sense which a layman attaches to the word. And so, although we must defer to the legal interpretation of the word conspiracy—both you gentlemen in the jury-box and we prisoners at the bar—although we must defer to the legal interpretation of that word, and we prisoners here may have to suffer because of that legal interpretation, I submit to you and the Judge on the bench that so far as the ordinary acceptation of the word conspiracy is concerned, the general public, that is, those who know us most intimately do, can and will attach a different interpretation to that word from the mere legal interpretation.

Then I want to say a word as to whether this is a political case or not. I say this because the Attorney-General said to you—I hope I am correct in my interpretation—although you might hear a good deal about politics in the course of this trial, it really was not a political case which was being tried; that you must not regard it as being political or the offence as political. I hope I am not in any way distorting what the Attorney-General has said. Well, now, with regard to that point I want to say in the very clearest and most definite terms that if we defendants here, the accused people, are not accused of a political offence, then I can't see how we can be accused at all. Is it for a moment to be supposed that we three defendants, and my daughter who is not here, would have taken part in this agitation for any reason but for a political one? It is unthinkable to suggest for a moment that we people would in any way break the law for a selfish purpose, for our own interests or for our personal ends! Now, greater people than I have laid it down that there is a very clear distinction between political and criminal offenders. It has been laid down so clearly that even the simplest of untrained women can understand it; that a political offence is one committed in breaking the law for an end which is not a personal one; that the breach of the law is made not for personal gain, not for personal advantage, but because the offender is satisfied in her or his own mind that it is necessary to break the law in order to get a political grievance remedied. I think it has been already clearly established—I think it was clearly established before my friend, Mr. Pethick Lawrence, made his speech—that, rightly or wrongly, we persons accused here to-day are persons who never would have come within the precincts of the Court or committed any breach of the law but for political purposes.

And the definition of the word criminal is very different. Authorities have laid it down, and in other countries it has been generally accepted, that a criminal is a person who breaks the law for personal advancement or personal gain. In the course of these days during which the case has occupied your attention, it has not been proved, although I have felt myself that an attempt has been made to suggest, that the accused had some personal objects to serve. If that was so intended, and it seems to me intended (not so much here, but in the preliminary examinations before the police court), if that suggestion was intended it has absolutely failed And I want, before going into my personal defence, to try to convince you and his Lordship that this offence with which we are charged is a political offence. I know in other countries than ours, France, for instance, there would be no need for any prisoner to stand at the bar and plead that this was a political offence. In that country—and I wish our own country had reached the same height of civilisation—political offences are recognised and political status is accorded to political offenders even when they commit breaches of the law passing in seriousness the breaches of the law of which we are accused. In fact, they have gone so far in trying political prisoners in France as to lay down that the possession of arms by the accused is not a criminal offence, but a political offence, if the person can prove that the possession of these arms is for a political purpose. That I wanted to say with regard to our status as prisoners whose guilt you are called upon to decide in the course of this trial. I would like to spend a little time in dealing with the definition of a word that has been very much used in describing this political movement for the enfranchisement of women carried on by the Women's Social and Political Union, to which I belong. There are several organisations for women's suffrage, but our organisation has been distinct from others by the use of the word "militant." I have thought, and have been proud to think, that probably we had the word "militant" attached to our organisation because we showed by our readiness even to suffer in the course of our agitation, and to pay heavy penalties in the course of the agitation, that we were more in earnest, more determined than the other organisations; that we did not content ourselves merely with discussion; that we did not merely talk about our grievances, but that we were prepared even to put ourselves in the way of having great violence done to us in order to call attention to those grievances; that we were not merely content with words—because in this country everybody has a right to talk about their grievances—but we felt that we were distinct as a militant class even when we were a young organisation, which had just come into existence, determined not only to talk about our grievances, but to terminate them by securing the object for which we existed. In fact, we adopted the motto, "Deeds, not words." There is a great deal of talk in politics, and there are a great many political gentlemen who make very strong speeches—even members of the Government make strong speeches. Even the gentleman who is representing the Crown here to-day makes strong speeches. (Laughter.) But we women had thought in our agitation that we would never say anything if we did not feel ourselves justified in acting also, if we thought action necessary. Now because we have taken that attitude we have been called a militant organisation. We have not been called militant in the first instance because we were violent, because we did actual deeds of violence. Had that been so I do not think the Prosecution would have limited the scope of the indictment to last November.

Some Definitions.

Fortunately, we have definitions of the meaning of every word in the English language, and I want to call your attention to some of the definitions of the word "militant." It is a word which is liable to be misunderstood, my lord, and I have felt myself, sitting in this dock in the course of this trial, that I have reason to be grateful—I think that is a curious thing to say—for the way in which this agitation has been tried; that I have been grateful even in a Court of Law like this for the opportunity of putting our case, however imperfectly, to my fellow-countrymen and fellow-countrywomen. Now, as to the meaning of the word militant. I find in Webster's dictionary militancy defined as "a state of being militant, warfare." Well, that sounds like violence, doesn't it? Then I find militant, or militant in the sense of "engaged in warfare, fighting, combatting, serving as a soldier, also combatting the powers militant." Then, on reference to Millman, I find that the "Church must become militant in its popular and its secular sense." Then, again, it is defined as meaning "a conflict, to fight." In Nuttall, I find it is "to stand, opposed to, or to act in opposition." In the Century dictionary I find a quotation from Froude which refers to a "condition of militancy against social injustice." Then it is described as "being militant, a state of warfare," and then I find "in a state of conditional militancy," and that is taken from a divine named Montagu. And so I could go on showing you that the word "militant" is not necessarily interpreted to mean only violence done by those people who are militant. I want to prove to you, in the course of my defence, that although women ever since 1903 have been described as militant suffragists, never until November of last year had there been anything done by this organisation which could be in any way described as organised violence. I say that advisedly, and no one is better qualified to say that than myself. It may be said that there were isolated occasions on which stones had been thrown; but on those isolated occasions stones had been thrown by isolated individuals who might be members of the Women's Social and Political Union or might not be. But those women on their trial—and the police have always admitted it, and even gone out of their way to confirm what the women said—have never said they were instructed by the leaders of this movement, and the leaders of this movement, while they have never, as some politicians have done, repudiated their followers, have always made it clear that they did not think the time for violence had come, and they also made it clear that they hoped that the time for violence would never come. And so we have been described as militant.

Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

I want to say a word or two as to my co-defendants. I want to say something about Mr. Pethick Lawrence, and I feel this very strongly because the Attorney-General in his opening thought fit to call attention to the fact that Mr Lawrence is a member of the learned profession. Well, it is not the first time, and I am glad to think it, that members of the learned profession have helped to fight the people's battles. The Attorney-General's remarks brought to my recollection events of which my husband used to talk to me. Out of these events arose a trial in the Central Criminal Court, in the buildings on the site of which this building is, I believe, erected. At that Central Criminal Court a man—a barrister—was put upon his trial on a similar charge to ourselves. That was Ernest Jones, the Chartist. I never knew him personally, but my husband was a personal friend of his. My husband used to feel that Ernest Jones was his inspirer in the part he took in public affairs later on. That man—a man who had great expectations of wealth, a man of great learning, a man who might have risen to the highest position in his profession—chose to give it all up, chose to relinquish all opportunity of advancement in his profession because his conscience made him espouse an unpopular cause, and he was put upon his trial in what I might term this very Court. History has a very curious way of repeating itself, and it has repeated itself in the case of Mr. Lawrence. When Ernest Jones was prosecuted for his political activities, the then Attorney-General—on looking over the list of counsel engaged for the prosecution I find repeated the name of one of the counsel engaged in this case—made just the same statement about Ernest Jones that the Attorney-General has made about Mr. Pethick Lawrence. He seemed to suggest that because Ernest Jones was a lawyer and a member of the learned profession he ought not to have taken the part he took. Well, I think that things more disgraceful to your great profession can be done by the members of your profession than were done by Mr. Ernest Jones or are charged against Mr. Pethick Lawrence. It seems to me no profession is degraded by unselfish men. It seems to me no man is unworthy of his position if he even brings himself within the grasp of the law because he has followed the dictates of his conscience, because he is generous, because he goes to the side of those he thought oppressed. And so when judgment is passed I think it will be decided that it is much better to find ignominy, to be imprisoned, it is better even to bear shame in your own generation than to use your profession for personal advance, for personal gain, or for personal ends. And so, speaking as a woman who is at a disadvantage because I am a woman, I want to say I am grateful to Mr. Pethick Lawrence because, being a member of a great and privileged profession, he has disregarded the privileges of his profession, and is in the dock at the side of women less fortunate than himself. And then Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. These two people are very dear, personal friends. I met them first at a stage of this agitation when it seemed just touch and go whether we could carry on the agitation any longer. They came into it when some of us who were not rich women had exhausted our means, sold our personal property and little things like jewellery dear to us, in order that we might carry on the agitation. At that critical stage these people came to our aid, and so I want to say what is due to those people. I know they would have come into the movement sooner or later, being what they are. I want to say it is due to these people, coming as they did then into the cause, that we have been able to create a great constitutional organisation—I mean a great political organisation—an organisation which has not only done much to advance the cause in this country, but throughout the whole world. It was inevitable that Mrs. Pethick Lawrence should come, and she was the first to come into it. She is in it in the fuller sense of the word, because she is a woman. Mr. Lawrence could never be in the organisation, because one of the essential conditions of membership is that no man can be a member. It is restricted to women, and Mr. Pethick Lawrence is, therefore, I think, in a unique position in the history of politics.

He would not have the glory—if there were any glory—attaching to the movement. He could not have had the political recognition that he would undoubtedly have had if he had devoted himself to any of the great political parties. He has been content to play a part which I think no other man has ever played in politics: entirely to withdraw himself from the ordinary opportunity of advancement in politics to play a secondary part in the Women's Movement, because he felt we wanted some men to stand by us and help us in order to make our position secure.

Why She is in the Dock.

There is an old proverb which says that to know all is to understand all. It is impossible, gentlemen, to tell you all about this movement. We have not

taken up very much time in the ordinary methods of defence in this trial. The prosecution has occupied many days. There has been a great deal of repetition; a great deal of unnecessary time has been spent in the opening of the case against the defendants, and I am sure, when you remember what this trial means to me and to my co-defendants, how it may possibly mean loss of liberty for a long time, when you, although you have been wearied by this case, will go away, that you will bear with me a little. I will try to be as brief as possible not to weary you too much. Well, I will try to make you understand what it is that has brought a woman no longer young into this dock. My Lord, I think I have already said that if one lives long enough one sees strange things happen, and I cannot forbear from reminding you that forty-two years ago next November, your father, who was not then the Lord Chief Justice, the great judge that he afterwards became, was at the bar pleading on behalf of women after the Reform Act of 1867. He was counsel for the women associated with my husband in the case of Chorlton v. Lings. He pleaded their cause very ably, and I want to tell the jury exactly what the case was about. After the passing of the Reform Act of 1867 women imagined—and, I think, had good reason to imagine—that that enfranchising Act would entitle women to register as Parliamentary voters. The great Reform Act of 1832, which has been referred to in this case, because it was characteristic of very great violence on the part of men, enfranchised a great many men, but, at the same time, excluded women from the franchise because the word "male" was used for the first time in history. In regard to the word "male," it made it impossible for the woman to be registered, and women maintained that while it was enfranchisement for men it was disenfranchisement for women. That is to say, that until that Act was passed women had the right to vote, and to a certain extent exercised that right to vote for Members of Parliament. A large number of women claimed to be put on the register, and in Lancashire alone four thousand women were put on the register in response to that claim. The overseers accepted them as qualifying voters. When the Revision Courts sat, the Revising Barristers considered the claims of the women. Some allowed the claims, others disallowed them.

Now that was the case to which I have referred just now. It was a case brought by a woman in Manchester named Chorlton against a revising barrister whose name was Lings, and by the result of the case women had to stand or fall. Sir Charles Coleridge was the leader in that case. My husband, who at the time was a confirmed Suffragist, and who was already making considerable sacrifices—because men have had to make great sacrifices in this cause, which was so long unpopular—my husband prepared the case.

Together those two lawyers argued the case. It was argued at considerable length. Evidence was given that prior to 1832 women had a vote; arguments were used against their having a vote. The case was finally decided, and, to us laymen and laywomen, it was an extraordinary decision. In effect it was this, that where it was a question of rights and privileges a woman is not a person, but where it was a question of pains and penalties woman is a person. So, gentlemen, in this Court, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and I are persons to be punished, but we are not persons to have any voice in making the laws which we may break, and which we may be punished for breaking. That was the decision—the final decision—that we must pay our taxes, we must obey laws; but when it comes to choosing the men who impose the taxes and make the laws, we have no legal existence; we have no right to help choose these men. That was the decision. I venture to say, my Lord, to you and to the jury, that had the judges of that time decided as a judge last year decided in Portugal, that since the women paid taxes and obeyed laws, they have the right to choose their tax-masters and their law-makers like men—had the judges of that day agreed with the argument laid before them by your lordship's father and my husband, this agitation would not have been necessary, the status of women would have been established, and sex exclusion would have disappeared. It has an intimate bearing upon this question of violence on the part of the members of the Women's Social and Political Union.

The Right of Petition.

The year before last I was convicted with other women for having gone to the House of Commons with a petition in my hand, insisting upon going to the door of the House of Commons, and insisting on my right to remain there until my petition was received. I argued that I had a constitutional right to do that; I argued that it is established in the Bill of Rights that every subject of the King has a right to present a petition in person, and that in the case of men it was not very necessary to emphasise or insist upon that right, because that right, in the case of men, had been replaced by the Parliamentary franchise, and that men could freely vote for their representatives on the floor of the House of Commons to voice their demands and claims; and I argued that, since the right of petition had not been replaced in the case of women by any other right, women still had the right to go in person to-day, not as in the old days to present their petitions to the King—the conditions have changed to-day—but to present their petitions to the King's representative, the Prime Minister. That was our case. It was very ably argued before the magistrates, and as the result of that argument a case was stated, and it was argued out before the judges in the Higher Court as to whether or not women had this right. It was decided, as in 1867, that we had not the right; we had not the right to present petitions in Parliament. That, in substance, was the decision, that we had not the right to insist upon presenting this petition. We had the right to petition and we had the right to present petitions, but if the person to whom we wished to present them would not receive them, we could not present them. So we were acting illegally in insisting upon the right to present. I want to say here, my Lord, that had these judges in 1909 decided that women had the right to petition there would have been no organised violence, there would have been no stone-throwing in this agitation. It was because the women were made to feel that they had no hope in the law—in the consciences of specious politicians—that there was no one to whom to appeal, that the women said, "Well, this is a belated agitation; it is the twentieth century, when these things were supposed to be settled; but we have got to fight out the weary fight as women, and get this question settled somehow as best we can." Now, this is how it all started. I do not want to go over the ground covered by Mr. Pethick Lawrence. I do not want in any way to repeat what he has said; but I do want—as a woman who has taken part in the Suffrage Movement for something like thirty years—to try to make you understand how it is that things have come to be where they are.

Early Agitations.

When that case was argued—that case which decided that women were not persons—I was a small child. I had not grown up; but when I grew up, quite early in life, I had the great honour and privilege of joining the Suffrage Movement as it was then, under the leadership of Miss Lydia Becker, in Manchester, and under the leadership of people like Mr. Jacob Bright, people universally known as they were; and at the same time I had the great happiness of being married to the man I have mentioned, who fought the women's battle in the Law Courts with your Lordship's father. From that time on I took an active part in the Suffrage agitation. I was put upon the executive committee of the then Suffrage Society when I was about twenty-one years of age. I took part in the agitation of the eighties, right through the eighties—the late seventies and eighties—my connection with it began in the year 1879. From that time on until the passing of the next Reform Act, which enfranchised agricultural labourers, I took an active part in the agitation, and I say without hesitation that if constitutional methods alone could win women the vote, they would have become voters in 1884 when that Reform Act was passed. We held more meetings and greater meetings than did the agricultural labourers. You have heard from Mr. Pethick Lawrence how the great towns and cities of England petitioned in support of the Conciliation Bill, which was "torpedoed" out of existence by Mr. Lloyd George, according to his own words. In those days, in the early eighties, the great towns and city councils petitioned in favour of the inclusion of women in the Reform Act of 1884. We filled all the great halls in the country with women, who enthusiastically passed resolutions in support of their enfranchisement; we got up monster petitions, we got a petition so huge that it had to be wheeled into St. Stephen's Hall on a trolley by several men. Members of Parliament came out and looked at it, and they smiled and went back to their places and forgot all about it. We found friendly Members of Parliament to move an amendment to that Reform Act, and that amendment had, I think—at least, we thought then that it had (we were less trained politically in those days)—we thought that it had an excellent chance of being passed into law; it certainly had a better chance of becoming law than the suggested amendment to the Manhood Suffrage Bill, because, as you remember, the Act of 1884 was not a measure like the Manhood Suffrage Bill; it insisted upon a certain qualification of residence. We thought we were going to win our enfranchisement. What happened? The very men who introduced the amendment were told by their Parliamentary leader to throw over their amendment, because, they were told, it "overweighted the ship." It was even threatened by their leader, Mr. Gladstone, that he would withdraw the whole measure if they persisted in the Women's Suffrage Amendment. The women had not votes to bring pressure to bear upon the Government, and women at that time did not dream of using violence or threatening violence. The result was that the agricultural labourer, who burnt some hayricks to show their impatience—the agricultural labourers, who were to be marched over a hundred thousand strong to the House of Commons by Mr. Chamberlain—these men got their votes, and the women, who had been content to agitate by constitutional means, were left voteless. That was the beginning of a decline in the Women Suffrage agitation. Many women lost heart and hope; many of us, whilst we still continued to be Suffragists, listened to men who told us that we ought to join political parties and show what good and useful work we could do in those parties in order to win the gratitude of the parties. Others told us that it was now competent for us to go on boards of guardians and school boards, to do useful public work, and they urged us to do that to prove that women were fit and worthy for the vote. We ought to have known, gentlemen, that that was an argument that had never been used in the case of men. It was never urged upon the agricultural labourers that they should show fitness for the vote; it was never suggested to the working men that they show show themselves fit for the vote. We listened to that argument—some of us; I was one of those women. I did join a political party, and worked very hard for it in the belief that the gentlemen who promised that when their party came into power they would deal with our grievance, would keep their pledges.

Social Work.

When my children were old enough not to need my constant service, I became a member of a Board of Guardians. In this agitation there are always strange things happening, and yesterday, as I was stepping into the dock, a member of the Bar in the Court came up to me and recalled himself to my recollection. He was a member of the Board of Guardians, on which I served, with me, and I suppose I was recalled to his recollection because he is now a member of the Bar, and he was interested to see that a former colleague was being tried on what is called a criminal charge. I served about five years on that Board of Guardians. In speaking of myself, I am, in my own person, telling you what a great many other women have done. A very great many women have tried to do this useful public work to show that they were fit for the rights and responsibilities of citizenship—as fit as some drunken loafer who neglects his family, but who, because he is a man and has necessary qualification, is entitled to decide not only his own fate and the fate of other men, but the fate of women and children as well. All this I did, and at the end of it—since there is no distinction in sex where brains are concerned—at the end of it all I was forced to the conclusion that so far as our enfranchisement was concerned, we had been wasting time. I found that men would say that you were not unfit for the vote, and that if all women were like you they would have no objection to giving you the vote. Oh! we women, who have done the dirty work of the political parties, have never had any reason to complain that our services have not been appreciated personally. But some of us came to realise that after all this appreciation we were blacklegs as the working men called it—blacklegs to our own sex, and so some of us decided that a time had come when this became a sort of reproach to us, which we could not endure any longer. Now, gentlemen, I want to tell you a few of the things that led me in 1903, when the Women's Social and Political Union was founded, to decide that the time had come when we had reached a situation, which, I think, I can best describe in the words of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Lloyd George, when he was addressing an audience in Wales a little while ago. He said: "There comes a time in the life of a people suffering from an intolerable injustice when the only way to maintain one's self-respect is to revolt against that injustice." That time came for me, and I am thankful to say it very soon came for a large number of other women as well; that number of women is constantly increasing. There is always something which I may describe as the last straw on the camel's back, which leads one to make up one's mind, especially when the making up of one's mind may involve the loss of friends, loss of position, loss of money—which is the least of all things, I think—and the loss of personal liberty.

Handicaps in the Work.

I have told you that I have been a Poor Law Guardian. While I was a Poor Law Guardian I had a great deal of experience which I did not possess before of the condition of my own sex. I found that when dealing with the old people in the workhouse—and there is no work more congenial to women than the work of a Poor Law Guardian—when I found that I was dealing with the poor of my own sex, the aged poor, I found that the kind of old women who came into the workhouse were in many ways superior to the kind of old men who came into the workhouse. One could not help noticing it. They were more industrious; in fact, it was quite touching to see their industry, to see their patience, and to see the way old women over sixty or seventy years of age did most of the work of that workhouse, most of the sewing, most of the real work which kept the place clean, and which supplied the inmates with clothes. I found the old men. One could not get so much work out of them. They liked to stop in the oakum-picking room, because there they were allowed to smoke; but as to the real work, very little was done by these old men. I am not speaking in a prejudiced way; I am speaking from actual experience as a Poor Law Guardian. Any Poor Law Guardian could bear me out. I began to make inquiries about these old women. I found that the majority of them were not women who had been dissolute, not women who had been criminal during their lives, but women who had lived perfectly respectable lives, either as wives and mothers, or as single women earning their own living. A great many were domestic servants, or had been, who had not married, who had lost their employment, and had reached a time of life when it was impossible to get more employment. It was through no fault of their own, but simply because they had never earned enough to save, and anyone who knows anything about the wages of women knows it is impossible to earn enough to save, except in very rare instances. These women, simply because they had lived too long, were obliged to go into the workhouse. Some were married women; many of them I found were widows of skilled artisans who had pensions from their unions. But the pensions had died with them. These women, who had given up the power of working for themselves and had devoted themselves to working for husbands and children, were left penniless; there was nothing for them but to go into the workhouse. Many of them were widows of men who had served their country, women who had devoted themselves to their husbands; when the men died the pensions died, and so these women were in the workhouse. And so I found younger women—always women doing the bulk of the work. I found there were pregnant women in that workhouse, scrubbing corridors, doing the

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hardest kind of work almost until their babies came into the world. I found many of these women were unmarried women—very, very young, mere girls. That led me to ask myself, "How is it that these women, coming into the workhouse as they do, staying a few weeks, and going out again—how is it they occupied this position?" I found these young girls, my lord, going out of the workhouse over and over again with an infant two weeks old in their arms, without hope, without home, without money, without anywhere to go. And then, as I shall tell you later on, some awful tragedy happened—simply because of the hopeless position in which they were placed; and then there were the little children, and this is the last example I am going to give out of my experience.

Human Tragedies.

For many years we Poor Law Guardians, especially the women, tried to get an Act of Parliament dealing with little children. We wanted an amendment of the Act of Parliament which deals with little children who are boarded out—I do not mean by the Union, but by their parents, the parent almost always being the mother. It is from that class—young servant girls—which thoughtless people always say working girls ought to be; it is from that class more than any other that these cases of illegitimacy come. These poor little servant girls, who only get out perhaps in the evening, whose minds are not very cultivated, and who find all the sentiment of their lives in novelettes, fall an easy prey to those who have designs against them. These are the people by whom the babies are put out to nurse, and the mothers have to pay for their keep. I found, as other Guardians found, when we examined that Act, that it was a very imperfect one. The children were very ill-protected. We found that if some man who had ruined the girl would pay down a lump sum of £20 when that child was boarded out, the inspectors, whom the Guardians had to appoint, had no power to enter the house where the child was to see that it was being properly cared for. We found, too, that so long as a baby-farmer took one child at a time the women inspectors, whom we made a point of appointing, could not perform their object. We tried to get this law amended. For years, as the Attorney-General knows, efforts were made to amend that Act, to reach all these illegitimate children, to make it impossible for some rich scoundrel to escape from any future liability with regard to the young child if this lump sum were paid down. Over and over again we tried, but we always failed because those who cared most were women. We could go and see heads of departments, we could tell them precisely about these things, we could talk to them and get all their sympathy. In fact, in this movement on the part of the women, we have been given a surfeit of sympathy. Sympathy? Yes, they all sympathised with us, but when it came to the women asking them to do something, either to give us power to amend the law for ourselves or to get them to do it for us, it has always stopped short at sympathy. I am not going to weary you with trying to show you the inside of my mind, trying to show you what brought me to the state of mind I was in in 1903; but by 1903—I was at that time a member of the Manchester Education Committee—I had come to the conclusion that the old method of getting the vote had failed—had absolutely failed—that it was impossible to get anything done; that some new means, some new methods, must be found. Well, there is another defendant, who is not here to-day, and I want to say as a woman well on in life, that perhaps, if I had not had that daughter who is not here to-day, I might never have found the courage to take the decision which I took in the course of the years 1903, 1904, and 1905. We founded the Women's Social and Political Union in 1903. Our first intention was to try and influence the particular political Party, which was then coming into power, to make this question of the enfranchisement of women their own question and to push it.

It took some little time to convince us—and I need not weary you with the history of all that has happened—but it took some little time to convince us that that was no use; that we could not secure things in that way. Then in 1905 we faced the hard facts. We realised that there was a Press boycott against Women's Suffrage. Our speeches at public meetings were not reported, our letters to the editors were not published, even if we implored the editors; even the things relating to Women's Suffrage in Parliament were not recorded. They said the subject was not of sufficient public interest to be reported in the Press, and they were not prepared to report it. Then with regard to the men politicians in 1905. We realised how shadowy were the fine phrases about democracy, about human equality, used by the gentlemen who were then coming into power. They meant to ignore the women—there was no doubt whatever about that. For in the official documents coming from the Liberal party on the eve of the 1905 election, there were sentences like this: "What the country wants is a simple measure of Manhood Suffrage." There was no room for the inclusion of women. We knew perfectly well that if there was to be franchise reform at all, the Liberal party which was then coming into power did not mean Votes for Women, in spite of all the pledges of members; in spite of the fact that a majority of the House of Commons, especially on the Liberal side, was pledged to it—it did not mean that they were going to put it into practice. And so we found some way of forcing their attention to this question.

The New Policy.

Now I come to the facts with regard to militancy. We realised that the plans we had in our minds would involve great sacrifice on our part, that it might cost us all we had. We were at that time a little organisation, composed in the main of working women, the wives and daughters of working men. And my daughters and I took a leading part, naturally, because we thought the thing out, and to a certain extent, because we were of better social position than most of our members, and we felt a sense of responsibility. And I hope, gentlemen, you will bear with me when I tell you of two events which led me—a little worn by the world, having children about whose interests I cared greatly—which led me to throw all else aside and go straight into this thing without regard to consequences. One evening there came to my house in Manchester a Russian lady—a lady of Polish birth, who had lived most of her life in Russia. We sat round the fire on that winter evening talking about agitations, the Suffrage, and a number of other things. And then quietly this woman said to me and to my children sitting there:—"For a great number of years of my life I have never got up in the morning without feeling that before the day closed some member of my family, some relation, some friend, might be arrested and might be torn away from us altogether." And she said this calmly, so sadly and so quietly, and without any feeling, that it made a very deep impression on my mind. And when she had gone my children and I—for we were quite alone—talked about it. And of course I, being older than they, must take the greater responsibility for what we decided that night. I don't think we ever reopened the discussion. I think it was settled once and for all. We said, "What is there that we can sacrifice or risk compared with what that woman has spoken about?" and so we decided to go on. In the course of our discussion I said to my daughter—because we were then talking of transferring our work to London, and launching out on a larger scale—"What is there in our power to do? We are not rich people. We are already doing without a great many of the things which we hitherto thought necessary. Few people have hitherto helped us with money. How can we expand our work?" And she said: "Never mind, Mother, go on, and the money will come," and when I heard that from that girl—who is not in the dock to-day, not because of any lack of courage, not because of any unwillingness to share our position, but because she has a sense of public duty—because of what that girl said I felt inspired with the courage to go on.

The First Militants.

Then came the election of 1905, and the first of the acts which, my lord, can by any stretch of imagination be described as militant. What those acts were Mr. Pethick Lawrence has told you. The first act was the going to a great Liberal demonstration in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, of two girls with a little banner, made on my dining-room table, with the inscription, "Votes for Women," and asking Sir Edward Grey, the speaker, not "Are you in favour of Woman's Suffrage?" but "Will the Liberal Government when it takes office give women the Vote?" For asking that question, just as men would have asked it, but with more respect for order than men would have shown, because they sat patiently, and waited for their opportunity, while many men had interrupted with questions about Chinese labour, and were respectfully answered—for insisting upon an answer to that question when the speech was finished, these girls were treated with violence and flung out of the meeting; and when they held a protest meeting in the street they were arrested, and were sent to prison, one for a week as a common criminal, and the other for three days. That was the so-called militancy. I ask you, gentlemen, whether, if that had been done by men, the word militant would have borne any construction but one of determination and earnestness and insistence upon having that question answered. As long as they had a chance of putting questions, even if they were thrown out after having asked them, women were content to do nothing more. Then these gentlemen developed a desire to catch trains; they rushed away from their meetings directly their speeches were finished, and the women got no opportunity of putting their questions. Now bear in mind that no politician of to-day can feel as deeply about any political question as women feel about this disfranchisement, having regard to the things we are out for—reforms for women, for old and for young women and for little children, who are dying through the absence from legislation of the effective influence of women.

Now what did they do next? I want you to realise that no step we have taken forward has been taken until after some act of repression on the part of our enemy, the Government—because it is the Government which is our enemy—it is not the Members of Parliament, it is not the men in the country; it is the Government in power alone that can give us the vote. It is the Government alone that we regard as our enemy, and the whole of our agitation is directed to bringing just as much pressure as necessary upon those people who can deal with our grievance. The next step the women took was to ask questions during the course of meetings, because as I told you these gentlemen gave them no opportunity of asking them afterwards. And then began the interjections of which we have heard, the interference with the right to hold public meetings, the interference with the right of free speech, of which we have heard, for which these women, these hooligan women, as they have been called—have been denounced. I ask you, gentlemen, to imagine the amount of courage which it needs for a woman to undertake that kind of work. When men come to interrupt women's meetings, they come in gangs, with noisy instruments, and sing and shout together, and stamp their feet. But when women have gone to Cabinet Ministers' meetings—only to interrupt Cabinet Ministers and nobody else—they have gone singly. And it has become increasingly difficult for them to get in, because as a result of the women's methods there has developed the system of admission by ticket and the exclusion of women—a thing which in my Liberal days would have been thought a very disgraceful thing at Liberal meetings. But this ticket system developed, and so the women could only get in with very great difficulty. Women have concealed themselves for thirty-six hours in dangerous positions, under the platforms, in the organs, wherever they could get a vantage point. They waited starving in the cold, sometimes on the roof exposed to a winter's night, just to get a chance of saying in the course of a Cabinet Minister's speech, "When is the Liberal Government going to put its promises into practice?" That has been the form militancy took in its further development.

What happened to those women and to the men who, I am thankful to say, when they began to understand the movement, rallied to our support? You may not have heard of it. You would not read it in the papers, because it was not reported. Two Cabinet Ministers have incited women by their insults to do more serious things. The Minister for War, for instance, on one occasion when women interrupted him, said, "Why do you content yourselves with pin-pricks? Why don't you do something serious?" Then you get Mr. Lloyd George—I refer to the speech of his where he talked about human beings who suffered an intolerable sense of injustice, revolting—and, at that very self-same meeting, after saying those eloquent words which I could not improve upon, because I agree with them entirely—directly after that, a woman got up fired by those words, and said, "Then why don't you deal with our grievance?" and he looked on smiling and remarked, "We shall have to order sacks for those ladies." And it has not been one member of the Government only. There is hardly a member of the Government who has not used those insulting words to women, and there were other insults that we have not cared to make public, because there are some things women do not like to tell about. But they have faced rough usage because they have felt it was their duty to remind the Government that there was a question which would have to be dealt with sooner or later, and I would say again, gentlemen, that I welcome this trial because we have here, what I have often wished for—we have at any rate someone in close touch with the Government present, and he perhaps will convey to the Government some of the things that we women have long desired to tell them. When we tried to present petitions in the old days at the House of Commons, the women went unarmed, with petitions only in their hands. We always held a preliminary meeting at Caxton Hall, Westminster. Yesterday, when we had a police witness in the box, I asked him about a particular meeting, because I hoped that he was present, and I wanted to elicit something from him, and I will tell you what it was.

Leeds By-Election.

In 1908 there was a great by-election at Leeds, and we had been opposing the Government candidate, not because we had anything against his opinions, but because we believed by defeating him and by getting men to work against him, we should bring pressure to bear upon the Government, and make the Government realise that if they lost that election and other by-elections, there was some serious question they had neglected, and that required attention. Well, upon that occasion we very much reduced the majority. The Press boycott had extended to our election work to a very large extent. We have never been able to get the facts of what we have done at elections in the Press. Little by little the facts of our work have filtered through, but the public have never been told the amount and the extent of our work at by-elections. Women have held bigger meetings and better meetings, more sympathetic and more orderly than the candidates. On some notable occasions, when the Government candidate has sustained defeat, the papers have attributed it to, say, an increasing feeling in favour of Tariff Reform, rather than to the real cause, which was the opposition and the part played by women in the contest. Well, I had just returned from this particular election to take part in a demonstration outside the House of Commons. I was to lead one of those deputations—a small deputation of women, well within the Act of Charles II.—which defined the number of persons who can take petitions to Parliament. I was to lead that deputation, and I came straight back from this election, where I had spoken at hundreds of outdoor meetings to men and women. I remember distinctly the speech I made in Caxton Hall. It was just after Mr. Herbert Gladstone had given us the advice to hold great demonstrations such as the men had in Hyde Park and elsewhere. Well, we had had in Leeds at that election a procession, a huge procession, of women, the day before the election, culminating in a great open-air meeting on the moor in South Leeds. That night a great many working women came out of the factories which abound, you know, in Leeds, and where they work hard for little pay. They joined our procession. The students, who as you know are always very irresponsible—and one always wonders how the responsible sex should be so very irresponsible in the days of their youth—these students tried to break up our procession, and I was alarmed at the resentment shown by the crowd. In fact, I had to use what influence I had gained in order to save the lives of some of these students by appealing to the crowd, otherwise something serious would have happened. I returned by the night train to London, and on the following afternoon addressed that meeting in the Caxton Hall, and then, as on many other occasions, I explained why I was hoping that the Prime Minister would receive us. I said there comes a time when movements may outgrow the people who start them. There comes a time when people who desire that everything shall be orderly, suddenly may fail, and I felt so seriously that day that that time was rapidly coming, my lord, that I earnestly hoped, and I put it in my speech, that members of the Government, although we were only women, would see us, would hear us, and would look for themselves, and not merely look to the columns of the newspapers which excluded all references to the magnitude of this agitation.

Armed with Lilies.

What was the result? I only got a few yards from the Caxton Hall when I was arrested. I had a petition in one hand; I had a little bunch of lilies in the other hand. And the other women who were with me were no more armed than I was. We were arrested. Next day we were taken before the magistrate, and in consequence of that act I suffered my first imprisonment of six weeks in Holloway Gaol. Now on the floor of the House of Commons, in describing these so-called raids, even Home Secretaries—more than one, had talked about the women scratching and biting policemen and using hatpins. These things were said not merely by the sensational Press, nor by irresponsible members of the Liberal Party, but these gentlemen, Cabinet Ministers, have thought fit to attack women who, they knew, had very little opportunity of answering, because even the columns of the Press were closed to us—these gentlemen have thought fit to say these things about the women, although not one tittle of evidence has ever been produced to substantiate these charges which have been made. Now, I ask you, gentlemen, if you could put yourselves into the place of women so maligned, would you not feel some sense of resentment against such injustice? We say in this country that everybody at least is entitled to justice, but in the police-courts, whatever the women said was disregarded. The police evidence was beyond all contradiction. It has not been until quite recently, when we have got out of the atmosphere of the police-court—an atmosphere in which this movement ought never to have been kept so long—at least a little light has been let in upon the character of the women engaged in this agitation, because when these women whose actions have been mentioned in the course of this case came before Mr. Wallace at the Sessions, and contested the evidence against them, he said he was prepared to take the word of those women, for from his experience of them he knew that their word—whether he approved I cannot say, I am quoting roughly—that whatever they might do they were honourable people whose word was to be trusted. Well, that is something gained. If you gentlemen had as much experience of this movement as I have, you would know that is a great deal gained—to be admitted as persons of ordinary truthfulness; because every method has been taken to traduce this agitation, to misrepresent it, to pour contempt on the women engaged in it, and to crush it.

Two Months for 2s. 3d.

Now it has been stated in this court that it is not the Women's Social and Political Union that is in the court, but that it is certain defendants. The action of the Government, gentlemen, is certainly against the defendants who are before you here to-day, but it is also against the Women's Social and Political Union. The intention is to crush that organisation. And this intention apparently was arrived at after I had been sent to prison for two months for breaking a pane of glass worth, I am told, 2s. 3d., the punishment which I accepted because I was a leader of this movement, though it was an extraordinary punishment to inflict for so small an act

of damage as I had committed. I expected it as the punishment for a leader of an agitation disagreeable to the Government, and while I was there this prosecution was started. They thought they would make a clean sweep of the people who they thought were the political brains of the movement. We have got many false friends in the Cabinet—people who by their words appear to be well-meaning towards the cause of Women's Suffrage. And they thought that if they could get the leaders of the Union out of the way, it would result in the indefinite postponement and settlement of the question in this country. Well, they have not succeeded in their design, and even if they had got all the so-called leaders of this movement out of their way they would not have succeeded even then. Now why have they not put the Union in the dock? We have a democratic government, so-called. This Women's Social and Political Union is not a collection of hysterical and unimportant wild women, as has been suggested to you, but it is an important organisation, which numbers amongst its membership very important people. It is composed of women of all classes of the community, women who have influence in their particular organisations as working women; women who have influence in professional organisations as professional women; women of social importance; women even of Royal rank are amongst the members of this organisation, and so it would not pay a democratic government to deal with this organisation as a whole.

They hoped that by taking away the people that they thought guided the political fortunes of the organisation they would break the organisation down. They thought that if they put out of the way the influential members of the organisation they, as one member of the Cabinet, I believe, said, would crush the movement and get it on the run. Well, Governments have many times been mistaken, gentlemen, and I venture to suggest to you that Governments are mistaken again. I think the answer to the Government was given at the Albert Hall meeting held immediately after our arrest. Within a few minutes, without the eloquence of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, without the appeals of the people who have been called the leaders of this movement, in a very few minutes ten thousand pounds was subscribed for the carrying on of this movement.

Not Wild or Hysterical.

Now a movement like that, supported like that, is not a wild, hysterical movement. It is not a movement of misguided people. It is a very, very serious movement. Women, I submit, like our members, and women, I venture to say, like the two women and like the man who are in the dock to-day, are not people to undertake a thing like this lightly. May I just try to make you feel what it is that has made this movement the gigantic size it is from the very small beginnings it had? It is one of the biggest movements of modern times. A movement which is not only an influence, perhaps not yet recognised, in this country, but is influencing the women's movement all over the world. Is there anything more marvellous in modern times than the kind of spontaneous outburst in every country of this woman's movement? Even in China—and I think it is somewhat of a disgrace to Englishmen—even in China women have the vote, and they have it as the outcome of a successful revolution with which, I daresay, members of His Majesty's Government sympathise—a bloody revolution. One word more on that point. When I was in prison the second time, for three months, as a common criminal—because we women have gone through all that; we have been searched, we have been stripped, dressed in prison clothes and subjected to all the restrictions of a prison system which needs amendment—when I was in prison the second time, for no greater offence than the issue of a handbill—less inflammatory in its terms than some of the speeches of members of the Government who prosecute us here—during that time, through the efforts of a Member of Parliament after I had been in prison some time, there was secured for me permission to have the daily paper in prison, which had hitherto been denied me, and the first thing I read in the daily Press was this: that the Government was at that moment fêting the members of the Young Turkish Revolutionary Party, gentlemen who had invaded the privacy of the Sultan's home—we used to hear a great deal about invading the privacy of Mr. Asquith's residence when we ventured to ring his door-bell—gentlemen who had killed and slain, and had been successful in their revolution, while we women had never thrown a stone—for none of us was imprisoned for stone-throwing, but merely for taking the part we had in this organisation. There we were imprisoned while these political murderers were being fêted by the very Government who imprisoned us, and being congratulated on the success of their revolution. Now, I ask you, was it to be wondered at, that women said to themselves perhaps it is that we have not done enough; perhaps it is that these gentlemen do not understand women folk; perhaps they do not realise women's ways, and because we have not done the things that men have done, they may think we are not in earnest.

Incitement by Statesmen.

And then we come down to this last business of all, when we have responsible statesmen like Mr. Hobhouse saying that there had never been any sentimental uprising, no expression of feeling like that which led to the burning down of Nottingham Castle. Can you wonder then, that we decided we should have to nerve ourselves to do more, and can you understand why we cast about to find a way, as women will, that would not involve loss of human life, and the maiming of human beings, because women care more about human life than men, and I think that is quite natural that we should, for we know what life costs. We risk our lives when men are born. Now, I want to say this deliberately as a leader of this movement. We have tried to hold it back, we have tried to keep it from going beyond bounds, and I have never felt a prouder woman than I did one night when a police constable said to me, after one of these demonstrations, "Had this been a man's demonstration, there would have been bloodshed long ago." Well, my Lord, there has not been any bloodshed except on the part of the women themselves—these so-called militant women. Violence has been done to us, and I who stand before you in this dock have lost a dear sister in the course of this agitation. She died within three days of coming out of prison, a little more than a year ago. These are things which, wherever we are, we do not say very much about. We cannot keep cheery, we cannot keep cheerful, we cannot keep the right kind of spirit, which means success, if we dwell too much upon the hard part of our agitation. But I do say this, gentlemen, that whatever in future you may think of us, you will say this about us, that whatever our enemies may say, we have always put up an honourable fight, and taken no unfair means of defeating our opponents, although they have not always been people who have acted so honourably.

We have assaulted no one; we have done no hurt to anyone; and it was not until "Black Friday"—and what happened on "Black Friday" is that we had a new Home Secretary, and there appeared to be new orders given to the police, because the police on that occasion showed a kind of ferocity in dealing with the women that they had never done before, and the women came to us and said, "We cannot bear this"—that we felt that this form of repression should compel us to take another step. That is the question of "Black Friday," and I want to say here and now that every effort was made after "Black Friday" to get an open public judicial inquiry into the doings of "Black Friday," as to the instructions given to the police. A certain course was adopted. That inquiry was refused; but an informal inquiry was held by a man whose name will carry conviction as to his status and moral integrity on the one side of the great political parties and a man of equal standing on the Liberal side. These two men were Lord Robert Cecil and Mr. Ellis Griffith. They held a private inquiry, had women before them, took their evidence, examined that evidence, and after hearing that evidence they said that they believed what the women had told them was substantially true, and that they thought there was good cause for that inquiry to be held. That was embodied in a report. To show you our difficulties, Lord Robert Cecil, in a speech at the Criterion Restaurant, spoke on this question. He called upon the Government to hold this inquiry, and not one word of that speech was reported in any morning paper. That is the sort of thing we have had to face, and I welcome standing here, if only for the purpose of getting these facts out, and I challenge the Attorney-General to institute an inquiry into these proceedings—not that kind of inquiry of sending their inspectors to Holloway and accepting what they are told by the officials—but to open a public inquiry, with a jury, if he likes, to deal with our grievances with the Government and the methods of this agitation.

The Government's Conspiracy.

I say it is not the defendants who have conspired, but the Government who have conspired against us to crush this agitation; but however the matter may be decided, we are content to abide by the verdict of posterity. We are not the kind of people who like to brag a lot; we are not the kind of people who would bring ourselves into this position unless we were convinced that it was the only way. I have tried—all my life I have worked for this question—I have tried argument, I have tried persuasion. I have addressed a greater number of public meetings, perhaps, than any person in this Court, and I have never addressed one meeting where, substantially, the opinion of the meeting—not a ticket meeting, but an open meeting—I have never addressed any other kind of meeting—has not been that where women bear burdens and share the responsibilities like men they should be given the privilege men enjoy. I am convinced that public opinion is with us—that it has been stifled—wilfully stifled—so that in a public Court of Justice one is glad of being allowed to speak on this question. Then, your Lordship—because if we are found guilty I shall not say why sentence should not be pronounced—I want to say a word in connection with our status. Twice I have been to prison as a common criminal. I know what it is—you and the gentlemen of the jury I hope do not know what it is—to lose one's liberty and be sent to prison. I want you to understand what it is. God knows it is hard enough for the ordinary criminal, living a degraded life, to face all that prison means; it is doubly hard for those who have not been accustomed to what prison life is. But I am not pleading with your Lordship because of the hardships—I am not pleading with your Lordship because of the sense of the indignity which self-respecting women feel with those indignities imposed upon them—but I am pleading with your Lordship because I want to see my country raised to the level of every other civilised country in the world. Where political fitness is concerned, I think it is a disgrace to this country that we should be so far behind. There was a time in this country when the ordinary criminal was treated with more severity than to-day. We have improved—we have become more humane since those days, and though much remains to be done with regard to the ordinary criminal, it cannot be said that their lot is as bad. But it was different with the status of the political offenders. Still, in this country when it is a foreigner we do regard by our extradition laws political offences.

If we are to be convicted, our feeling very deeply on this question of our status, I assure you, is not so much for ourselves, it is because we want to have established by you, with the great legal traditions of your position—we want it to be established that the political prisoner should not be degraded to the status of the lowest criminal; but that his or her offence was not to be characterised by criminal tendencies, and therefore ought not to be degraded and stigmatised as disgraceful. I may, as a woman, say one word more. We say in England that every man is tried by his peers. I might have been justified as a woman, if at the opening of this case I had said you are not entitled to try me for this offence. What right have you, as men, to judge women? Who gave you that right; women having no voice in deciding the legal system of this country; no voice in saying what is a crime and what is not a crime, it is not right to set yourselves up as justices? But in this Court I have not made that plea, and I have consented to be tried by this Court, and I think you will agree with me that the right of judgment of a Court depends upon consent. I have consented, and consent merely because I believe the end of this trial marks the last in this hard struggle women are making for recognition. I feel that women, who have now, as they always have had, to perform the ordinary duties of citizenship, are now going to win some power to fix the condition of their sex and decide their duties, and I feel it all the more because this Government, which has instituted proceedings against us, is a Government dealing more with the lives of mankind than any Government which ever ruled this country. Year by year, and month by month, the fate of women is decided. How they are to live, their relationships with children, the marriage laws under which they are joined in union and pledge their affections, these great questions are being settled, and also will be settled, and so, my Lord, I feel it is a great advantage, though it is at the risk of our liberty, that we are undergoing this trouble. I may say to you, gentlemen, referring to what I said about your right to try me, I might tell you of a case—and that is my last word—of this young girl that I mentioned in the earlier part of my speech, who was put on her trial for her life before a great Irish judge not long ago. And the judge said to those who were responsible for her being there, Where was the man? There was nothing in the law to make the father of that child responsible for the murder of the child for which the girl was being tried. But the judge said: "I will not try that child till the participator of her guilt is in the dock with her," and that case was never tried by that jury at all; but was adjourned till the father of the child also stood in the dock. If we are guilty of this offence, this conspiracy, other people, some of the members of His Majesty's Government, should be in the dock by our side. But I do not ask you to say that you will not sentence us until they are by our side, though I do suggest that members of His Majesty's Government and Opposition have used language at least as inflammatory and dangerous as ourselves, and I think in justice, while these people set us such an example, the verdict of this Court in our case should be one of Not Guilty.

THE BY-ELECTIONS.

NORFOLK NORTH-WEST.

Polling Day, May 31.

CANDIDATES.

Mr. Hemmerde, K.C. (L).
Mr. N. P. Jodrell (U).

W.S.P.U. Organisers: Miss West, Miss G. Roe.
W.S.P.U. Com. Rooms, Market Place, King's Lynn, and Oak Street, Fakenham.

Result in Dec., 1910—Sir G. White (L) 5407; Mr. N. P. Jodrell (C) 4264; Maj. 1143.

The organisers report:—

The large audiences which have attended the open-air meetings already held in the constituency have shown themselves friendly and very generally favourable to votes for women. The political situation is complicated by the fact that both candidates have referred to woman suffrage in their election addresses—the Liberal being for and the Conservative against. But we hope to have our policy thoroughly explained in every part of the constituency before polling-day; and, as far as can be seen at present, there will be a good response to our appeal to the electors to "keep the Liberal out." In addition to the W.S.P.U., the New Constitutional Society and the N.U.W.S.S. are working in the constituency. The campaign is mainly out of doors, but big hall meetings have been arranged as follows:—

May 20.—Fakenham. Corn Hall, 8 p.m. Speakers: Miss Jarvis and Miss West.
May 28.—Hunstanton. Town Hall, 8 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Mansel and the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield.
May 30.—King's Lynn. St. James' Hall, 8 p.m. Speakers: Miss Evelyn Sharp and Miss Douglas Smith.

Open-air demonstrations are being arranged at King's Lynn (Market Place) on Saturday, May 25, and in Fakenham on the eve of the poll. Also an indoor meeting for women will be held in each centre. An urgent appeal is made for speakers and workers from May 25 until polling-day, and for funds to meet the expenses of the campaign. Offers of help from speakers and workers should be addressed to Miss West; offers of financial help should be addressed to Miss Roe. All communications should be sent to Cozens' Hotel, King's Lynn. Gratefully acknowledged:—Miss Mordan, £5; T. H. Roe, Esq., £5; Miss Bessie Ridley, £1; the Misses Lilley, 10s.; Miss Ryley, 5s.

A most successful meeting was held in the Corn Hall, Fakenham, on Tuesday evening. The hall itself was packed, and a smaller hall leading out of it had to be opened to accommodate all the people. There were present about 700, of whom more than half were women. The speakers were listened to with the greatest attention, and were heartily applauded. The audience appeared thoroughly to grasp the anti-Government policy. Gratefully acknowledged: Miss S. E. King, £1 1s.; Miss K. M. Guthrie, 10s. 6d.

SOUTH HACKNEY.

Polling To-day (Friday).

CANDIDATES.

Mr. Hector Morrison (L).
Mr. John Gibson (C).

W.S.P.U. Organiser, Miss Jessie Kenney.
W.S.P.U. Com. Rooms, 75, Lower Clapton Road.

Result in Dec., 1910—H. Bottomley (L) 5068; S. King Farlow (C) 3243; R. H. Roberts (I.L.) 1946; Lib. Maj 1825.

The Organiser reports:—

If the people who of late have been so ready to tell us that the militant movement is dead would only pay a visit to South Hackney, where our by-election campaign is in full swing, they would find how much they were mistaken!

Hardly had the rival candidates appeared in the field than the Suffrage tricolour was also seen, gaily floating over the delightful W.S.P.U. Committee Rooms at 75, Lower Clapton Road. Trollies, decked in Suffrage colours, formed splendid platforms from which to harangue the crowd, and caused great excitement to the general public, as, drawn by the most patriarchal beasts, they bore the speakers in state to the various pitches.

Five or six meetings have been held every night, and in point of numbers they beat the men's meetings to "smithereens." Crowds of men, women, and children swarmed to hear, listening with obvious interest, roaring with laughter at the sallies of the speaker or the retorts of the crowd (the Hackney-ites have evidently a very keen sense of humour), or nodding approval at some point that had been successfully driven home. Magnificent meetings have been held all over the constituency, and papers have sold well in view of the poverty of the district. Other meetings have been large, but ours are the largest of them all, and Votes for Women is the topic of the day. On Thursday night, May 23, a large meeting is being held at the St. James' Parish Hall, Lower Clapton Road, at 8 p.m.; speakers, Mrs. Drummond, Miss G. Brackenbury, and Mrs. Mansel.

The campaign is to be brief, but Hackney has realised the vigour and importance of the Suffrage movement, and we feel confident, whatever the result at the polling booths may be, that the local Union will find many new recruits, and reap much sympathy and active support as a result, when the visit of the "hooligan militant woman" is a thing of the distant past.

Workers who can spare any time on Thursday and Friday will be welcomed at Hackney.

MR. LANSBURY'S BILL RULED OUT OF ORDER.

Drastic Decision of the Speaker.

It will be remembered that Mr. Lansbury had given notice of a Motion for leave to introduce a "Bill to remove the sex disqualification which debars a woman from being enrolled as an elector or from voting at Parliamentary elections."

On Tuesday, May 21, the Speaker, however, ruled the Bill out of order, saying: I would like to point out to the hon. member that the House has already considered, discussed, and disposed of a Bill under the same title as the Bill which he now proposes to introduce. The House, therefore, could not consider a precisely similar Bill. I do not know whether the hon. member proposes in the Bill which he now asks leave to introduce, to raise another question which was not discussed by the House. If he proposes to raise simply the same point as has already been discussed, I would point out to him that we cannot proceed with this Bill. Does this Bill contain any fresh proposal?

Mr. Lansbury: The Bill I propose to introduce is one simply to remove the sex disqualification, and is entirely different from the Bill which was defeated a few weeks ago. This Bill sets out with the simple object that where a woman has the same qualification for the vote as a man she may be registered as a voter, which, I think you will find on examination, is rather different from what was known as the Conciliation Bill. The object in bringing it forward is that the House may have one more opportunity of considering the question of the removal of the sex disqualification without all the difficulties which surrounded the last Bill. I would like to remind the House that in 1870, on the Motion of the late Mr. Jacob Bright, a Bill identical to that which I am now asking leave to bring in was read a second time by a large majority, and on various occasions since then similar Bills and this identical Bill have also been carried. In the 1906 Parliament a Bill was brought in by a large number of members, and it was also given a Second Reading, so that it is a Bill which this House, or rather various parties represented in this House, have considered with a great deal of favour, but for a variety of reasons the Bill has never got beyond its Second Reading. It appears to me that at the present moment in this Assembly there are an overwhelming majority of men who believe in giving votes to women and removing the sex disqualification. [Hon. Members: "No."] Well, I at all events think that the vote which was given in 1911 is at least as worthy of representing the opinion of this House as the vote that was given a few weeks ago. There were probably a variety of reasons why hon. members changed their minds. I believe that in the main they were temporary reasons, and had nothing whatever to do with the principle of the Bill under discussion. I think no one in the House will deny that a considerable number of members wished to prevent any time being given to any other than a particular subject, and that some members also wrote to the newspapers and proclaimed the fact that they had changed their minds because of violence outside. I think both of those reasons are rather bad when dealing with a question of principle, and I think they are reasons which do not appeal to hon. members either from Ireland or Wales.

Sir Frederick Banbury: On a point of order. As I understand the question is not whether the House in 1911 or at any other date has sanctioned a Woman's Enfranchisement Bill, but whether, in view of the fact that the House has already this Session, rightly or wrongly, refused the franchise to women, it is in order to bring in this Bill to confer the franchise on women?

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Gentleman seemed to me to be inviting the House to reverse the decision already come to. As I pointed out in my first observations, we cannot do that. If the Bill contains matter other than was in the Bill which the House rejected on March 28, then the hon. member might obtain leave to introduce it; but if the matter is the same and if all he is now asking is that the House should reconsider the decision which was come to two months ago, that we cannot do, and I could not allow the Bill to be brought in.

Mr. Lansbury: I was trying to argue as to the principle of votes for women. This Bill is entirely different from that known as the Conciliation Bill. This Bill, if passed, would enable a woman who has the same qualification as a man for a vote to be registered as a Parliamentary elector. This very Parliament has affirmed the principle of giving women votes. It affirmed the principle about a year ago. A few weeks ago a Bill was rejected by a very narrow majority. I was trying to point out that in these circumstances the House ought not to reject this Bill from the point of view of principle, because it has already decided that. This is not so wide a Bill as the one which was carried last Session in favour of women having votes. The position in regard to this matter is very complicated at present. A large number of women are suffering the indignities of being in prison and others are on their trial. The real thing that they are striving for is the recognition by this House of the principle that women who pay rates and taxes and perform all the ordinary duties of male citizens should be entitled to be put on the Parliamentary register. I ask the House to consider the question not as politicians or as men belonging to various parties. Those of us who believe in this principle are to be found in all corners of the House, and the reason why we have not been able to get it recognised by law is not because of opposition to the principle, but for a variety of other reasons. In this Session, when we have two great measures as regards both of which there was an agitation accompanied by a certain amount of violence, when all sides unite in asking us to let bygones be bygones, and when from every bench there comes eulogy of the men who were a year or two ago denounced as traitors and men unworthy to be trusted——

Mr. Speaker: The hon. member is making no statement whatever with regard to the Bill. He is dealing with the question of principle and with letting bygones be bygones and so on. As I have pointed out, we cannot let bygones be bygones, for it is only two months since we rejected a Bill of exactly the same kind as that which he is introducing. The title of it was the Woman's Enfranchisement Bill. The purpose of it was to confer the Parliamentary franchise on women. I have called upon the hon. member to show how his Bill differs from that. If the hon. member will show that, and show that there is any difference between the contents of the Bill which he proposes now to introduce and that which was rejected, then, if there is any difference, he can introduce this Bill.

Mr. Lansbury: I am extremely sorry if I have not made myself plain, but twice over I have tried, and with very great respect I will try again. This is a Bill to remove the sex disqualification which debars women from being enrolled as electors or from voting at Parliamentary elections. It is entirely different from the last Bill. In principle I admit that it is not different, but in its application it is different.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. member has given his case away in admitting that in principle it is not different, and therefore I cannot call upon him.

THE TIME AND THE PLACE.

At the reception given by Lady Allendale and the Committee of the Liberal Social Council, at the Wharncliffe Rooms, last Friday, a lady approached Mr. Asquith, and, shaking hands with him, asked what he was going to do about "this vexed question, the Enfranchisement of Women." The Prime Minister smiled and hesitated, upon which his questioner urged the necessity for a definite pronouncement, adding, in a tone loud enough for others to hear, "We must have a Government measure; it is absolutely necessary that our question should be settled." Seeing the perturbed faces of the ladies standing near, she explained that she was sorry to have to make a disturbance at a private reception, but it was "necessitated by the Government's broken promises." As she was conducted forcibly out of the room by several angry stewards, a gentleman went up to Mr. Asquith and requested him to answer the lady's question. The Prime Minister murmured something unintelligible, and turned to escape; and Lady Allendale reminded the importunate guest that this was "neither the time nor the place." He replied, as he was ejected, "It is always the time and the place for Votes for Women."

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

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

The W.S.P.U. General Offices, 4, Clement's Inn, and the Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, will close for Whitsuntide from to-morrow (Saturday), at 1 p.m., to Wednesday morning, May 29.

Prisoners' Secretary.

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

Royal Albert Hall, Saturday, June 15.

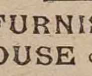
Only three weeks remain before the great Albert Hall meeting on Saturday, June 15. Members are reminded that on *them* depends the success of this meeting, which comes at a most critical stage in the history of the militant movement. Speakers will be announced next week, and in the meantime members are earnestly urged to take a number of tickets for themselves and their friends. Tickets, prices: Amphitheatre stalls, 2s. 6d.; arena, 1s.; balcony, first four rows, 1s., remainder 6d.; upper orchestra, 6d. (all numbered and reserved). Boxes, to hold ten, £1 10s.; to hold eight, £1 1s.; to hold five, 12s. 6d., may be had from Miss Cooke, Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn.

Stewards.

Miss Hambling makes an urgent appeal for stewards, who should send in their names to her at once. Only members are eligible, and they must be at the Hall not later than 6 p.m.

London Meetings.

Owing to the Whitsuntide Holidays there will be no meeting at the London Pavilion on Monday next, May 27. Members and their friends will be glad to know that one of the speakers at the Steinway Hall on Thursday, May 30, at 8 p.m., will be the Rev. F. M. Green. These meetings are held weekly, and admission is free. Similar meetings are held in all centres where the Union is represented.



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THE CONSPIRACY TRIAL AT THE OLD BAILEY.

Court No. 1 at the Old Bailey was again crowded on Wednesday afternoon, May 15, when the trial of the leaders of the Women's Social and Political Union for conspiracy was resumed before Mr. Justice Coleridge.

The name of Miss Christabel Pankhurst was bracketed with those of Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence for trial, and the Clerk of Arraigns called upon her to surrender, but there was no reply. Mrs. Pankhurst entered the dock first, followed by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who carried a shower bouquet of carnations and roses. Mr. Pethick Lawrence was the last to enter the court. Among the spectators were Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Muriel, Countess de la Warr, Lady Muir Mackenzie, and Lady Meyer.

The Attorney-General (Sir Rufus Isaacs, K.C.) led for the prosecution, and with him were Mr. A. H. Bodkin, Mr. S. A. T. Rowlatt, and Mr. Graham Campbell. Mr. Tim Healy, K.C., Mr. R. D. Muir, and Mr. Blanco White appeared for Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Mr. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Pankhurst conducted their own defence.

[The charges were set out in the calendar and were given in last week's VOTES FOR WOMEN, with the opening speech of the Prosecution.]

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON.

Evidence was then called.

Fred Everest, a detective-sergeant of the special branch, New Scotland Yard, examined by Mr. Bodkin, said he was present at a meeting of the Women's Social and Political Union at Steinway Hall on October 26 last. Speeches were delivered by Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Miss Evelyn Sharp. He produced a copy of the report he made after the meeting from notes which he had taken, supplemented by what he recollected. The meeting ended at 10.15, and he made his note at 11. He was, after some argument, permitted to refresh his memory by reference to the note, and he then quoted Miss Christabel Pankhurst as having said: "The answer Mr. Lloyd George gave to the deputation of the Men's League was quite easy to understand. Mr. Lloyd George wanted to make the Conciliation Bill so expansive that many who now supported it would drop it."

It was agreed that in cross-examining witnesses Mr. Lawrence should ask questions first, Mrs. Pankhurst would follow, and Mr. Healy would then ask anything further that was necessary.

What Provoked Militancy.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence asked: In reference to this meeting, have you any recollection of the meeting beyond the note that you have read?—Very little.

In this note which you read you told us that Miss Christabel Pankhurst referred to Mr. Lloyd George and a deputation from the Men's League. Are you sure that it was the Men's League?—As I heard it.

You don't think it was the Men's Political Union, for instance?—I think not.

Do you know anything about the deputation?—I believe there was a deputation, but I did not know much about it.

You understood Miss Pankhurst to say that militancy was not going on at that time?—Yes.

Did Miss Pankhurst make it clear to you as to what was Mr. Lloyd George's position in regard to the Conciliation Bill?—I don't think she did.

She said: "If Mr. Lloyd George forced his wrecking amendment militancy would be again started." Did she explain that Mr. Lloyd George intended to alter the whole character of the Conciliation Bill when it went into Committee? You understood that he proposed to move an amendment to make the Bill a very wide one, enfranchising seven million women?—Yes.

And it was because she thought Mr. Lloyd George's proposal would make it an unworkable Bill and that it was not in her opinion likely to get through the House of Commons that she was watching Mr. Lloyd George's action?—Yes.

And that so long as he refrained from taking steps which she considered would wreck or injure the chances of the Bill she would advise the members of the Union to remain peaceful?—Yes.

That there would be no militancy if what she regarded as fair political tactics were continued?—Yes; I think that was so.

Police-Sergeant Arthur Randall, of New Scotland Yard, stated that he was present at the Steinway Hall on November 9, when at a meeting of the Women's Social and Political Union there were present Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Lady Constance Lytton, and Mrs. Drummond. He took a longhand note of the speech of Miss Pankhurst, the most important passage of which was an urgent appeal to those present to join the deputation to the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer on November 21. He read in VOTES FOR WOMEN of November 17, 1911, a correct but greatly abbreviated report of the proceedings at the meeting.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence (cross-examining): I think you said that the principal part of Miss Pankhurst's speech was an appeal for volunteers?—In my opinion, it was.

When you say that it is the principal part, do you mean that it was more important than the rest or do you mean that it occupied the principal part of the time?—I thought it was of more importance.

You consider yourself a judge of the importance of a speech?—To that extent.

And did you judge that from a political or legal point of view?—From a legal point of view.

You really mean to say that she made a political speech and that so far as you are concerned you are not a very good judge of that? When it came to the closing words of her speech you thought it was a legal point on which you are entitled to form an opinion?—That is what I mean.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence: Perhaps ordinary citizens who are not exclusively concerned with the purely legal point of view may be permitted to think there were other parts of the speech at least equally important, perhaps more so?—Quite so.

From your recollection of the political part of the speech, did not Miss Pankhurst refer to the change that had taken place in the political situation in the course of the past few days as a consequence of the announcement of the Prime Minister?—Yes.

She went on to explain, I think, that until the previous Tuesday the W.S.P.U. had refrained from militant methods because they were trusting in the promise of the Prime Minister, but that after the statement of the Premier they saw they were being tricked?—Yes; that was her complaint.

And did she say that on the Tuesday the Premier had put forward a proposal to enfranchise the whole of the manhood of the country, and that that rendered the non-party solution of the women's suffrage question out of the question?—She referred to Mr. Asquith's introduction of the Manhood Suffrage Bill, but she made no reference to the non-party point of view.

You have not had a great deal of political experience, have you?—No.

You have looked at this paper to note the report. Will you look at the front page? On the front page it says:—

> It is an open secret that the whole idea of the introduction by the Government in 1912 of a Manhood Suffrage Bill emanated from the brain of Mr. Lloyd George, who has for a long time been scheming to wreck the Conciliation Bill. Baffled in other attempts at mischief, the Chancellor of the Exchequer has devised this latest scheme of destruction, which he trusts will effectively secure his end. Mr. George has reckoned all along upon the fact that Woman Suffrage was not a party question, and that Woman Suffragists belonged to all political parties; therefore, when the Conciliation Bill was found to unite Liberals, Conservatives, Irish, and Labour men in its support, Mr. George endeavoured, by widening amendments, to introduce the wedge of discord into their compact ranks. The time came when Mr. Lloyd George realised that if this policy were pursued into next year, one of two things would happen: either his manœuvre would fail, or, if it succeeded, the mask of professed sympathy for Woman Suffrage would be torn from his face, and he would be exposed in his true character as a ruthless opponent. Neither prospect pleased him, and he has accordingly contrived to create a new situation.
>
> Mr. Lloyd George's new scheme is probably as follows: The Government is to introduce a Manhood Suffrage Bill. Mr. Lloyd George is to fight on the floor of the House for an amendment to include women. He will make a *heroic fight against fearful odds*. But in the end, having covered himself with glory and won the *undying gratitude of women*, he will be defeated. Why will he be defeated? Because he will have split the ranks of the Woman Suffragists. A party proposal will have taken the place of a non-party one, while at the same time the party support, with all the strength of Government Whips and the Government threat of resignation, will be withheld. Then, when the amendment for including women has been lost, and the Manhood Suffrage Bill carried, Mr. Lloyd George might allow a small Bill, conferring votes on women on a limited basis while men have it on an unlimited basis, to go through. *He might, and he might not.*

That, to a certain extent, is on the same lines as Miss Pankhurst's speech at the Steinway Hall?—It is similar.

Will you also turn to Page 104 in the same paper? There you find these words: "The Only Terms of Peace." In the second paragraph it says:—

> This decision to establish Manhood Suffrage, a decision due in no small measure, so we understand, to the inspiration of Mr. Lloyd George, finally disposes of the hope of carrying Woman Suffrage as a non-party measure. The introduction of a Bill abolishing all franchise restrictions means that the question of Woman Suffrage now becomes entangled with that of Universal Suffrage. As a result those who believe that franchise restrictions should be maintained are alienated from the women's cause, while those who support Manhood Suffrage only are not won over to it.
>
> The agreement brought about by the Conciliation Committee, and afterwards rudely shaken by Mr. Lloyd George, is now put to death by the Government's threat of Manhood Suffrage. Are we not justified in saying that "an enemy hath done this thing"? The Government, to state the matter in the most charitable terms, have made Woman Suffrage a Party question. Therefore they are in honour bound now to make it a Party measure. We demand that they shall do this. So long as there was a prospect of success for the Conciliation Bill, and so long as the effect of that measure would have been to give women virtual equality with men and a guarantee of equality under future franchise laws, the Women's Social and Political Union observed a truce with the Government. But now that the Government have destroyed these two conditions, the truce can be observed no longer, unless they consent to give certain reasonable undertakings.
>
> These undertakings, these terms of peace, are as follows:—
>
> That the Government abandon the Manhood Suffrage Bill and introduce in its stead a measure giving precisely equal franchise rights to men and women.
>
> That the measure be carried through next Session, in order that the protection of the Parliament Act shall be secured.
>
> That the Government stake their existence upon the Bill as a whole, and undertake to stand or fall as much by the provisions for Votes for Women as by the provisions for Votes for Men.
>
> We cannot with safety, we dare not, accept any pledge less full and less explicit than this.

At the end of the article Mr. Pethick Lawrence read the following paragraph:—

> What possible objection can the Government have to introducing and carrying a Bill giving votes to women? We have heard a rumour that the well-worn excuse of "a divided Cabinet" may be raised yet again. We quite agree that it is not to be expected that twenty-one gentlemen should see absolutely eye to eye upon any question, whether it be one of Home Rule, of Welsh Disestablishment, of Woman Suffrage, or of National Insurance. We know, however, that in case of disagreement in the Cabinet the majority prevails. We are informed that there is a majority of Suffragists in the present Cabinet. It is for that majority to assert itself. If the Government do not introduce and carry next Session a measure giving votes to women, blame will rest even more upon the Suffragist Ministers than upon those who are anti-Suffragists. If the statement which Mr. Asquith is to make to-day should be unsatisfactory, this will argue culpable weakness on the part of Ministers who profess to believe in votes for women.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence then asked witness to turn to another part of the same paper, where it appeared that there were sixty meetings arranged for that week in London by the W.S.P.U. On another page there were notices of some forty or fifty meetings which were being held in the provinces in the same week, making a total, as Mr. Pethick Lawrence suggested, of something like one hundred meetings held in a particular week throughout the country, presumably of an educational kind, on the votes for women question.

Re-examining, the Attorney-General drew the attention of the witness to paragraphs in the same paper, one of which was headed: "Be Prepared for Action!" and another: "A Call to Arms!" The latter was as follows: "On Tuesday next, at 7.30 p.m., the Caxton Hall will be crowded with women who will assemble for the purpose of resolving upon such action—whether militant or otherwise—as the Prime Minister's statement may render necessary." Then following in big type an intimation that it was most important that those who wished to participate should write without delay to the headquarters of the W.S.P.U.

The Purchase of Hammers.

Richard Melhuish was called after the luncheon interval, and, answering Mr. Bodkin, said he was a merchant carrying on business at 50, Fetter Lane. On February 22 or 23 he distinctly remembered a lady coming into his shop.

At this stage Mr. Healy raised the objection that conspiracy should first be proved before this evidence was heard.

The Attorney-General explained that it was to suit Mr. Melhuish's convenience that he was being called at this stage, whereupon Mr. Healy withdrew his objection.

The Attorney-General said all they were seeking to prove now was the fact that these hammers were subsequently discovered on persons committing offences.

Mr. Bodkin: What did the lady order?—A pattern hammer and some more like it.

Had you some in stock?—A large number.

Did you show her some samples?—Yes; a hammer with a claw.

How many did she order?—She asked how many we had of that particular pattern. We had three dozen, and she said she would take them.

Witness said he had one hammer left of the kind selected. It bore his name stamped on it.

Did you pack them?—Yes; I did so myself. The lady was so anxious to get them away and so imperious in her manner that I did it myself. When she had gone I noticed that one had been left out.

Did she pay for the full number?—Yes.

Has she ever been back to claim the odd hammer?—No; but I think I saw her in April when I was on holiday in the South of France and in Italy.

You had not the hammer with you in the South of France, had you?—Oh, no. (Laughter.)

How much did the lady pay?—A little less than 1s. a hammer. She got a reduction. I don't remember the exact amount. I can produce the bill if necessary.

Did she take them away?—Yes; I was anxious to send them, but she carried them away herself.

Witness identified other hammers shown to him as those which he had supplied; they bore his name.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence put a number of questions in cross-examination, eliciting that Mr. Melhuish had fifty assistants in his employ. He did not manufacture the hammers, but bought them from the makers, and ordered several gross at a time. Witness could not recollect, nor could his assistants, selling any other hammers of this pattern to anyone else; they had been in stock as the remnant of a big order. There were several dozens in stock, and he was not aware of any having been sold to anyone else.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence: Can you rely upon your recollection?—Yes; I may make mistakes, but I don't make many.

You have just said you sold three dozen hammers to the lady?—Yes.

And you said at Bow Street that it was two dozen?—I thought it was three dozen.

That indicates that your recollection is not to be relied upon very closely?—I thought it was three dozen. What I said at Bow Street was the correct number.

Do you suggest that you know what all your employees are selling every day?—I am on the premises all day.

Do you suggest you know that your employees never sold hammers of that kind to anyone else?—I know we never sold any hammers of that kind for a long time.

These hammers may have been sold from your shop to other people?—It is possible.

And the fact that these hammers (produced) bear your name does not necessarily mean that they were those bought by this lady?—The lady was anxious to have this particular kind with claws. They were cheap hammers; the usual claw hammer is more expensive.

Are you certain that no such hammers as these were disposed of except to this lady?—I am not certain. How could I be?

Mr. Pethick Lawrence: That is sufficient.

Mr. Bodkin: You have been questioned about your recollection. Will you ever forget this lady?—No. (Laughter.)

The next witness was a young police-officer, but before he was called Mrs. Pankhurst asked that all witnesses for the prosecution should leave the court. She imagined she saw some of them present.

The Court complied with her request, with the exception of the chief police-officers and one or two formal witnesses.

P.C. Surman, 124B, deposed that he had attended the Women's Social and Political Union meeting held in the Albert Hall on November 16. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence presided, and speeches were made by her and by Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Vida Goldstein, and Miss Annie Kenney. He took full shorthand notes of the speeches, manuscripts of which he had supplied.

Mr. Bodkin then read the transcript of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's speech. When the sentence: "I would rather die than submit," was reached, there were some cheers and "Hear, hears" from women in court. The ushers shouted "Order!" and silence was restored.

At the request of Mr. Pethick Lawrence the speech of Miss Christabel Pankhurst was also read.

Witness afterwards added that on March 2 he had attended a Women's Social and Political Union meeting at Tachbrook Street, and had taken notes of the speeches.

Public Sympathy.

Mrs. Pankhurst: Did you notice the character of the meeting in the Albert Hall?—Yes, madam.

Was it a large meeting?—Yes, madam. There were 9,000 persons present.

Did you find out that every seat was paid for?—I understood that.

What sort of people were they in the meeting?—In the body of the hall and in the galleries and balconies there were very well-to-do ladies and gentlemen, and the top gallery was filled with middle-class people.

You know there was only one dissentient from the resolution?—Yes, madam.

Did it receive a good response?—Yes, madam. A good response.

Did you gather that that large number of people were in sympathy with what was said and done?—Yes, madam; they were very much in sympathy—very enthusiastic.

And you considered the meeting representative of what is called public opinion?—Yes, madam.

Mr. Bodkin: Do you mean that it was your opinion of public opinion? (Laughter.)

The Judge: That is rather a shame.

Mr. Bodkin next called another constable who was to speak to an act of window-breaking in Parliament Street on November 21, when Mr. Healy again objected to the calling of evidence as to individual acts before there had been any evidence presented of conspiracy linking the acts with the defendants.

The Judge observed that there was not at present any direct evidence of incitement to this particular act in any of the speeches that the prosecution had given up to that time.

The witness was accordingly withdrawn, and his place was taken by Mr. Hart, manager of the St. Clement's Press. Replying to Mr. Bodkin, he stated that his firm had printed VOTES FOR WOMEN by contract with Mr. Pethick Lawrence. Mr. Pethick Lawrence paid for it by cheque. About 30,000 copies were printed weekly and were delivered at the offices of the Women's Social and Political Union, at 4, Clement's Inn. Witness said that he did not know Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Beneath the title of the paper was printed the information that it was edited by "Frederick and Emmeline Pethick Lawrence." Witness recollected that on March 4 last a proof-reader called his attention to a certain article, and witness read the proof.

At this stage Mr. Healy remarked that the fact that the paper was said to be edited by Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence was not evidence against Mrs. Lawrence. If he printed a paper and stated that it was edited by Mr. Lloyd George, it would not be evidence against that gentleman. (Laughter.)

The Judge remarked that it was evidence against one of the defendants (Mr. Pethick Lawrence).

Mr. Bodkin observed that he could not prove several matters at once. His learned friend was quite himself in putting as many difficulties as he could in the way of the prosecution and in trying the patience of the Court.

Mr. Healy retorted warmly that he was not trying to put difficulties in the way. The law was not a difficulty, it was justice.

Mr. Bodkin: To satisfy my learned friend I will ask this gentleman——

Mr. Healy: To satisfy my lord.

The Judge said that he thought that at present Mr. Healy was entitled to have the case strictly proved.

Mr. Bodkin observed that his lordship's ruling was not quite in accordance with what other learned judges had said.

The Judge: It is in accordance with what I say.

Mr. Bodkin then read the following letter, which the witness had written after reading a proof of the article referred to:—

> Dear Mr. Pethick Lawrence,—I have just seen a proof of the handbill which is being set-up for the Women's Social and Political Union. It seems to me that this is an incitement to extreme measures, which we cannot agree either to print or publish at such a time as the present.
>
> It is also necessary for me to point out that it will be impossible for us to print any similar matter which may be considered of a seditious or libellous character in the newspaper, VOTES FOR WOMEN.—Yours faithfully.

Mr. Healy objected to the witness being questioned about the subject matter of the article.

Mr. Bodkin submitted that the witness was entitled to look at it, although he (counsel) did not propose to put it before the jury at that stage.

The Judge: Mr. Bodkin, all I can say is that in law it is perfectly legitimate for the accused person to say, "Prove your case according to the strict law of the land." There is no reflection on the prosecution in asking them to do that, although it may be inconvenient.

Mr. Bodkin asked if the Judge ruled the question out, and the Judge replied that the prosecution were not entitled to put the question as the document was not yet proved.

The witness stated that the issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN of March 8 this year did not contain the article in question. The heading of it, "A Challenge," appeared, and the signature, "Christabel Pankhurst." He also pointed out blanks on other pages of the same number, denoting passages which his firm objected to print. In December, 1911, he printed 20,000 copies of an article, and in March, 1912, the circular was re-set. He saw the proof, however, and objected to print it. He received the order for that circular from VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Mr. Healy: VOTES FOR WOMEN are not in the dock. (Laughter.)

Witness said that on seeing the proof he instructed an assistant to telephone to the office of VOTES FOR WOMEN, stating that they could not print the article.

Mr. Bodkin: Did you see the assistant at the telephone and hear him?

Mr. Healy objected.

Mr. Bodkin suggested that the witness could hear what the conversation was.

Mr. Healy: Can you hear what somebody at the other end of the wire said.

Mr. Bodkin: Yes.

Mr. Healy: This is a new invention, my lord. (Laughter.)

The witness said he heard his assistant say he declined to print the circular.

Mr. Bodkin: Did you hear an answering voice?—No.

Witness added that in consequence of having informed them he did not print the circular.

Mr. Bodkin handed to witness a copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN of December 1, 1911, directing his attention to the article headed "Broken Windows," page 142. That article, witness said, he declined to reprint in March of this year.

Mr. Bodkin then read the whole of the article headed "Broken Windows," beginning with the quotation from Mr. Lloyd George's speech at Bath.

"Black Friday."

The Judge interposed to ask what was Black Friday.

Mr. Bodkin replied that it was the occasion of one of the largest of the Suffrage riots, when many women were charged with assaulting and obstructing the police.

Witness said the concluding paragraph was different in the article of March. He was next questioned about the MSS. and proofs of articles which he refused to print in the issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN of March 8. Proofs of these articles were shown to the witness, who said they fitted into the blanks in the issue of the paper.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence objected to the reading of the articles. They cannot, he said, under any circumstances be evidence against the defendants. These extracts were sent to the printers in many cases after we were actually arrested. These extracts had certainly never been passed by the editors of the paper, and, as a matter of fact, were never published in the paper. Obviously, therefore, they cannot be evidence against us in any shape or form.

Witness, questioned by Mr. Bodkin, said he could not say exactly when the copy of these articles was received at his office.

Mr. Bodkin next showed witness a copy of a leaflet of which he printed 50,000 copies. It was paid for by Mr. Pethick Lawrence.

Mr. Healy suggested that the Court might adjourn at this stage, but Mr. Bodkin said that the witness was suffering from a serious accident and it would be rather hard on him that he should be brought back again.

The Judge: We must come to an end of this case sometime. We have made very little way.

Answering Mr. Pethick Lawrence, witness explained that when he said things were ordered by VOTES FOR WOMEN he did not mean the newspaper of that name but the Women's Social and Political Union, whose stationery was headed "Votes for Women." Some of the accounts were paid by cheques signed by Mr. Pethick Lawrence. He was not prepared to say they all bore Mr. Pethick Lawrence's signature. He explained in answer to further questions that after copy was set up a proof was sent. The proof was corrected and in many cases the matter was substantially altered. In some cases the matter was still further altered on a revised proof, so that only a final proof could be said to represent the considered opinions of the writer.

The leaflet headed "Broken Windows" was first published as an article in VOTES FOR WOMEN of December 1, and subsequently as a leaflet in December.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence: Why did you refuse to re-publish the same article in March?—In consequence of what had happened one of my directors came to see me, and after a consultation we decided not to print it.

Did no one else come to see you on the matter?—No; only the director.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence next questioned witness about articles in the issues of December 1 and December 29, with reference to criticisms of his on police courts.

The Judge asked what point Mr. Pethick Lawrence desired to make by referring to these accusations against police courts.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence said they were not accusations against police courts, but had reference to a speech he had made which was to be used in evidence against him.

Mr. Bodkin suggested that a more relevant time for cross-examination on this point would be when the speech was put in as evidence against the defendant.

The Judge (to Mr. Pethick Lawrence): You are anticipating difficulties that may never arise. The speech in question may never be given in evidence at all, so your comments about it are at least premature.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence said that his reason for raising the point now was that this was the only witness who could speak to this particular issue of the paper; but if he could raise the point later he would leave it now.

Who was Assaulted?

Mrs. Pankhurst: It seems to me something was said by the learned counsel for the prosecution which is calculated to prejudice your lordship and the jury very much. You, Mr. Bodkin, sir, said in answer to the learned Judge's inquiry, "What is Black Friday?" that it was the occasion of the riot in which women were charged with assaulting the police. This witness published a report of those cases, and he would be able to testify that hardly any of the women were charged with assaulting the police.

The Judge: We will drop Black Friday. I don't know anything about it.

Mr. Lloyd George's View.

Mr. Healy: Did you refuse to print this:—

> BROKEN WINDOWS.
>
> I lay down this proposition—democracy has never been a menace to property. I will tell you what has been a menace to property. When power was withheld from the democracy, when they had no voice in the Government, when they were oppressed, and when they had no means of securing redress except by violence—then property has many times been swept away.
>
> *Mr. Lloyd George at Bath, November 24.*

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Healy: That is all I have to ask.

Mr. Bodkin, in further examination, elicited from the witness that the following appeared in the issue of December 1:—

> THE NEXT PROTEST.
>
> Names of volunteers for active service continue to come in; they include those of many who took part in the demonstration of Tuesday, November 21, while others are of women who have not yet taken militant action. The following are typical letters:—
>
> "As I was discharged at Bow Street last Thursday, I am ready for the next. Please enter my name upon the militant list, for I have not 'learnt better,' as Mr. Muskett advised me!"
>
> * * * * *
>
> "You may count on me till the crack of doom! If it is a mere question of the more the merrier I don't think I could stay away. In the future, when we have reached our goal, I can imagine what a mean cur I should feel at having watched other people doing the dirty work without having raised a finger to help."
>
> Names should be sent to Miss Christabel Pankhurst, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

In reading the sentence, "When we have reached our goal," Mr. Bodkin read, "When we have reached our gaol," the witticism producing a smile.

Mr. Healy solemnly asked witness: Can you say which is the correct pronunciation, goal or jail?

The Judge: It depends on the spelling.

Mr. Bodkin: His lordship is quite correct.

The Court adjourned at this stage for the day.

THURSDAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The Union's Extensive Premises.

When the proceedings were resumed on Thursday, Mr. Graham Campbell examined witnesses concerning the tenancy of offices at Clement's Inn by the Women's Social and Political Union and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

Mr. Thomas Ralph, clerk, in the employ of the Westminster City Council, stated that certain of the rooms were rated in the name of the Women's Social and Political Union, others in that of Mrs. Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, and two were in the name of Mr. F. W. Pethick Lawrence.

Replying to the single question put by Mr. Pethick Lawrence in cross-examination, the witness said that in regard to the places he had described he had no means of distinguishing between offices and private flats.

Banking Transactions.

Mr. Archibald Ernest Christie, agent to the owners of Nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6, Clement's Inn, gave evidence as to the agreements entered into by Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence in regard to the rooms in question. The aggregate rental of the rooms let to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, as "rooms or offices," was £925. The two rooms let to Mr. Pethick Lawrence at a rental of £270 were residential flats.

Alice Harvey, owner of the premises, 156, Charing Cross Road, over which the name "Woman's Press" appeared, stated that rent was paid quarterly by Mr. Pethick Lawrence.

Mr. Thomas Short Graham, manager of the Temple Bar branch of Barclay's Bank, who attended on subpœna, stated that there had been an account at his bank in the name of the Women's Social and Political Union for many years past. The cheques were required by a written instruction to be signed by two out of four persons—Mr. F. W. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Mabel Tuke, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst. One of the two signatures had necessarily to be either that of Mr. Pethick Lawrence or Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and the other signature might be one of the other two.

The Attorney-General: So that Mrs. Tuke and Miss Christabel Pankhurst could not sign cheques alone?—No.

On July 1, 1911, what was the balance to the credit of the account?—£9,306 18s.

On December 30, 1911, what was the total credit including the £9,306 you have given?—The total credit was £23,102 5s. 5d.

That, of course, does not take into account the debits. What was the credit balance on that date?—£10,628 13s. 3d.

What was the credit balance on March 15, 1912?—About £7,362.

On the date March 6, is there a debit of £7,000?—Yes.

That was payment of a cheque drawn on the account?—Yes.

What was the date of the cheque?—March 1, 1912.

When was it presented to you?—On March 6.

Who were the signatories to the cheque?—Mrs. Emmeline Pethick Lawrence and C. H. Pankhurst.

Was there any material difference in the account between March 1 and March 6?—The payment of the cheque £7,000 reduced the balance to about £300.

Witness agreed that the following were the particulars of cheques debited to the account and paid to Mr. Glenister, manager of the London Pavilion:—

	£	s.
7th July, 1911	62	10
22nd July, 1911	62	10
27th September, 1911	150	0
16th November, 1911	150	0
11th January, 1912	150	0
14th February, 1912	150	0

Other entries in the account included:—

	£	s.	d.
7th July, 1911, cheques payable to Albert Hall	108	8	4
and	150	0	0
27th November, 1911, Royal Albert Hall	102	14	6
23rd November, 1911, Savoy Theatre	21	0	0
15th February, 1912, Savoy Theatre	21	0	0
22nd February, 1912, Savoy Theatre	2	9	0
12th January, 1912, Steinway Hall	51	9	0
24th October, 1911, to VOTES FOR WOMEN account	250	0	0
29th February, 1912, to VOTES FOR WOMEN account	250	0	0

These two last entries, witness explained, referred to the transference of sums from the main account to another account termed VOTES FOR WOMEN account. That account was in the name of F. W. Pethick Lawrence, who alone signed the cheques for that account. The VOTES FOR WOMEN account showed various payments to the Woman's Press, including:—

	£
28th July, 1911	200
12th October, 1911	225
1st December, 1911	200
27th February, 1912	500

There was another account entitled Woman's Press account. It contained the following credit entries:—

	£	s.	d.
28th July, 1911	250	0	0
12th October, 1911	225	0	0
1st December, 1911	233	19	9
27th February, 1912	507	7	7

There was also a Meeting account, copy of which witness produced. On July 21, 1911. There was a transfer of £400 from that account to the Main account, and on December 14, 1911, £800 was transferred from that account to the Main account. The credit balance of this account at the beginning of 1912 was £13 9s. 5d., and at the end of February £156.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence had a personal account at witness's bank. Cheque was produced signed Pethick Lawrence for £1,000, which was drawn on February 29, 1912. It was made payable to Mrs. Beatrice Sanders.

VOTES FOR WOMEN account showed a series of substantial payments to St. Clement's Press as follows:—

	£
29th July, 1911	200
23rd September, 1911	250
16th October, 1911	100
26th October, 1911	250

These entries continued to March 1, 1912, when there was the last entry of £250, this representing the last payment made to Mr. Hart, of the St. Clement's Press.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence: You have given evidence of several cheques having been drawn on the Women's Social and Political Union general account for hall-keepers and halls during the period from July, 1911, to February, 1912. Can you state generally whether during the previous two years there had been also a considerable number of cheques drawn to hall-keepers or to halls in London and in the country?—Speaking from memory, I should say it is probable that that is so.

The Attorney-General: I should be quite prepared to admit it.

The Growth of the Funds.

Mrs. Pankhurst: Does Barclay's Bank also act as bankers for any of the local unions?—No; we have no accounts with any of them.

Then all the money that passes through your hands is exclusively the money that comes into the funds of the National Union?—Yes.

You would describe this account, would you not, as an active account?—Oh, very.

Money coming in and going out?—Constantly.

Large sums and small sums?—Yes, both.

Has it been a growing account?—Yes.

Have you had knowledge of it since 1906?—Yes; ever since it started.

Can you tell us approximately how much money has passed through your hands during that time?—Without referring to my books it would be impossible for me to give you any estimate of the amount; but large sums have passed through.

Do you think I would be right in saying that £100,000 have passed through the account?—I should say that that would be within the amount.

I am not over-stating it?—I should say not.

I suppose you could not tell me how much money was paid into it during the first year?—Not without reference to the books; but it was comparatively small.

And there has been a rapid increase?—A steady increase year by year.

Have you the accounts of other societies and organisations?—Oh, yes, a good many.

Are there any that compare with ours in progress?—I find it rather impossible to say.

Have you any accounts of a public character as large as ours?—Yes; many larger.

Would you say that this is a flourishing concern?—I should say it is conducted on extremely good business lines.

Thank you; I think the evidence you have given proves that. As regards the Meetings account, I am not the Treasurer, and I was very much impressed by what you said as to the transference of sums of money from the Meetings account to the General account. Am I right in concluding that these meetings show a profit? It is a profitable account, is it not?—Do you mean to the banker? (Laughter.)

No; to the Union? (Laughter.)—I think that is rather a matter of opinion. One can hardly know what were the expenses; the debit entries do not tell me what the payments were for.

But apparently there seems to be a balance?—Yes.

As to the General account, would you say that it is evidence of prosperity?—Decidedly.

And you would gather that this organisation is one which is increasing in popularity and in strength so far as finance can give evidence?—Undoubtedly.

Thank you.

Frank Glenister, manager of the London Pavilion, gave evidence regarding the letting of the Pavilion for the purpose of meetings of the Women's Social and Political Union. He produced correspondence and also agreements under which the theatre was let.

Public Opinion.

Mrs. Pankhurst (cross-examining): Were those meetings well attended?—Yes; very well attended.

Large meetings?—Very large.

Orderly meetings?—Very orderly.

What sort of people attended the meetings?—The better class, I think, and many of them of the middle class.

Have you ever let the hall to other people?—Yes.

How do these meetings compare with other meetings?—I could scarcely see very much difference from the point of audience.

They were responsible people?—Quite.

You would consider they expressed public opinion?—I should think so.

They were sympathetic?—Very.

And you found the Union satisfactory tenants?—In every way.

Mr. Healy: It did not occur to you that you were letting the Pavilion as part of the machinery of a great conspiracy?—Oh, dear no.

Harry Percival Towers, business manager of the Savoy Theatre, also spoke to that theatre being let to the Women's Social and Political Union for the purpose of meetings. Payment was made by cheque.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence: With regard to the first of the two meetings. You said you were paid by a cheque signed by myself. I presume that what you meant to say was that it was a cheque on the Women's Social and Political Union, of which I was one of the signatories. You don't suggest it was my private cheque?—I don't remember whether the Women's Social and Political Union was mentioned

on the first cheque, but I am under the impression that it was not. I think yours was the only signature. It is my impression that there was only one name, but I am not quite sure.

Orderly and Enthusiastic.

Mrs. Pankhurst: Were you present at these meetings?—Part of them.

Were they large meetings?—The theatre was quite full.

Were there people turned away from the doors?—Well, yes, I should think so.

The meetings were orderly?—Quite.

Would you call them enthusiastic meetings?—Yes.

Very enthusiastic?—Yes; I think so.

You heard some of the speeches probably?—Yes.

Were they well received by the audience?—Oh, yes, very well received.

What kind of audiences?—Well, mostly ladies, I think.

Ladies. You would not call them ill-behaved people?—Well-behaved.

"Ladies" is rather a difficult word, is it not?—Well, women, then. (Laughter.)

Women who had obviously come there for a very serious purpose, and were all in earnest about what was being done at the meeting?—I think so.

Were there interruptions?—Well, I think there were one or two slight ones.

But as a whole the audience was sympathetic and enthusiastic?—Yes.

Mr. Healy: Is it now quite safe to take lunch at the Savoy after these proceedings? (Laughter.)—Yes; I think so.

Mr. Bodkin: Is not the Savoy Restaurant quite distinct from the Theatre?—Oh, yes. (Renewed laughter.)

Inspector Charles Crocker, of Rochester Row, said he was on duty at Cannon Row Police Station on the night of November 21, and attended to the bailing out of the women who had been arrested. About 180 were brought in, and he bailed out 175. Fifty of the women gave their addresses as 4, Clement's Inn. Mr. Pethick Lawrence arrived at the police station at eleven o'clock and said he wanted the women to promise him—as he had given an undertaking on their behalf—that they would not offend again before they had been taken before the Court. Witness heard the undertaking given. Mr. Pethick Lawrence had a list of the names, and his signature appeared in the bailing out book (produced) 175 times as being surety for that number of women. Witness gave the names of some of the women who were bailed out. In further reply to Mr. Bodkin, witness said he was again on duty at Cannon Row on March 1 when ten women were charged. Mr. Pethick Lawrence did not become bail on that day for anybody. He was also on duty on March 4, when about fifty women were charged. He attended to the bailing out of forty-seven of them. Some of them gave the Clement's Inn address. At about eleven o'clock Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence came to the station. Mr. Pethick Lawrence again gave an undertaking that the women would not offend until they had been before the police court the following morning. The women gave the promise to Mr. Pethick Lawrence collectively. Witness produced the bailing out book, which showed that Mr. Pethick Lawrence bailed out twenty-three and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence twenty-four women.

On counsel referring to some names, witness said, "I don't think they belong to me." (Laughter.)

Mr. Bodkin: Well, you don't claim the ownership of persons you have bailed, do you?

Inspector George Hammond deposed to attending to the bailing out of women at Marlborough Street Police Station on March 1. Twenty-six women were charged, and Mr. Pethick Lawrence came at eleven o'clock and bailed the whole of them out.

Albert Canning, a detective-constable of New Scotland Yard, examined by Mr. Bodkin, said he had looked through the file of VOTES FOR WOMEN from November 19, 1911, up to and including March 1, 1912, and produced a list of certain passages which appeared therein.

A file of VOTES FOR WOMEN was handed up to the Judge.

Mr. Bodkin proceeded to read the extracts which figured in the list compiled by the witness. He called attention to "The Call to Arms" in the issue of November 17, and then devoted himself to a paragraph in the issue of December 22, 1911, headed "The Next Protest," which recorded the progress made in securing the names of those who were prepared to participate in a demonstration. Similar paragraphs were read from the issues of January 5 and January 12, 1912. Following these came extracts from a speech by Mrs. Pankhurst at the London Pavilion on January 29 of this year. Counsel then turned to the papers of February 9 and 16, reading passages inviting those who wished to take part in protest demonstrations to forward their names to the offices of the W.S.P.U.

Mr. Healy asked that the jury might be provided with a file so that they could follow the reading of the extracts.

Mr. Bodkin said that as Mr. Healy was representing one of the editors of the journal he might be able to provide a file.

Mr. Marshall undertook to find a file for the use of the jury.

Counsel proceeded to read quotations from speeches delivered at the Savoy Theatre meeting of February 15. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who presided, referred, he said, to "status lymphaticus" and Dr. Forbes Winslow, and then proceeded to address the audience. Miss Christabel Pankhurst followed, and then Mrs. Pankhurst, referring to the next deputation, said:—

That great act had been the need on previous occasions, the need now was greater still. If the deputation were strong enough and influential enough the battle would be ended. No matter how obscure any woman thought herself she could rise to the level of the highest. The people of China won freedom at the price of blood, but the women of England would win freedom only at the price of a few panes of glass. "I have come to the conclusion," said Mrs. Pankhurst, "that if I had broken a pane of glass with other women when younger than my daughter, women would have had the vote long ago. Since we cannot get our freedom by women's ways, then I am going out to throw my stone with the rest of you."

Mrs. Pankhurst asked that the whole of her speech should be read from the VOTES FOR WOMEN report.

The remainder of Mrs. Pankhurst's remarks, as given by Mr. Bodkin, were:—

Mrs. Pankhurst, who had a most enthusiastic welcome, said she was both ashamed and proud to second the resolution—ashamed, because she was old enough to remember when Great Britain was looked upon as a city of refuge for those who had been oppressed by their various Governments, yet never in Russia did they treat their political prisoners as England now treated its women who were fighting for political freedom; and proud because there were still some men found ready to fight and to make sacrifices not in their own cause, but in the cause of women. Some women were ready to think that chivalry had perished from the national life, but Mr. Ball's action revived women's belief in chivalry, and she was glad that after all there was chivalry of a kind that the women of the twentieth century would appreciate; she was glad and proud to be able to honour it to-night. The part that men had taken in this fight had done much to sweeten and to keep sweet this woman movement, to make it clear that it was not a sex war, the women were fighting, but an oppression that women and some men were trying to overthrow. Mrs. Pankhurst then referred to the comparison between the punishment meted out to Mr. Ball and that given to Mr. Hooley, who, it was said, was to have mitigations to his punishment, and to be enabled to carry on his work in prison. Women who had been fighting for the vote were refused these mitigations, and for that reason they were entitled to protest as strongly as they possibly could against the low level to which justice had fallen in this country. Both causes of protest ought to convince every man and woman in the country that women were indeed politically cheap. She would only refer to the political situation to say that the proposal, as the Union understood it, was that Mr. Asquith meant to introduce a Bill to extend the franchise to men to the exclusion of women. This treatment, after fifty years of constitutional agitation and six years of a passionate agitation of an unconstitutional kind, showed the status of woman in this country, and there was no excuse for those who had not revolted at the injustice of these proposals.

In the paper dated March 1 Mr. Bodkin drew attention to the following paragraph:—

The fact is that the public will not endure that its interests shall suffer in consequence of what is deemed to be the obstinacy of a small section. Consequently, if all else fails, Governments are obliged to carry an Act of Parliament in order to secure peace. It is obvious, therefore, that for those who are fighting for reform, to have the public directly concerned to secure the end of a conflict is a very substantial advantage. It is an advantage which the Suffragettes in the earlier days of the militant movement did not possess. Because the Government, and the Government alone, were inconvenienced by the militant campaign, the country watched the struggle with too much equanimity. In the later stages of the militant campaign some members of the public have found that they do not altogether escape the uncomfortable consequences of the warfare between women and the Government. When this happens on a sufficiently extended scale, and the public at large feel that they are directly concerned to secure the capitulation of the Government and the concession of women's claim to the vote, then victory will be ours. We also shall secure an Act of Parliament for the abolition of our grievances.

The position has got to be carried by storm. The militant women must create a crisis—a difficulty from which all concerned are eager to escape. Then, and then only, will women become politically free.

Mr. Bodkin mentioned to the witness that certain advertisements appeared in the paper of the demonstration of March 4, 1912, and asked if, in the course of his search, he found any relating to something that was going to happen on March 1.

Witness said he found nothing at all.

Mr. Bodkin alluded to the invitation for men and women to go to Parliament Square for the March 4 demonstration, and proceeded then to refer to the issue of March 8, in which, owing to the objections of the printers, certain passages do not appear.

Mr. Healy objected to the extracts being given after the issue of March 1.

Mrs. Pankhurst observed that she had no objection to the article signed by her daughter, "Miss Christabel Pankhurst," being read.

After discussion it was decided that the article should not be read.

Cross-examination.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence questioned witness regarding the paper VOTES FOR WOMEN and its contents.

Am I right in saying that in each issue of the paper there are about two pages devoted to what is called "The Campaign throughout the Country"—in London and in the provinces?—Yes.

And, roughly speaking, there is set out in each issue a programme of meetings to be held in the forthcoming week; and roughly, fifty or sixty meetings were being held in London and the same number in the provinces each week?—Yes.

That is over a hundred meetings of the Women's Social and Political Union each week?—Yes.

Witness also stated in further answering Mr. Pethick Lawrence that there was in each issue from half to a whole column of names of contributors to what was called the £250,000 Fund.

There are special paragraphs relating to protests from time to time?—Yes.

Those play but a very small part in the paper as a whole?—Sometimes they formed the subject of a leading article.

Quite so; but they did not form a large feature of the paper?—No.

On Page 83 there is an extract from the *Times* newspaper, and these words occur in the extract:—

There is dismay and wrath among the Woman Suffragists, who see a mine exploded under the so-called Conciliation Bill. That Bill they hoped to carry through the House, in which a large number of members are hampered by pledges hastily given to obviate opposition, and perhaps now viewed with regret. They are all provided now with an excellent excuse for doing nothing; for it is obvious that if a truly democratic Woman Suffrage measure is to be in the hands of the House next Session, it would be absurd to waste time in tinkering the question. On the other hand, Adult Woman Suffrage is not what many ardent Suffragists desire, and there is the further possibility that the House of Commons may recoil from a wholesale creation of feminine votes which would give women a predominant electoral power throughout the country.

Witness: Yes, that is there.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence next called attention to the article in the issue of November 10, 1911, written by himself, in which he had set out "The Record of Postponement and Evasion" by Liberal Prime Ministers regarding women's suffrage. It included quotations from speeches or letters by Mr. Gladstone, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and Mr. Asquith.

Next he read the leading article under "The Outlook," in the issue of November 24, 1911, dealing with the successful adoption of militant tactics, when—

The Judge, stopping him, said: The allegation of the prosecution is that you and the persons sitting with you entered into a conspiracy to incite certain persons to commit breaches of the law. Now, anything that has any bearing on that issue I am sure the jury and the Court will listen to at any length ("Hear, hear!" by several of the jurors), but how the misdeeds of the Government, if they be misdeeds, or the changes of policy of this or that Minister can have any bearing on the issue now being tried I for my part fail to see. If you can persuade me that what you are reading has any bearing on the issue we will all listen to it with great patience, but to deal with what Mr. Lloyd George or Mr. Asquith has said or done—unless it has some bearing on whether you did or did not incite any persons to conspiracy—is no more to the point than what the man in the street says or does.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence: I submit that the Prosecution having read considerable extracts from this file, it is open to us to read a few extracts.

The Judge: The extracts read by the Prosecution, so far as I could gather, were devoted to showing—successfully or unsuccessfully it is for the jury to say—the scheme by which was carried out the actions which they are going to prove.

Mr. Healy: As your lordship's ruling may effect my client, in the first place I submit that everything in the paper which has been put in may be quoted from.

The Judge: I am excluding nothing.

Mr. Healy: My second suggestion is this, that it is part of the defence that these occurrences arose not because of the incitements in these papers but because of the breaches of faith of the Ministers who are attacked in these columns. And we say—and we are entitled to say—that that gave rise to these manifestations is not the result of the action of the prisoners at the bar primarily, but is due to the antecedent breach of faith from which the general body of those who claim the vote suffer, be that view right or be it wrong.

The Judge: I follow that, but what we have got to decide now is whether the accused had any part or lot in the incitement.

The Real Criminals.

Mr. Healy: In fact, according to our contention, the real criminals—if criminals there be—are not the persons in the dock. The persons who caused these demonstrations are the persons who are guilty of this breach of faith.

The Judge: Assume that the persons who acted in the manner described in the indictment had, or thought they had, some grievance; assume that the question we have to decide is whether or not those persons did or did not incite other persons to commit certain breaches of the law; I am not excluding any defence, but I am only pointing out to Mr. Pethick Lawrence and asking him what bearing it has on the issue. That is what I have been asking myself, and I daresay what the jury have been asking themselves. ("Hear, hear!" by several jurymen.) I cannot stop Mr. Pethick Lawrence from reading at any length he pleases, but for my information, and for the information of the jury, I thought the time had come to ask what point he was asking the jury to consider, because accusations against this or that Minister did not seem to me to have any bearing whatever upon the issue which we are trying. That was my sole object in interrupting.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence: I quite agree that to deal at any length with this great file of papers would be very tedious indeed, but I think just a few extracts which I have selected are perhaps not out of place at this point, and they do seem to me to be relevant and material at this stage, and although I could read them in my speech I think it would make my speech unduly long. As against the some forty extracts which the Prosecution have read I propose to deal with only six or seven.

The Judge: I am not stopping you, Mr. Pethick Lawrence. I am only asking you what bearing it has on the case, and the question remains unanswered.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence: I think that when we come to the defence you will see that what I propose to read has a very important bearing on the case. Of course, I could read all the extracts.

(*Continued on page 544.*)

The Judge: I hope you won't. (Laughter.)

Mr. Bodkin remarked that all that was being put to the witness was in the papers, and no new information could be got by putting these articles to him.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence replied that this was the only opportunity there would be of having them brought before the jury as evidence.

Mr. Healy pointed out that the observation just made by Mr. Bodkin applied equally to the extracts he had read, and which he had taken good care to read.

The Judge observed that they would listen with strict impartiality to whatever Mr. Pethick Lawrence was disposed to read.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence: I shall be strictly reasonable, and shall only read what it seems to me is absolutely material.

Proceeding, he quoted the following from the leading article in the issue of November 24, 1911:—

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence drew an analogy from the case of Ireland. There had been a great agitation in that country for Home Rule, in response to which the Government were proposing to introduce an Irish Home Rule Bill. What would be the temper of the Nationalist party if the Government had proposed instead to introduce a Home Rule Bill for England, another for Scotland, another for Wales, and to leave Ireland under the Imperial Government? That was what the Government were proposing to do for women, and there was no answer to it except vigorous and determined protest.

In a remarkable leader on the following morning, the *Times* discussed the situation, and pointed out that the dilemma of the situation by the W.S.P.U. was entirely correct.

"Except by Violence."

The next extract was from the issue of December 21, 1911, dealing with Mr. Lloyd George's Bath speech. Mr. Pethick Lawrence read the following from that speech:—

I lay down this proposition—democracy has never been a menace to property. I will tell you what has been a menace to property—when power was withheld from the democracy, when they had no votes, when the government, when they were oppressed and had no means of securing redress except by violence.

And I will give you the last reason I have got. Why are they angry now? They ran the Conciliation Bill, a measure of limited suffrage which, if it had passed, would have been grossly unfair to Liberalism. Now that Bill has been torpedoed, and the way is clear for a broad and democratic amendment of the suffrage for women.

The following from the leading article of December 22 was next read by Mr. Pethick Lawrence:—

Perhaps the most important of our questions was that which enquired as to the basis of Mr. Lloyd George's professed belief that a democratic proposal for Women Suffrage can be carried except as a Government measure. This vital point Mr. Lloyd George evaded altogether. Both he and Sir Edward Grey expressed the opinion that a democratic proposal can be carried as an amendment, but neither of them made the smallest effort to support their statements by facts and calculations. The precise terms of our question were:—

If you believe that your proposal can be carried as an amendment, how do you reconcile your belief with the following facts:—

(*a*) That as the proposal will not appeal to Unionists, support must come from the ranks of the Coalition?

(*b*) That Anti-Suffragist Ministers belonging to the Coalition will be given freedom of action by the Government to vote against the proposal, and thus wipe out the Coalition majority, leaving the supporters of your proposal in a minority?

(*c*) That it is not made a Government measure, there will be no adequate means of preventing Nationalists and other M.P.s from being absentees when the Woman Suffrage question is being voted upon?

Now, until they supply an answer to this question, Ministers who ask us to trust to the success of an amendment are simply insulting our intelligence.

The next quotation was from the article entitled "Do Ut Des," in the issue of January 5, 1912. It began:—

DO UT DES.

(I give that you may give.)

In a notable speech (September, 1876), the great Chancellor of the German Empire, Bismarck, pointed out to his Parliament that the basis of all political negotiation was the principle *do ut des* (I give that you may give). He proceeded to refute a statement made by Bebel concerning an alleged political understanding arrived at between himself (Bismarck) and the Socialist orator Lassalle, by saying: "He (Lassalle) had nothing which he could have given me as a Minister. . . . He was not a man with whom definite agreements upon the basis of *do ut des* could be concluded."

* * * * *

When the Liberal Party in 1906 found themselves in power with a majority so great that they were independent of the Irish vote in the House of Commons, they showed no disposition whatever to touch the question of Home Rule or to commit themselves in any way to the Irish Party.

The article went on, Mr. Pethick Lawrence said, to show that the vote was the only power by which the Government could be brought to compromise.

Mr. Hobhouse's Incitement.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence's final reference was from an article in the issue of February 23, by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, entitled "Incitement to Violence," and dealing with a speech by the Right Hon. C. E. H. Hobhouse. Mr. Pethick Lawrence said he attached the greatest importance to this extract:—

In the Colston Hall, in Bristol, the Rt. Hon. C. E. H. Hobhouse, at an Anti-Suffrage meeting, said (*vide* report in the *Times*) "that in the case of the suffrage demand there had not been the kind of popular sentimental uprising which accounted for Nottingham Castle in 1832 or the Hyde Park railings in 1867. There had been no great exhibition of popular feeling."

We have often said that members of the Government do not understand the language of reason or of argument, nor the appeal to justice, and that the only argument that carries any weight with them is the argument of militancy. Mr. Hobhouse on Friday last bore irrefutable evidence to the truth of that statement. He altogether ignored the constitutional agitation for Woman Suffrage, which is the greatest agitation which has ever been carried on in this country for franchise reform. Twenty years ago, April 27, 1892, Mr. Balfour pointed out on the floor of the House of Commons that the agitation for Votes for Women was at least as strong at that time as had been the agitation

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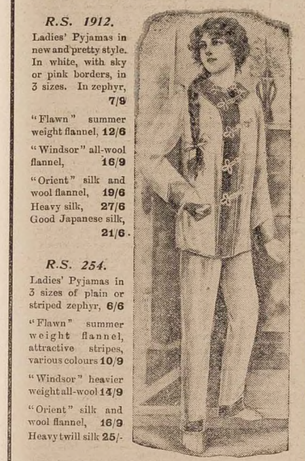

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MISSING THE POINT!

There is not very much to interest thinking readers in Mrs. Atherton's latest novel, "Julia France and her Times" (John Murray. 6s.), though the scheme of the book is a good one. The development of a girl brought up in the West Indies, married at eighteen to a dissipated English aristocrat, and drawn at thirty into the militant Suffrage movement in England, should have presented a good deal of human interest, as well as subtle psychology. The story promises well, and the early part of it is by far the best, dealing as it does with Julia's upbringing by an eccentric and clever mother, who belonged to the generation when, "at all events, in the world's backlands, it was still the fashion for women of strong brains and character to despise their own sex." But after the girl's marriage and transference to London, the story hangs fire. The tragedy of her married life leads to impose, because neither Julia nor her husband ever seem quite real, and she does not become more so when, France having been conveyed to a lunatic asylum, she becomes a militant Suffragist. At this point, we should naturally expect to be thrilled. Unfortunately, the writer's knowledge of the movement is not of the kind to make it possible for her to grasp its meaning, or understand the women who take part in it. That the details of the campaign are incorrect matters very little. An observer, relying on contemporary accounts, might easily get facts wrong and imagine that at by-elections the W.S.P.U. organiser spent her time in being thrown out of the candidate's meetings with violence, or that at an Albert Hall meeting held in France, sitting at the right of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, should, as president of one of the many Unions "inspired" by the Women's Social and Political Union, make the principal speech of the evening. It is quite permissible, of course, that the novelist should modify and alter facts in this manner; however, it is not permissible, nor is it strictly within the limits of good taste, to introduce real people, call them by their real names, and then give a totally false impression of them. Those who have enjoyed the wit of the speeches made against the franchise Albert Hall elsewhere will come with amazement upon the information that "humour in Suffragette ranks was rare. Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughter, great speakers as they were, had not a ray of it," &c. And nothing could display more ignorance of the spirit that characterises the whole movement than the subsequent account of Julia's relations with an unattractive young American who says "Gee!" at intervals, and of her spiteful jealousy of the young girl who flirts with him. It is all very unfortunate to be and very unattractive; and where the Women's Social and Political Union is concerned it manages to miss the point lamentably. The following passage, taken from the account of a by-election campaign in a mining district, will show how far the author is from understanding the broad humanity and the democracy of the movement:—

The car impressed the men almost as much as the eloquence of the speakers. Their thick heads, generally thicker at eight in the evening, were as impervious to female suffrage as the heads at Westminster, but Julia and Mrs. Lane had borrowed all the arguments of the Conservative candidate and used them with no less eloquence, and the more penetrating ingenuity of their sex.

Misunderstanding, surely, could no further go!

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Some German Women and Their Salons." By Mary Hargrave. (London: T. Werner Laurie. Price 7s. 6d. net.)

"Canada To-Day. 1912." (London: Stanley Paul and Co. Price 1s. net.)

"Divorce and Morality." By Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. (London: Frank Palmer. Price 1s. net.)

"In Light and Darkness. Hope!" By Irene E. Toye Warner. (London: Kegan Paul. Price 1s. 6d. net.)

"Linked in Loss." By the Rev. Hugh B. Chapman. (To be obtained from the Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road. Price 2d.)

"The Twentieth Century Magazine. May." (Twentieth Century Co., Boston. Price 25 cents.)

"The Mask." By J. Redwood Anderson. (Oxford: Messrs. J. Thornton and Son. Price 4s. net.)

"The Argument of Broken Windows." By Annie G. Porritt. Hartford. (Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association, Hartford.)

"A Plan for Ensuring the Absolute Safety of Those Travelling by Sea or Other Water Ways." By Michael Angelo and Gordon Bevan. (Torquay: Bevan and Sons. Price 3d.)

"The Life and Times of Rodrigo Borgia (Pope Alexander VI.)." By the Most Rev. Arnold H. Mathew, D.D. (London: Stanley Paul and Co. Price 16s. net.)

LADY CONSTANCE LYTTON.

We have been asked to announce that, owing to ill-health, Lady Constance Lytton is unable, for the present, to attend to correspondence or make engagements. We are sure that, in expressing our deep regret at her illness and our warmest hopes for her speedy recovery, we shall be fully representing the feelings of all our readers.

A MESSAGE FROM S. AFRICA.

The Women's Enfranchisement Association of the Union of South Africa have sent the following message to the W.S.P.U.: "The Executive of this Association desire to send a message of sympathy and admiration to the brave women who are now suffering in England for a cause which is ours no less than theirs. The inspiration of their courage is quickening the spirit of womanhood in every quarter of the earth."

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At 8 p.m. Doors open at 7.30.

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SPEAKERS:—

Miss SYLVIA PANKHURST,
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VOTES FOR WOMEN

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FRIDAY, MAY 24, 1912

PRISONERS OF WAR.

The three leaders have been convicted and sentenced to nine months' imprisonment in the second division. The injustice of this penalty is glaringly apparent when compared with the two months' imprisonment deemed by the Government to be a sufficient punishment for the far more serious offence proved against Mr. Tom Mann. If we compare the sentences passed upon the W.S.P.U. Leaders with the complete impunity allowed to the Unionist leaders who are inciting to violence and bloodshed in Ulster, we discover a public scandal such as has rarely, if ever, disfigured the public life of our country.

The judgment of the Court will not be accepted as final. After all, the issue at stake is not one which can be properly decided in a court of law. The question of whether a man or woman is a patriot or a criminal is not a matter of mere dry law. It is a question of high politics. The case of the W.S.P.U. Leaders will therefore be brought before the political authorities, and the Government will be called upon to say whether they confirm the act and judgment of the court. That they are finally and in reality responsible for punishment inflicted in this case even they cannot deny. We demand that they deal with the Suffragist Leaders precisely as they are dealing with the Unionist leaders, and we shall be content with nothing short of the release of the prisoners.

The Government have not even had the grace to arrange that in the meantime their prisoners of war should be placed in the First Division. We protest strongly against the decision of the judge to sentence them as common criminals. Evidently the policy of the Bench is to place any scoundrel in the First Division rather than political offenders. An extraordinary bias against political reformers has been noticeable on the part of our judges since Hampden's days, if not before. But it is the Government who must accept the responsibility for the treatment of the Leaders as ordinary criminals. It is their duty as a Government to send instant orders to the prison officials to place the prisoners in the first division. This is what was done in the case of the Jameson Raiders. The judge sentenced them as ordinary criminals, but the Home Secretary of that day immediately transferred them to the first division, his telegraphic instructions being actually given before Dr. Jameson and his colleagues passed through the prison gates. The whole conduct of the trial, the masterly unfolding of the political and moral justification of militancy, the calm and dignity with which the three defendants faced the grave possibilities that confronted them, have stirred the heart and heightened the enthusiasm of every member of the Women's Social and Political Union. Strong and all-conquering indeed is a movement which has such leaders and is served in this spirit. Stronger than ever, the Union has come through the recent militant demonstration, through the suffering endured by its brave members in prison, and through the trial of the Leaders. It emerges from these ordeals like tempered steel.

We cannot say as much for the Government. That body is sadly damaged in credit and reputation by its attacks upon the Suffrage cause and upon this Union. In what a contemptible light the Government appeared throughout the Conspiracy Trial! That a member of the Government acted as counsel for the prosecution made matters worse. The most elementary good taste would have kept Sir Rufus Isaacs out of the case. If we were disposed to borrow from the phraseology of his colleague, Mr. Lloyd George, we should say: There are many contemptible ways of adding fat fees to an already enormous official salary, but that of coming into court to hound down your political opponents, and to eat your own words and play false to your own convictions, is, of all ways, the most contemptible. For Sir Rufus Isaacs has publicly said that violence is the only weapon of the voteless. He therefore completely understands the innocence of the motives of those who stood in the dock. His justification of violence is also their justification of violence. He it was who said on a public platform in reference to the position of enfranchised men, "We do not need now to have recourse to bloodshed or violence to carry on our schemes of progress and reform because we have a fairly good franchise." Yet, in spite of these words, he it is who comes into court and demands that persons who have done nothing but act upon the principles publicly laid down by himself shall be sent to prison. Such amazing hypocrisy literally takes one's breath away. Sir Rufus Isaacs' conduct is interesting because it is typical of the conduct of each of his colleagues and of the Government as a whole. On the public platform they mouth great principles and talk of the sacred rights of rebellion. This they do because they believe that the expression of such sentiments recommends them to the favour of the electors. But let unenfranchised women ask them to act upon the principles they profess, let those women assert the sacred right of rebellion, and then immediately the true colour of the Government's Liberalism is plainly seen.

There are three points that we would state with all possible clearness:—

Firstly, we claim that Suffragist militancy is the direct result of the inflammatory words and provocative deeds of members of the Government. Among inflammatory words we may instance the Prime Minister's repeated denials that the constitutional campaign for Woman Suffrage is evidence that a demand for that reform exists, and Mr. Hobhouse's taunt that Suffragists have done nothing equivalent to the burning of Nottingham Castle. The Government's provocative action consists in their whole course of action with regard to votes for women from 1906 until the present day. Militancy would entirely cease if votes were given to women.

Secondly, we emphatically deny the truth of the Attorney-General's statement that Suffragists are allowed complete freedom of agitation within the limits of the law. This statement can best be described in plain, unvarnished language as a lie. There is only one method of agitation which is both effective and legal, and that is the recording of a vote at the ballot-box. Meetings and every other similar form of activity are of no value except as an indication of how votes will be cast when the opportunity of casting them arrives. To say that the voteless are free to pursue a lawful agitation is not only a lie, it is a mockery. Mr. Asquith himself, in defending the Boer War, said that the two alternative political remedies were *votes* and *arms*.

Thirdly, we say that the Attorney-General's argument, that to admit the right of women to use militant methods to win the vote is to permit a similar freedom of action to enfranchised men, is a dishonest quibble intended to deceive. The whole question turns upon the absence or presence of the constitutional weapon of the vote. As Sir Rufus Isaacs himself has said, "Voters do not need to resort to violence"; but, as the *Westminster Gazette* added in commenting upon his speech (April 22, 1910), "the voteless had to do something violent in order to show what they felt."

Yet, in spite of all, the Government by this prosecution have made history; they have secured finally and for ever to the three whom they accused and sent to prison a place beside John Hampden and those other great ones who, by defying laws and Governments, have carved out the liberties of the British people.

THE REAL CONSPIRACY.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence Outlines the Defence.

After the close of the case for the prosecution, Mr. Pethick Lawrence, as reported on p. 548, said he proposed shortly to address the jury at this stage for the purpose of outlining the case for the defence, and later on he would deliver his final address to the jury. He said:—

May it please your lordship, Gentlemen of the jury, You have heard at considerable length the case which the prosecution has made out against myself and against my co-defendants here in the dock on a charge of conspiracy and incitement to break windows. The case that I have to put before you is that neither the conspiracy nor the incitement is ours; but that the conspiracy is a conspiracy of the Cabinet which is responsible for the government of this country; and that the incitement is the incitement of the Ministers of the Crown—of Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, and Mr. Hobhouse, and of the other Ministers, including the Attorney-General, who has taken this case against us. And I say that if these honourable gentlemen had shown that they were prepared to listen to reason and to argument, that these events which you have so patiently listened to during these days would never have taken place.

Speaking for my myself, I loathe the idea of any such thing as the deliberate breaking of shop windows. It is a thing which to me is essentially ugly and repugnant. But I know that these women who have taken that course have been driven, by the inexorable logic of facts, to do what they did. And I for one am not going to condemn them for their action.

Now, gentlemen, in order to enable you to understand how I propose to conduct my defence, I want to tell you that I intend—not at very great length—to put before you certain facts in this opening speech of mine which will enable you to understand the situation as it has occurred. I shall then call before you a number of witnesses—men and women of honour and distinction—who will give you facts relating to these affairs; and after you have heard those witnesses I shall deal shortly with the facts they have given, and I shall show you that it is not the co-defendants who are here before you, but that it is with others that the real blame lies for this state of things.

Now, gentlemen, I want you to get out of your heads all the facts about the window smashing, all the facts about the career of the Women's Social and Political Union which you have learned from the Press of the country. You must remember that you must take the facts, not as you read them in the newspapers, which are fond, shall we say, of a little embellishment here and a little omission there, in their desire to present a good picture for their readers rather than to be strictly accurate and to give everything in its full perspective and proportion.

Now, gentlemen, you have seen the two women who are here in the dock with me. You have been told in your newspapers that the women in this movement are hysterical and excited, and that they do not know what they are doing. You have seen the two women who are here with me, and I think it must have come to you, perhaps as a surprise, the calmness and deliberateness and the self-possession which those two women have shown. You have not had before you the others concerning whom we are charged with regard to this conspiracy. But you have heard some of the speeches that they made in the dock when they were before the judge at the Newington Sessions. And however much you may disagree with the political sentiments which those women are said to have uttered, I think you will acknowledge that their speeches were not the speeches of people hysterical, inflamed, and excited. If you have ever listened to political speeches—and I take it that all of you have—you will know that men very often lose control of themselves in a rhetorical outburst, especially when they are taking part in a revolutionary campaign. But I think you will admit that the speeches which have been read to you, and which the witnesses have admitted were the speeches made by the women on these occasions, do not show any sign of hysterical or excited behaviour or point of view. We had in the box one witness who spoke of a particular woman—I think it was Miss Wylie—who had broken his shop window, and he said that she seemed to be a woman whom he would have thought to be the very last person to take such a course; and the only conclusion he could come to on the first consideration of her action, was that she had gone mad. But he had seen that this was a mistaken judgment. Her action certainly produced a shock on his mind, and he could find no adequate cause to explain the situation. Now what I want to put to you and to convince you of is that you are dealing here with something outside the ordinary affairs of life; you are dealing with something outside your ordinary experience. You are accustomed to deal with the ordinary affairs of men and women—of commerce—the affairs of the shop, with the affairs of the business concerns of the world. Here, we are concerned, in this agitation and in this trial, with something which is beyond and outside the ordinary affairs of life. We are dealing, and you are dealing here with people whose life is devoted to an ideal, and whether you agree with them or whether you disagree with them, you are faced with the fact that they have calmly and thoughtfully and deliberately come to a certain conclusion, that a certain course of action is right—though it may or may not commend itself to you, and may or may not commend itself to other people, but which is calmly and deliberately thought out, and which is the result of a solemn and grave determination at which they have arrived.

Who are the Defendants?

Now I want to say to you a few words about the lives of the defendants who are here in this dock.

Mrs. Pankhurst is the widow of Dr. Pankhurst, a great lawyer, who was a comrade of John Stuart Mill, and who worked with him for many years in the early days of the fight for the emancipation of women. Mrs. Pankhurst has been the mother of four children—one son and three daughters—and when she had brought them up and given them their education, she took part in public work in Manchester, where she was for some years a Guardian of the Poor.

My wife, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, before she came into this movement, had spent many years of her life in work among women and girls of the poorer class. She worked in connection with the West London Mission, and there some of the most arduous, some of the most serious, and some of the most painful work which it is possible for a human being to have to do, fell to her lot. It was part of her work to look after those members of her sex who through misfortune or other terrible calamity had sunk into a position in which they were outcasts from society. Many of those women, with whom she came into contact, she was able to bring up from those depths into which they had fallen and to make them responsible citizens, and to give them a life that was worth living in after years. She was also instrumental in starting a large club for working girls, and she and her friend, Miss Mary Neal, started the Esperance Club—a club which some of you may have heard of, that has been the means of restoring to the people of this country the old folk songs and games which seemed to be leaving Merrie England. The members of that club, of which she and Miss Neal have been the leaders, have been all over the countryside, all through the towns, bringing back to the people the life and gaiety of the old days.

Now as to myself, as the Attorney-General has already told you, I am a member of the Bar, and he has told you that I, therefore, ought to be especially opposed to anything in the nature of illegal action. I will go further than that and say that I am by very nature and temperament a believer in law and order, that I dislike anything which is disorderly, and that I am deeply sensible of the necessity, in a great community, of the preservation of law and order, in all the ordinary conduct of life. I do not propose to say to you very much about my previous life, but I should like to say that after my work as a student at Eton and at Cambridge, I set myself to the investigation of the wages of men and women in different parts of the country, and the comparison of these wages, and it was upon that investigation that I obtained my Fellowship at Trinity College. After I left the University, I spent three years in a University Settlement at Canning Town, and it was there that I learned of the tragedy that comes to many people in this country owing to their poverty and to their inability, under the present condition of life, to free themselves from that tragedy. After that I had a controlling interest in—I was practically the proprietor of—one of the London evening newspapers, and when that paper came to an end—I say this to you with some diffidence, because I hate speaking about myself—I did not consider that my obligations were limited by the ordinary legal obligations of creditors of that paper; and the staff of that paper received from me personally a considerable sum in consideration of the debts which I felt were morally due to them, even though my legal obligations did not go so far. I say that to you because I want to explain to you my own view of the duties and responsibilities of a citizen go far beyond the mere legal obligations that the law lays down. And I want to remind you that there have been men like John Hampden, who, finding a political situation arise which seemed to them to transcend all the ordinary dealing of life, were prepared first of all to come into conflict with the law through tax resistance, and then to go further than that, as you will remember John Hampden did; and failing to establish his point in a court of law, there was nothing left for him but to take up arms. And so he won for the people of this country—it was largely through his sacrifice—the liberties which we possess at the present day.

Forty Years of Patience.

Now the Attorney-General, in opening this case, said that we could not altogether keep politics out of our discussion. That has proved to be so, because in a great many of the speeches that have been read to you, a great deal of political matter has inevitably been introduced. Therefore, although it is my desire to deal as briefly as possible with the political circumstances which have led up to the events with regard to which this trial is being conducted, I feel that I cannot pass over altogether in silence the state of affairs which the Attorney-General has put before you. I feel that it is necessary to represent correctly the facts of the case and the situation which has arisen. The Attorney-General was not entirely correct in his statement. He said he thought the Women's Social and Political Union was founded in the year 1907 or thereabouts. As a matter of fact, the Women's Social and Political Union was founded in 1903. That, of course, was many years after the struggle for the emancipation of women had begun. Dr. Pankhurst, husband, as I have told you, of Mrs. Pankhurst, and John Stuart Mill and Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy, who is at the present time a member of the Committee of the Women's Social and Political Union—were engaged for a number of years—for forty years prior to that date, in working along the ordinary lines for Women's Suffrage. Great meetings were held, monster petitions were sent to Parliament, and the large majority of the Members of Parliament were pledged to support Women's Suffrage.

Now I want you to notice that that all failed to achieve its object because politicians behaved treacherously. The story of more recent events bears out this fact. We are plain men and women who expect honest dealing in everyday life, and for the most part we get it, but when we come to politicians and members of Parliament, and when it comes to questions of politics, we find they fail. We find the way they treat political questions is by methods of trickery and chicanery. And it is because these ordinary methods of business life are not successful when it comes into the realm of politics, that we have this situation. There was a large majority in the House of Commons to carry Women's Suffrage in the days when Mr. Gladstone was Prime Minister, yet he broke his word, and induced his followers to go back on their pledges, and to be false to the promises which they had made. Following upon that, whenever the question of Women's Suffrage was mentioned in the House of Commons it was greeted by cries of "humbug," and by ribald jests by members of Parliament,

Trickery and Humbug.

Now I have told you that the Women's Social and Political Union was founded in 1903, and for two years following that date the ordinary methods of constitutional agitation were pursued. Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughter, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, who is mentioned together with us in this indictment, but who has not joined us here in the dock—these two women for two years devoted themselves to all the ordinary methods of propaganda. But they found they were not making progress, because they were up against this. They were marching on the swampy ground of trickery and humbug. And so it was that, towards the close of 1905, Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Miss Annie Kenney went to a meeting of one of the great Liberal leaders—Sir Edward Grey—at a time when the Liberal Government—this Liberal Government which is now in office—was just on the verge of coming into power. These two women went to that meeting with the intention of finding out the true facts. They knew that Liberal statesmen had been in the habit of making promises and indulging in wide generalities, and they knew that nothing had ever come of them. At the close of Sir Edward Grey's meeting they rose to put a simple question—what was the Liberal Government going to do with regard to the demand of women to be enfranchised? They put it at the proper time, at the close of the meeting, and in the proper way. But instead of receiving an answer to that question, these two women were flung out of the hall. They were thrown out with great violence, and held a demonstration in the street, and they were arrested and sent to prison. That was how what is called militancy began, and I dwell upon that for two reasons. First of all, I want to show you that it was due to the trickery and humbug of the Government that anything more than ordinary methods were adopted. I also want to draw attention to it for this reason. You have frequently heard the word militancy used. You may have thought, unless I had given you this story, that militancy meant some violent outbreak or stonethrowing. This has not always been the sort of method adopted. Militancy simply means that you take some step that is disagreeable to somebody else, and, incidentally, it will be proved in this case that it was exceedingly disagreeable to the people taking part in it themselves. During the whole course of this six or seven years, since that historic meeting in October, 1905, one of the methods of militancy has been that to which you have had frequent allusion made in the course of this trial. There have been meetings at which the speeches of Cabinet Ministers have been interrupted by interjections on the part of women. Part of the evidence you have had before you was brought, I think, in order to show the nature of the work of this Women's Social and Political Union, and reference was made to one occasion when Mr. Asquith was very largely interrupted and was unable to obtain a hearing owing to the words which were spoken at his meeting by women who came to know why he took up his present attitude on Votes for Women. Now that has been, during all these six years, one of the methods of what is called militancy. They are methods which men politicians have used for a very long time. You have had Liberals going down, and deliberately going down, in order to interrupt Conservative meetings. There is no doubt whatever about that. You have had Liberal newspapers—we have not in this country what is exactly an official Press, but we have what is tantamount to an official Press—you have had these papers glorying in what they call "the voice," which constantly interrupted and interfered with the progress of the speeches of their opponents. But when women, at infinite cost to themselves, have been present, and have suffered in many cases severe injury—a man on one occasion had his leg broken, and many other severe injuries have resulted—when women have been there, you have had a man like Mr. Lloyd George taunting these women and making a statement, which he knew to be absolutely false, that "was a very nice way of earning a living, wasn't it?" to come there and interrupt him when he wanted to make a great speech. Now I say that that has been a very serious incitement. Supposing, gentlemen, that you had felt that you had some great public duty to perform, and, at great personal sacrifice, you had attended—supposing you had gone to the Titanic inquiry, where you had some important evidence to give, and supposing you had gone there at considerable personal inconvenience. If, as the result of the evidence you had given, you had been mauled about, had your clothes torn, had bruises inflicted upon you, and then, on the top of that some gentleman said to you that that was a very nice way of earning your living, wasn't it, would you not be incited by such an outrageous statement of that kind? Would it not make your blood run hot, and would it not make you angry, and would not that affect you in your feelings upon the question? I put it to you, gentlemen, that when Mr. Lloyd George,

after he had had the facts before him—for the facts have been sent to him, he has been shown the balance-sheet, he has been given categorical information that such statements are absolutely false—for him to make that statement to the women is an incitement which, you must realise is very serious. As you know, he made it again the other night. He is a man who is in receipt of money for his professional services. I don't say there is anything wrong in that—I do not think there is; but I think that for a man who is in receipt of a large sum for his professional and political services to taunt women, who do not receive money, with their being hired for certain work when they are doing it voluntarily, and without any form of payment whatever, in order to take a course which, however unpleasant to themselves, they feel to be their duty, I say that is an incitement of a very serious kind. I want to return to that first act of militancy at Sir Edward Grey's meeting to which I have just referred. My wife and I heard shortly after that of this new society which was formed, and we determined to see who were the people responsible for it, and what was the nature of the work they were doing. When we had come into contact with them we realised that they were right, that, though their methods were different from the methods which we had been accustomed to, they were the only ones that were likely to succeed where others had failed, and we determined to throw in our lot with them.

Now, gentlemen, that was a very serious step, and when I come to my speech at the close of the evidence I propose to say to you a few words as to why that very grave and very serious step was taken by us. I want to pass on. I am confining myself to the facts of the situation, and I want to tell you this: this Women's Social and Political Union of which you have heard so much, and of the militant side of whose policy you have heard so much, has carried on a political and educational side far greater than any political agitation that has been carried on, at any rate, in recent years, and I don't think that I am overstating it when I say that it has a larger political and educational side than that of any political movement in the history of this country. We had a witness in the box—Inspector Powell—who admitted that in the course of his thirty years' experience he had never known an agitation carried on so long and so widely as that of the Women's Social and Political Union. I might tell you that in the course of the six years of its existence it has held over a hundred meetings a week—you have it in evidence before you that it has held a hundred to three hundred meetings every week in different parts of the country—so that in the whole six years it has held something like 100,000 different meetings in different parts of the country. These meetings have been held in the largest halls in London, Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool, Glasgow, Bristol, and in parts of Scotland and Wales. The great Albert Hall—I think the largest hall in the country—has been filled thirteen times with women taking part in this constitutional agitation; the Queen's Hall hundreds of times, and at the London Pavilion and other places a great number of meetings have been held. In the course of the year 1911 a letter was sent to the Prime Minister, in which he was shown that during that particular year this organisation alone had held more meetings—several times more meetings—than all the other political societies throughout the country, and had done several times the amount of political work. When the question came up in the House of Commons in the year 1908 or 1909, I forget which, Mr. Gladstone, now Lord Gladstone, said that it was not sufficient for women to hold meetings indoors; they ought to show by meetings held out of doors, that they could agitate in the same way as men. Largely in consequence of that statement it was arranged to hold a great demonstration in Hyde Park. I do not propose to tell you at great length about that. I propose to read to you what the *Times* said, and the *Times* has not, as you know, any great bias in favour of Woman Suffrage. The *Times* correspondent wrote:—

> The organisers of the demonstration had counted on the attendance of 250,000. That expectation was certainly fulfilled. Probably it was doubled, and it would be difficult to contradict anyone who asserted confidently that it was trebled. Like the distance and numbers of the stars the facts were beyond the threshold of perception.

That was one great outdoor demonstration held by this Union to show the demand of women for the vote. What was the result of a great demonstration of that kind? After it had been held the leaders of the movement wrote to Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister, and asked him if they had shown the great demand there was for the vote, and asked him to receive them in deputation in order to lay certain facts before him. Mr. Asquith, in his reply, not only opposed Women's Suffrage, but treated the request with contumely; he refused, absolutely and totally, to receive any deputation representing this society. And that is the kind of method—absolute contumely when it has not been trickery and chicanery—with which the constitutional and the normal and proper demand of the women has been met. The women who were engaged in that conflict were forced to compare his attitude to them to his attitude to the request which came from the men in Woolwich. The men, who were anxious about a question of Government labour at Woolwich, said they wanted Mr. Asquith to receive a deputation on a certain night. Mr. Asquith said he had another engagement—he was going out to dinner—and that he could not receive them. The men said they were coming whether he could receive them or not, and they were going to wait until he did receive them. His answer to them was that he had changed his mind, and that he would make it convenient to see them after all. When he was dealing with the women, in spite of the fact that they came as representatives of this enormous and unparalleled demonstration, he treated them with contumely. When they came out in order to see him they were arrested for obstruction and sent to prison for considerable terms. That, for many years, was one of the number of militant methods—as they were called—of the Union. The three principal methods were: an anti-Government policy at by-elections—of that I do not propose to speak to you, as it does not affect this case; going to meetings of Cabinet Ministers in order to place their views before the Ministers; and these deputations, or as they were euphoniously called by the newspapers, "raids."

I want to emphasise to you that these militant methods meant nothing illegal. There was nothing illegal whatever about this policy at by-elections, and there was nothing illegal in going to meetings to put questions, or even to interject remarks to Cabinet Ministers. Yet these were always called "raids," and they came in for quite as much censure and hostility as those other methods which brought women into contact with the law. I want to show you now how women who took part in this stone-throwing in November and in March last were incited to do so not only by the speeches of Cabinet Ministers, but by the contumely, by the trickery, and by the falsity of politicians, and the falsity of leading members of the Liberal Government in dealing with their case. The demand the women had always made was that the Government, which nowadays, and under our present methods of the conduct of Parliament, is responsible for legislation—should bring in a Bill to give women the vote.

The Conciliation Bill.

They had demanded that that Bill should remove the sex barrier. They had demanded, where a woman was qualified on precisely the same lines as a man, that just because she was a woman she should not be shut out from having a vote, and they asked the Government to bring in a Bill for that purpose. It was only when the Government had failed to do so for all these years, and had failed to make any promise that they would do so, that these militant methods were adopted. In the year 1910 it was represented that the Government could not very well give way to this militant claim, even though it was backed up by these enormous peaceful demonstrations, and it was suggested that if some means could be found of saving the face of the Government probably some Bill for Women's Suffrage could be got through. I do not want to make any false impression. I cannot suggest to you that that was said by prominent members of the Liberal Government, but I do say that it was said by the women who were conducting this fight. It was suggested that if some Bill could be devised which could be introduced by a private member the Government would probably see their way to allow that Bill to become law. That was the origin of what was known as the Conciliation Bill. It was a Bill to conciliate the different sections in the House of Commons upon which Liberals and Labour men, Irish and Conservative, could all agree, and it was a Bill framed so as to give the vote to women householders, that is to say, the women who paid the rates and taxes, and it would enfranchise about a million women throughout the country. That Bill was brought into the House of Commons, and the Women's Social and Political Union, although it did not entirely agree with the terms of the Bill, said, "If this is going to conciliate the different sections, we are not going to raise any objection to the progress of that measure; but we will take that as an instalment, at any rate, towards our precise requirements, from which it does not differ very widely, and we will give our support to that." In 1910 there was little business before the House of Commons, because of the number of events taking place which cut up a great deal of the work the House of Commons had planned to do. But in spite of that fact, Mr. Lloyd George threw his whole influence against the passage of that Bill, and, although he did not succeed in preventing its being carried through one of its stages, called the Second Reading, he did bring it about that the Government refused any time for the passage of this Bill into law. Towards the end of that Parliament, at the end of the year 1910, the women wanted to know how they stood.

"Black Friday."

Mr. Asquith made a statement in the House of Commons dealing with a great number of other subjects, but he made no reference at all to this question of Women's Suffrage, and as the result of that, the women said, "We must have another deputation; we must find out where we stand. We must go to Mr. Asquith," and they went. Some of the most distinguished women in the country went on that deputation. Mrs. Garrett Anderson, who had been chosen Mayor of her native city—one of the first women Mayors in this country—Mrs. Hertha Ayrton, one of the leading scientists in the world, went to interview the Prime Minister to find out what really were his intentions. Had a deputation of men, half as influential as this deputation of women, gone to see the Prime Minister on what to them was a vital and important question, that deputation would undoubtedly have been received. Instead of that, on this occasion the Prime Minister refused to see the deputation, and owing to his action, and owing to the action of the Home Secretary, that deputation was met by a great body of police.

Now, they had decided that if he would not see them, they would not go quietly away, because that would have been to admit failure, and that, whenever a Prime Minister chose, he could treat them with contempt. So they resolved to stand their ground; it was not stone-throwing or damaging property. The women thought they had a right to see the Prime Minister. What was the result? Several hundred of the women—I lay very great stress upon this—came into conflict with the police and crowd for the space of several hours. They were not only jostled and hustled and knocked about, as you may say is natural when women meet a crowd, but many of them were very seriously injured. They were subjected to indignities and insults which, in the opinion of several hundred of them, could not have been merely accidental, but were deliberately given. That was what was called "Black Friday." The women came out; I think that you had it actually in evidence that they had special instructions to leave umbrellas behind, lest, perchance, they might take any step which afterwards they might regret. They came out in a perfectly peaceful manner, absolutely unarmed, without stones or hammers, and as a result hundreds of these women were injured, many of them were severely injured, and one woman died as the consequence of the injuries she received. Other women were for months laid up, some for twelve months, as a consequence of what took place on that day. I say emphatically that that was one of the reasons why, when it came to the necessity of making some protest later, the women were determined that they would not subject themselves again to treatment of that kind, and that though they might be breaking the law, in doing damage to private property, they were not prepared to face again what they had passed through on that awful day in 1910. Now, I want to return to the political story I was just telling you. The Conciliation Bill was reintroduced in the following year, and there was not only in London, but throughout the whole of the country, great evidence of the support which that Bill had. Every Women's Suffrage society supported it, and nearly every great County Council—I think this is very important—in all parts of the provinces sent a resolution up to the Cabinet pressing them to carry this Bill. Cities like Manchester, Liverpool, Bristol, Leeds, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and many others—the County Councils in these cities sent up asking the Government to allow this Bill to be carried into law. The women organised what I believe to be the greatest political peaceful demonstration that has ever been seen. The demonstration marched from the Embankment to the Albert Hall. The Albert Hall was taken by the Women's Social and Political Union, and on that occasion every single seat and every portion of standing room was filled, and an overflow meeting was held in another hall.

This was organised by this organisation alone. Other Suffrage organisations took other halls and filled them to overflowing. You heard witnesses for the prosecution admit that that procession took over an hour and a half to pass a given point. I think they would have been more accurate if they had said, as some of our witnesses will tell you, that it took a period of something like three hours to pass. The demonstration was such as had never been seen in this country before, and what was the result? The Prime Minister gave a certain promise. I am not going to give you details, but I am going to give it to you broadly. He said that they had no time to deal with the question in 1911, but that full facilities would be given in 1912, and that that promise would be kept in the spirit as well as in the letter. Now, I am going to tell you how politicians regard the spirit of a promise. Before I tell you that, I want to say that the women accepted that pledge as a bona-fide pledge. They thought that these men who made them that promise would keep the promise. They stopped what were known as militant methods; the Women's Social and Political Union stopped that. They ceased their anti-Government policy at elections; they did not go to Cabinet Ministers' meetings to create difficulties; they did not go up in deputation to the House of Commons.

That went on right away until November last year. Now we come to the facts that are brought before you in the course of these proceedings. Just before that demonstration took place in November to which your attention has so often been directed Mr. Asquith made a certain statement. He made it, as is well known, with the connivance, and to some extent at the instigation, of Mr. Lloyd George. The statement was that a Reform Bill would be introduced in the House of Commons. It was known as a Bill to give Manhood Suffrage; and he said that so far as women were concerned, the case might be met by an amendment including women in the Bill. Mr. Lloyd George said that that was a splendid opportunity for women, and that they ought to be satisfied with it.

The Ruin of the Bill.

Now, it is necessary for me to put to the Court very shortly why that proposal was not acceptable to the women. The women had been told on more than one occasion that they could only win the vote by combining their friends in the different parties in the House of Commons. There were some Liberals who were in favour of Women's Suffrage and some Liberals who were against it. There were some Conservatives in favour of it and some against it. The Liberal supporters of Women's Suffrage are not enough to make a majority alone. But the Liberal supporters and the Conservative supporters together are enough to form a majority in the House of Commons, with the inclusion of the Labour members, who are all in favour of it, and those Irish members who are in favour of it. So, you see, the Conciliation Bill was a Bill to rather alienate all parties. But this Manhood Suffrage Bill was a Bill which was entirely opposed to the whole convictions of Conservatives, who do not want a Manhood Suffrage Bill, and therefore an amendment to such a Bill as that, which would give votes to a large number of women as well as to a large number of men, would only get support from that portion of the House which is both Liberal and in favour of Women's Suffrage. Therefore the amendment in favour of including women would undoubtedly have been defeated. You see that this so-called opportunity of getting Women's Suffrage in the form of an amendment to the Manhood Suffrage Bill was entirely illusory, because it broke up the compromise—it broke up the principal means by which it was going to be carried by getting some support from one party and some from another, and between them making a majority sufficient to carry it. The proposal was sure of the support only of a section of the Liberal party, and was, therefore, absolutely certain of defeat. Not only was it without hope of success, but the apparent advantage of having two strings to the Women's Suffrage movement was equally illusory. It was really a case of having two birds in the bush instead of one in the

hand. That the Conciliation Bill was ruined by this proposal can be demonstrably proved. The minds of politicians would be so fixed upon this large scheme of getting Manhood Suffrage that it would be impossible to carry a preliminary little Bill like the Conciliation Bill. That is the view which was taken by the *Times* newspaper, which, commenting on the situation, said:—

> Women's Suffrage is not a party question. It cuts across the regular party lines. But the Government propose to bring in a Reform Bill which will be an out and out party measure. If they include Women's Suffrage in that Bill it might command the whole force at the back of the Government; but they are not going to do that. They are going to let it be included as an amendment if the House chooses to have it. In order to secure its adoption as a non-party principle the amendment would require to be supported by the Opposition, which would be expecting them to treat a party measure as a non-party one. It would fall between two stools: the Conservative supporters would be alienated, and no pressure would be put upon the Ministerial side to make up for them. If, on the other hand, the matter is left, as the National Union suggested as an alternative, to be dealt with in the form of the Conciliation Bill, it will not have the smallest chance of consideration. The way will be blocked by the Reform Bill.

So that you see, in the opinion of the *Times*, the Government, which had given a promise that it said it would keep in the spirit as well as in the letter, was deliberately breaking that promise and substituting something which was purely illusory. But our view of this question does not rest absolutely upon our own words. No less a person than Mr. Lloyd George himself openly said a few days afterwards that this new measure had "torpedoed" the Conciliation Bill. When you think that these women had, for the space of four or five months, proved their absolute faith in what they thought was the integrity of the Government, they had resumed their political attack upon the Government because they had a pledge upon which they thought they could rely—for Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Asquith frankly to torpedo the whole base upon which the women were relying, was, I think you must admit, incitement of a very serious kind. It was not merely an incitement, it was a conspiracy to upset the understanding which had existed, and it was a conspiracy in which the leading members of the Government had taken part. In consequence of that action, the women members of the Women's Social and Political Union thought that a further protest was necessary. They determined that it was necessary to make their position perfectly clear, and that could only be done by a great demonstration of hostility to the Government. You have seen what happened when they went out on a demonstration of the previous kind in the previous November. I have told you how they found themselves knocked about, injured, and insulted. Some of them said that this time "we will not do the same thing." My wife, who was one of the members of that demonstration, took part in the demonstration merely. She was arrested, coming into conflict with the police. A certain number of women who went out on that day said, "We will not be buffeted about and insulted again. Rather than that, we will break windows and be arrested and go to prison for doing so." So some of the women who went on that occasion took stones and hammers with them, and broke windows. Following upon that, there was considerable discussion as to the political situation with regard to Women's Suffrage. A suggestion was put forward in one of the leading Liberal papers—one of the quasi-official papers—and the suggestion had such prominence in the paper, that no one who knew politics could doubt that it was in fact a proposal of one of the members of the Government. The suggestion was that this question of Women's Suffrage should be dealt with by means of a referendum. The question of a referendum is, however, a large one, and I will not trouble you with that at any length except to say that, whether a referendum on a question of politics be good or bad, at least what is good on one set of questions is good on another set; what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. If a referendum is to be adopted on Women's Suffrage, it ought to be adopted on Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment. When Mr. Lloyd George went to the Albert Hall and made a great speech upon Women's Suffrage, members of the Women's Social and Political Union went there to ask him what was the attitude of the Government to this great question. Mr. Lloyd George's answer to that was that he personally "took a certain line, and that he was not speaking on behalf of the Government at all; women must find that out from Mr. Asquith." In regard to how the amendment was to be carried to the Manhood Suffrage Bill, he returned an absolutely evasive answer. What I have told you just now was proved by a process of political arithmetic, but he did not attempt to quote any figures or show any facts to refute that line of argument. He told the women that Mr. Asquith could give them an answer, so they went to Mr. Asquith to ask him to see them, as this new question had arisen. He treated them with the same contempt, with the same contumely, with which he has always treated the members of this Union. He refused to see the lady who had written. He refused to discuss the matter, and refused to see any new situation which demanded his attention. While he was taking that course, another Cabinet Minister, Mr. Hobhouse, was making that speech which you have heard, and to which such insistent reference has been made. I do not want to go through his speech again, but I want to put it to you that when you realise that the women have carried out consistently an agitation of the kind I have described, doesn't it strike you as rather extraordinary that a Cabinet Minister should dare to get up and to say that there is nothing in all these demonstrations, nothing in all this agitation and political organisation; that the only thing which really counted in winning the vote for men was when men went to Nottingham Castle and burned it to the ground. Doesn't it strike you as an extraordinary statement for a Cabinet Minister to make? "There has been no such sentimental uprising as accounted for Nottingham Castle! Women have not done what men did; they have not burnt a castle to the ground, and I see no reason for giving them the vote." Do you not think that in view of that extraordinary statement the events which took place, from the point of view of women who took part in them, showed considerable self-restraint? They had been taunted by a Cabinet Minister that they had not burnt a castle to the ground. They went out, and they did no damage that was likely to hurt anyone. Now, that is all I propose to say at this stage, and I will call witnesses who will give important evidence. Among the witnesses I propose to call are many men and women who are well known to you. They include Father Adderley, who is a leading clergyman in Birmingham, Sir Edward Busk, the Rev. Dr. Cobb, of St. Ethelburga's, Mrs. Morgan Dockrell, President of the Women Teachers' Union, Lady Lamb, Miss Eva Moore, Sir John Rolleston, M.P., Mr. D. A. Thomas, the well-known Welsh colliery owner, and a number of other men and women.

[In Mr. Lawrence's subsequent address to the jury he dealt with his own relation to the W.S.P.U. We hope to publish the speech next week.]

MR. LLOYD GEORGE INCITES TO VIOLENCE.

Suffragettes Ejected from Mr. George's Carnarvon Meeting.

Mrs. Fahey's Account.

(Extracts from a speech made at the London Pavilion, May 20, 1912.)

We got into the meeting all right, and when we got inside we saw the platform was decorated in purple, white and green. Now when Mr. Lloyd George got up to speak one of our women got up too, and she made some remark as to why he had not asked the Welsh women to help him in Welsh Disestablishment. That seems a very reasonable remark; but she was seized upon by the stewards and turned out. Mr. Lloyd George was responsible for every action that took place, because directly he saw that woman seized he shrugged his shoulders and made the infuriated mob realise that this man whom they looked upon as a god was against her. As each woman and man—I must not leave the men out, they were magnificent—as each man and each woman was ejected it became rougher, and we were very brutally treated. It was not altogether in the hall that we received the worst treatment. There was the crowd outside that had not been able to get in, and seeing the stewards had treated us roughly inside—there were some steps, so we generally came down on our faces—it set upon our people. There were men in the crowd who behaved decently; it was the section of hooligans who behaved so brutally. In one case they set upon one of our people literally, and pommelled her on the face. We think the time has gone by for women to suffer in that way. We are perfectly willing to suffer when it is from ignorance, but Mr. Lloyd George knew perfectly well what we were out for, and he deliberately incited those people to ill-use us. After we had left the hall he made a remark to the effect that if these interruptions continued he would close the meeting, which makes one realise that a man in his position has not got the power or the decency to keep his crowd together, but has to threaten to close a meeting which he has come miles and miles to address. I think if he goes to Carnarvon again we shall follow him; and I say he knows that there are suffragettes there I do not think that he will speak. We made friends with the women there. Numbers of women came up to us in the waiting room and ministered to our needs. One woman said: "I have not been a Suffragette myself up till now, but I am one from to-day." I do not mean to say that Welshmen are antagonistic. I think we have a great deal of support in Wales. We always know that the noisy few in a crowd form the dangerous section; and these few hooligans had made up their minds that if they could get us they could do what they liked with us. It was from them that the police wanted to protect us, and they protected us all the way to Chester. They took us in a luggage van, and in the last luggage van the police inspector made a little speech to us. He thought it was very fine of us to come down. He wanted us to come down in huge numbers, and he finished up by saying, "Three cheers for Votes for Women."

Another Account.

(By a Man who Interrupted.)

The Pavilion, which holds 10,000 people, was crowded, while some thousands of Mr. Lloyd George's supporters were assembled in the neighbourhood of the hall. All over the great building, which was decorated in purple, white and green—presumably in honour of the most important members of the audience—were scattered Christian ministers of all denominations, and the Chairman himself was a reverend gentleman. One would like to have reminded these gentlemen of Mr. Lansbury's words to Christians, "Remember your Master was a rebel," for certainly the most blatantly anti-religious meeting could not treat men and women worse than we were treated.

Mr. Lloyd George, having been accorded a great reception, was allowed to speak for a few seconds before a woman sprang to her feet and demanded justice for her Welsh sisters. Stewards pounced upon her and threw her out among the mob waiting outside. A large part of the audience then proceeded to tell the other part to keep quiet, while Mr. George stood, with a fixed smile upon his face, waiting for them to take a little notice of himself. Hardly had he started again when another woman interrupted in the body of the hall. Like the people at Ephesus, the audience stood up and shouted "for about the space of two hours." Peace at length restored, proved but passing, for a man, standing at the foot of the platform, demanded better treatment for women prisoners, and was thrown out, Mr. George ordering his ejectment. A woman then demanded Votes for Women in Welsh, and her banner was dragged from her and her dress shamefully torn. "Mr. Lloyd George, you're a traitor," was the next truism that reached the Chancellor's ears. The interrupter, a man, was so ill-used as almost to lose consciousness. A woman next broke in, and met with no better treatment. The writer of the present account next rose, and on demanding justice for women, was floored and then kicked about. Some unusually intelligent or benevolent person, seeing that this was not conducive to the peacefulness of a religious gathering, suggested his ejection, which was very speedily carried out, he being thrown into the mob, from which he was finally rescued by a policeman. Arrived at the railway station, he found that a crowd had gathered there, and was attempting to mob the women. One man arrived with his face bleeding profusely and the flesh removed from the cheek bone. A woman next arrived whose appearance spoke eloquently of the treatment she had suffered. She had been thrown downstairs, and her head was terribly bruised. And so, one after the other, they arrived, each having withstood those thousands for a time, each having paid the price of suffering which wrong exacts from right.

The following incidents occur in an account, unfortunately too long to print, sent us by an onlooker:—

Mr. Lloyd George stood smiling and interested while the woman was pulled from her seat and thrown out at the door. . . . Another woman called out. Once more the Minister stopped and smiled; but a sharp note of anger mingled with the jeers, as the woman was pulled hither and thither in the direction of the door. . . . Mr. Lloyd George recommenced with a remark which I begged my neighbour to translate. It meant, "She's disestablished," he replied. At this moment uproar recommenced in the centre of the hall. Voices cried that Suffragettes were there, others that it was not so. . . . The Minister's face turned from white to red. He was not smiling now; he tried to speak, but again and again a woman's voice intervened, demanding votes for Women, while the intensity of tumult increased with each ejection. He flung a sentence down the hall, which my neighbour translated as—"They can't get a Welsh woman." Immediately a woman behind me sprang up, denying in indignant Welsh the sneer. There was one short, electrifying pause; then she was torn from her seat by her infuriated compatriots, and I could only follow her passage to the door by the rain of sticks and fists that fell upon her. . . . With flushed face Mr. Lloyd George shouted something which produced such responding cries of hoarse indignation that I again appealed to my neighbour for its meaning. "He says there are many ways of earning a day's wage, but the one adopted by the Suffragettes is the most contemptible." . . . No wonder the cruel lie was met by the cry of a woman appealing to him to stop persecuting the women who are fighting for their freedom. She was pulled to the stairs and flung to those below, who were waiting so eagerly to show their great leader how Welshmen fighting for their Church can deal with women fighting for their freedom. . . . And Mr. Lloyd George smiled! . . . An elderly man in the five shilling seats came forward protested, and was hurled from the building. The uproar and brutality continued, but the Chancellor was last losing his grip upon the meeting, and his face now wore a harassed look. A man in front rose and cried, "You are a coward, sir, to encourage this woman beating." Welsh hands and fists fell upon him—for some moments it seemed impossible that he could escape with life. I could not help wondering how this gallant little people of Wales, fighting for the freedom of their Church which was so dear to them, could attack with such brutal ferocity these devoted ones who were fighting for the freedom of women.

From a Woman Who Interrupted.

Dear Editor,—I feel it is my duty to let you know how I was treated at Mr. Lloyd George's meeting at Carnarvon last Saturday. While Mr. Lloyd George was speaking I got up and said, "Women demand the Vote so that the women of Wales can express their views on Welsh Disestablishment." After I had made this remark the stewards of the meeting and some of the audience seemed to go mad, and I was dragged from the hall by several men, thrown down and picked up again, and then I was rushed down an incline and thrown violently against a wall. While this was being done I saw ministers of religion howling in my face and shaking their fists in a very threatening attitude. I received a blow which rendered me unconscious, the effects of which I still feel. I should like to point out that while this treatment was being meted out to me in the hall, Mr. Lloyd George stood calmly looking on; he did not say anything, but stood with a very meaning action, pointing his thumb to the door and nodding his head. By doing this Mr. Lloyd George was inciting the audience and stewards to violence. I know I was not the only one to be treated like this. When I saw my friends afterwards, I noticed one male sympathiser with a black eye and a cut on his cheek. The brutality at this meeting was most appalling, and then Mr. Lloyd George has got the impertinence to say we were paid to do this! He knows full well that no human being would go through what Suffragettes go through for mere money. His remark is not only untrue, but it adds insult to injury. Mr. Lloyd George had better carefully at his meeting was most audiences to violence as he did at Carnarvon, lest one of these days the violence should come home to roost.—Yours, &c., F. C. B.

THE CONSPIRACY TRIAL AT THE OLD BAILEY.

(Continued from page 538.)

for the enfranchisement of the agricultural labourer in 1884:—

"I think those who wish to be enfranchised [women] have used the only methods they could use in the matter, that is to say, they have expressed the desire to obtain the vote on platforms and by public meetings and by whatever other means were open to them. The hon. gentleman appears to think that there was a widespread desire on the part of the agricultural labourer to claim the franchise. I do not believe the desire existed, and I am sure it was never demonstrated."

We challenge any student of political history to furnish us with facts showing that franchise agitations in the past were carried out on a constitutional scale comparable to the Woman Suffrage agitation in this country during the past six years. We challenge them to show that larger funds were raised, more meetings held, greater demonstrations organised, more public support forthcoming of the kind given by recent municipal councils. The only way in which the Woman's Suffrage agitation was outdone by the franchise movements of men in the past was in violence and destruction of property and of human life. It is this fact which the Rt. Hon. C. E. H. Hobhouse selects with which to taunt the Woman Suffrage Movement with futility and failure. It is well that women should take this lesson to heart, and that they should go back to the history of the agitation in 1832 in order to glean from it reasons for the conduct of their own campaign.

"The popular sentimental uprising," to which Mr. Hobhouse refers, burnt the Castle of the Anti-Suffrage Duke of Newcastle to the ground. Colwick Castle, the country seat of another Anti-suffragist gentleman in the neighbourhood, was set on fire, and his wife died from illness caused by the shock. No arrests were made in connection with these crimes. The King, thoroughly alarmed at the state of the country, begged the Whig Ministry favourable to the Bill not to resign, and it was intimated to them that this was also the wish of the now terrified Peers who had thrown out the Bill.

The article went on to say:—

By holding up to women the example of men in 1832 and in 1867, when the Hyde Park railings were pulled down, Mr. Hobhouse takes the very grave responsibility of inciting them to serious forms of violence, in comparison with which Mrs. Pankhurst's exhortation is mildness itself. It is undeniably true that the history of the Woman's Movement shows nothing in any way comparable with the violence and destruction wrought in Nottingham and Bristol. Neither do we believe that it will ever be necessary for women to resort to these extreme measures. Women to-day are less emotional, less hysterical, and more politically minded than were the men of the country in 1832. They are prepared to go just as far in their demonstrations of public uprising as is necessary in order to convey the fact that they are determined to win their freedom—and no further. They make up in individual self-sacrifice, and in readiness to accept the consequences of their action, what is lacking in destructive violence.

Mr. Healy (to witness): I gather that you made these extracts yourself—unaided?—I made them myself.

Unaided?—Certainly, unaided.

Your object was to pick out passages for this particular trial?—Yes.

What guided you in selecting these passages?—I selected passages which in my opinion incited to violence, and where calls were made by the leaders for volunteers.

You constituted yourself an intellectual judge of what would incite to violence and what would not?—Yes.

Therefore we may take you as an expert in this matter?—I don't wish to pose as an expert.

Just listen to this:—

The days are past for rioting, and we do not need to have recourse to bloodshed or violence to carry on our schemes of progress and reform, because we have a fairly good franchise, which is an assurance that the will of the——

Mr. Bodkin: What are you quoting from?

Sir Rufus Isaacs and Violence.

Mr. Healy: Wait and see. (Laughter.) Continuing, Mr. Healy read:—

people, in these democratic days, must prevail. Formerly, when the great mass of the people were voteless, they had to do something violent in order to show what they felt; to-day the elector's bullet is his ballot. Let no one be deceived, therefore, because in the present struggle everything is peaceful and orderly, in contrast to the disorderliness of other great struggles in the past.

Mr. Bodkin objected to the passage unless his friend showed that it came from one of the papers published by Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Otherwise, it was a purely academic question.

The Judge said that in blasphemy trials quotations were allowed from other writers in order to test whether a particular writing would come under the heading of blasphemy.

Mr. Healy: Yes, my lord; that has always been allowed.

Mr. Bodkin: I would suggest to my friend that he postpones this question until the Attorney-General is present.

Mr. Healy: That I am very happy to do, because I am quoting from a speech by the Attorney-General. (Laughter.) To Witness: Do you think that speech is an incitement to violence?—I don't care to express an opinion.

Mr. Healy: I think that is the safest course. (Laughter.)

Inspector Crocker was recalled at this stage, and stated that he had been able to trace the record of the bailing out of the following prisoners: Sarah Benett, Ethel Slade, Grace Stewart, Georgina Helen Grant, Mary Richmond, Marie S. Brown, Elizabeth Thompson, Agnes Alice Wilson, Mary Jones, and Doreen Allen. These, he said, had been bailed out for the most part by Mr. Pethick Lawrence, and in some cases by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. The offences were malicious damage, and in one case throwing missiles.

Mr. Healy: A case of missing the window, I suppose. (Laughter.)

Mrs. Pankhurst: Are those all you have been able to trace?—Yes.

A very awkward and inconvenient way of recording your information?—We do not find it so.

It has proved very awkward to-day?—There is a general index to the charge-book which enables us to refer to these cases.

Mrs. Pankhurst: It is an inconvenient system, and perhaps when we get the vote we will find a better way of doing it. (Laughter and "Hear, hear!")

Mr. Bodkin: You will report that to the Chief Commissioner, Inspector.

Godfrey Hastings, next called, deposed to the letting of a room at the Gardenia Restaurant to the Women's Social and Political Union on three occasions this year.

Jessie McPherson, maid at the Restaurant, said that on the morning of March 5 she found two stones (produced) in the fireplace of a room at the Restaurant. On one of the stones were the words "Votes for Women" written in ink.

Chief-Inspector McCarthy, special branch, New Scotland Yard, described the arrest of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence at the offices of the Union in Clement's Inn on March 5. He took them to Bow Street Police Station and then returned to the offices, where other officers had been left.

"A Diligent Search."

Mr. Bodkin: Miss Christabel Pankhurst is named on the warrant?—Yes.

And have you made and caused to be made a diligent search for her since that date?—Yes.

And have not been able to find any trace?—No.

Further questioned, witness said he took possession of a great number of documents. These were produced. Among them was a book giving the real and assumed names of persons charged, date of the charge, sentence, date of release, time served, and remarks. There were nearly two hundred names in the book, said witness. The documents and papers found were read by counsel and identified by witness.

Counsel read a letter from Mrs. Pankhurst to Dr. Ethel Smyth at Cardiff, in which she said:—

On Friday there will be an unannounced affair—a sort of skirmish, in which some of our bad, bold ones will take part—an unadvertised outbreak.

In the letter Mrs. Pankhurst also said she could meet Dr. Smyth if the latter would let her know the time of her train, and made a reference to her health.

Mrs. Pankhurst: I object to my health being introduced.

Mr. Bodkin said he would not read passages dealing with private matters in the letter, and after the letter had been read Mrs. Pankhurst asked: Is it too late for me to object to that letter altogether? It was never posted.

The Judge: It is evidence because it was found on the premises of the Association of which you are a member.

Mrs. Pankhurst: It might be evidence that I decided not to conspire.

The Judge: It might be, but it is evidence in the case.

Inspector McCarthy also stated that he found manuscripts of speeches at the offices of the Union.

Counsel read portions of a speech made by Miss Christabel Pankhurst, in which she said:—

They say we are going to get heavy sentences. All I can say is, we might as well be hung for a sheep as a lamb. Let them give us seven years' penal servitude, if they like, but they shan't give it us for nothing.

Mrs. Pankhurst said that as Miss Pankhurst was not present, would the whole of the speech be read?

The Judge: What is it?

Mr. Bodkin: Mrs. Pankhurst says that as Miss Pankhurst is not here to read the whole of the speech herself, perhaps I would read it for her, but I have no authority to represent Miss Christabel. (Laughter.) To Mrs. Pankhurst: If you seriously wish it to be read I will do so.

"No, no," replied Mrs. Pankhurst.

Mr. Bodkin read a further passage:—

We shall do our bit, even if it is burning down a palace. Then we shall go into prison, and leave the others to join us, one by one, after they have done their bit.

Counsel read other documents.

The documents having been read, the witness described how the day after the arrest of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence he saw Mrs. Pankhurst and read the warrant to her. That occurred at Bow Street, and Mrs. Pankhurst made no reply.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence, cross-examining, said that he gathered from the fact that the witness had selected the documents which had been read that he considered them as evidence of procuring people to take illegal action.

Witness: I did have something to do with the selecting of them, but, of course, the final selection was not with me.

You made some rough selection?—Yes.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence: I have an extract here:—

Parliament has never been hearty for reform or for any good measure. It hated the Reform Bill of 1831-1832. It does not like the Franchise Bill now upon the table. What should be done, and what must be done, in these circumstances? You know what your fathers did thirty-four years ago, and you know the result. Men who in every speech they made insulted the working-men, describing them as a multitude given over to vice, will be the first to yield when the popular will is loudly and resolutely expressed. If Parliament Square, from Charing Cross to the venerable Abbey, were filled with men seeking the Reform Bill, these slanderers of their countrymen would learn to be civil, if they did not learn to love freedom.

If you had found such a letter at Clement's Inn, would you have taken it?—I cannot answer that unless I knew the other circumstances.

You do not express any opinion upon that?—No.

Are you aware that is a letter written by Mr. John Bright in 1866?—I will take it that it was, of course.

You said one of the exhibits you put in was a series of words professed to be a code?—Yes.

So far as you know, is there any evidence that the code was actually used?—I do not know that it was ever used. I never saw the code used in any letter or telegram.

So far as you are concerned, this code may be a matter of jeu d'esprit on the part of someone in the office?—Yes; I don't know anything beyond that.

Replying to Mrs. Pankhurst, who cross-examined, the witness said that two or three copies of the code were found at Clement's Inn.

Doesn't it suggest itself to you that since the letters which have been read are very open in their character, and that there is no concealment whatever, it is very unlikely that people who have been writing such private letters and public articles should use a code of that kind?—It would be very useful for telegraphing.

As a matter of fact you have no evidence whatever to show that the code has been used?—No.

Would you be willing to take it from me that the code really was a joke?—Possibly it was.

The Judge remarked that he noticed that in one letter the initial "A" had been used, and, according to the code, denoted Mr. Asquith's secretary.

Mr. Bodkin said he thought that in this case the "A" meant Mr. Asquith.

Mrs. Pankhurst: It is very obvious that the "H of C" which occurs means the House of Commons. It is not the code.

Answering further questions, witness said he arrested Mrs. Pankhurst at Bow Street. He had nothing to do with communicating with Mrs. Pankhurst in prison or telling her what she was wanted at Bow Street for.

Mrs. Pankhurst: Is it news to you that I first heard of this very serious charge by reading the placards of the newspapers as I was taken from prison to Bow Street?—I did not know that. I take it that it is so.

Replying to Mr. Healy, witness said that Mrs. Pankhurst had served her sentence for her own acts on March 4, and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who was convicted in November last, had her sentence to serve.

Mr. Healy: You cannot perhaps tell me how many hundreds of women have been sentenced since this movement began?—I take it it would run into several hundreds.

Mr. Healy: And it is still going on.

The Court adjourned at this stage till Friday morning.

FRIDAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

At the commencement of the proceedings on Friday, a juryman asked whether it was possible to foresee the length of the case?

The Judge: I am afraid it is not possible at this stage.

The juryman wondered whether the case was likely to last over the Whitsuntide holidays.

The Judge: I never phophesy unless I know, but I will venture to prophesy it will not. I cannot say I am right.

Mr. Healy was understood to say that if the case was lengthened it would be the fault of the prosecution.

Evidence of damage and arrests was then called.

P.C. Frederick Price said that while on duty in Downing Street on the evening of March 1 he saw a motor-car stop immediately in front of the Prime Minister's residence. Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Tuke, and Mrs. Marshall got out, and Mrs. Pankhurst threw several stones at the windows of No. 10, breaking four panes of glass. He arrested Mrs. Pankhurst, and conveyed her to Cannon Row Police Station, where she was charged with committing damage. When charged she made no reply. At the station she handed over three large flint stones. The other ladies were arrested by other officers. At the police court he heard Mrs. Pankhurst make the following statement:—

It is not the first time I have come before you in connection with this agitation. The last time I was here I laid before you certain reasons for my taking part in the agitation, with which I do not propose to trouble you this morning. At that time I hoped that what we were doing would be sufficient to make the Government realise that women who pay the taxes are entitled to the protection and the privileges of the vote on the same terms as men who pay the taxes. Since then the Government have left me and other women no possible doubt as to our position. We have not the vote because, hitherto, we have not been able to bring ourselves to use the methods which won the vote for men, and within the last fortnight a member of the Government has challenged us to do very much more serious things than we have done—we, who are charged before you this morning.

In Bristol, Mr. Hobhouse said women had not proved their desire for the vote because they had done nothing like that which characterised the men's agitation that led to the burning of Nottingham Castle and the pulling up of Hyde Park railings. The Government, as a whole, has provided us during the last few days with evidence that only the most stupid people could fail to understand. Why we have failed so far is that we have not done enough to bring pressure to bear on the Government. A week ago last Monday I wrote to the Prime Minister with regard to the question of the Referendum, asking him to see a deputation of women in order that they might discuss this matter with him. The request was refused with contempt. Yet Cabinet Ministers have gone cap in hand to the Miners' Federation to persuade them to come to terms with their industrial opponents.

What we have done, Sir, is a fleabite as compared with what the miners in this country are doing to-day. They are paralysing the whole of the life of the community. They have votes, they have a constitutional means of redressing their grievance, but they are not content to rely on the constitutional means. If we had the vote we would be constitutional, but since we have not the vote we learn our lesson, a lesson that has been given to us. I hope this will be enough to show the Government that the woman's agitation is going on. If not, if you send me to prison, as soon as I come out of prison I will go further, to show that women who have to help pay the salaries of Cabinet Ministers, and who help to pay your salary, too, Sir, are going to have some voice in the making of the laws which they have to obey. I have only to fear that perhaps our self-restraint has prevented us from doing as much as is necessary, but I want to make it perfectly clear that although we do not desire to go one step further than is necessary, we are prepared to take all the steps that are necessary, and to face the consequences.

You are going to send me to prison. I am quite ready to go and to pay the price, however high that price may be. Like those who went before us, we think it quite worth while. We are not fighting this battle for ourselves, but for our sex. What happens to us does not matter, but what comes of what happens to us does matter very much. The individual will disappear, but the Cause is going on.

Mrs. Pankhurst: You were present when I was arrested on a charge of throwing stones at the Prime Minister's house?—Yes.

How many panes of glass were broken?—Four.

How many panes of glass did I break? Do you know how many panes I broke?—No.

Would you be prepared to accept it if I said that I broke one pane?—Yes.

And you were in the police court when I was tried and sentenced?—Yes.

Did you hear the value of the pane of glass?—Nine shillings.

That was the total value of the four panes of glass?—Yes; the total value was nine shillings.

Then if I broke one pane of glass the damage I did was something under 3s.?—Yes.

Mr. Healy: Two shillings and threepence.

You remember the sentence I got?—Two months.

Mr. Healy: A shilling a month.

Mr. Bodkin: You are not quite right, because there is an odd threepence.

P.C. Thomas Whitbread, examined by Mr. Graham Campbell, said that while on duty in Parliament Street on November 21 he saw Sarah Benett throw a stone at the A.B.C. windows, 35, Parliament Street. No glass was broken. He then saw her throw a stone at No. 34, the offices of the London and North Western Railway Company, breaking the window, and when he arrested her two stones were on the pavement.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence: Have you been acquainted with the outdoor meetings and demonstrations of the Women's Social and Political Union?—Yes, sir.

For some years?—Since they started.

Did you see the demonstration that took place last June, which consisted of a procession from the Embankment to the Albert Hall?—Yes, sir.

Did you form any idea of the size of the demonstration?—It was a very large procession.

Would it be incorrect to say it was several miles in length?—It was a very long procession.

Would it be incorrect to say it took between two and three hours to pass a given point?—I should say about an hour and a half.

Was that a perfectly peaceful demonstration?—I think so, sir.

Mr. Healy: Was Sarah Benett a lady of at least sixty years of age?—I think so, sir.

You had no difficulty in taking her to the station?—None whatever.

Did you hear her make a statement at the sessions?—Yes, sir.

What sentence did she get?—Two months in the second division.

What was the value of the pane that was broken?—About £6.

What did she say at the sessions?—She made a speech, but I don't exactly know what it was she said.

Miss Benett's Speech.

Mr. Healy read the speech made by Miss Benett, who, in refusing to be bound over, said:—

she wished to call his Lordship's attention to one or two considerations which might make him decide even now that this window-breaking had been proved against her that she was not guilty, but had done a meritorious act. Soldiers who killed their fellow-men in times of war were not looked upon as murderers. When some jurymen had complained at having to serve, the Judge had replied that it was a duty which fell to every British subject once in three years, and he ought to regard it as a privilege. She had not been called upon to serve on a jury, so she was not a British subject, although she had paid her share of the taxes for a great many years. When family ties fell from her she wished to be useful to her country, so she went to live in a factory district. There she found a state of things which was dangerous to the existence of the nation, a scene of wide-spread, deep-seated poverty—poverty which might be described as having nothing for dinner, and the rest warmed up for supper. She said they could not deal with these things; they were matters for politicians—the care of the children, the sick and poor, food, housing, and clothing—all these matters were the affair of the State. She and others had followed their work into the public life. They were fighting for men and for children quite as much as for themselves. Looking into any home you might find a wife who was idle and extravagant, and you knew she was chosen because she was pretty. It is to her you must trust everything—honour, children, money. Or you may find a wife who is admirable, and you say she ought also to be directed to the service of the State and not limited to the narrow sphere of the home. Women were not British citizens, but an enslaved, outraged class, who sometimes enjoyed many privileges; but the disgraceful fact remained they had no rights of their own, they owed their privileges to the favour and indulgence of men. They were fighting for the physical well-being of righteousness. Their fight began when progress turned England into a manufacturing country. This movement was not an hysterical movement. She remembered when she walked her shoes off trying to get signatures to a petition; now she was in the forefront of the militant movement which was absolutely necessary.

Percy King, local manager of the London and North Western Railway Company, 34, Parliament Street, proved the damage.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence asked witness whether he remembered the Women's Social and Political Union arranging with his company to run several special trains to London from the provinces in connection with a demonstration in 1908.

Witness said he could not say for certain. He was not in that department.

Mr. Healy, in raising an objection, said: "What we are trying is conspiracy—something in the mind. This evidence, once you get a certain amount, is immaterial."

The Judge: You are also being tried for inciting someone else. We must prove the acts.

Mr. Healy: I want the jury to understand that delay is not being caused by us.

Mr. Bodkin: May I also add that there are charges against them of counselling and procuring, and that they are charged under the Malicious Damage Act as principals, and therefore it is essential to prove these matters?

Mr. Healy: If it is evidence against the individuals in the dock, I agree.

P.C. Pick proved the arrest of Grace Stewart on November 21.

Replying to Mr. Bodkin, witness said she declined to give an undertaking not to do it again, and was sentenced to two months in the second division.

P.C. Graham proved the arrest of Ethel Slade, who was also sentenced to two months in the second division.

Mr. Healy: What was the value of the glass she broke?—£6 10s., I believe.

Police-officers also proved the arrests of Olive Wharrie and Isabel Potbury, each of whom was sentenced to two months at the Sessions.

Mrs. Pankhurst asked P.C. Woollard whether he was in court when the judge asked Miss Potbury if she would give an undertaking not to repeat the offence?—I don't remember.

You don't remember, then, that she said that she could not honourably give such an undertaking because she thought herself honourably justified?—I don't remember.

Further evidence was given concerning the breaking of windows to the value of £30 by Mrs. Frances Rowe, Mrs. Mary Violet Jones, and Miss Lelegarde Atheling on November 21, 1911.

To P.C. Freeman, who furnished the evidence of the conviction, Mr. Healy put the following statements made by the three ladies in their defence at Newington Sessions.

Mrs. Jones said:—

It was the breaking of faith by Mr. Asquith towards women in regard to the Conciliation Bill which made me feel that this breach of faith could only be responded to by another breach of faith, which took the form of the breaking of glass. I think myself that it is more important to break faith than to break windows. If that is the opinion of the Court, my sentence will depend on whether they take a different point of view from myself. I consider, also, that there was much damage done to women in November, last year, and I consider that it is better to go and break windows than to allow men to damage women as we were damaged in November last year.

Miss Atheling said:—

If you men were in our position, you would not be breaking windows, you would be breaking people's heads.

Mrs. Rowe said:—

I cannot give such an undertaking, and I pleaded not guilty in the sense that I am not deserving of punishment. The idea of punishment is not more acceptable to me than to the rest of this Court. It is preposterous to regard me as a person dangerous to society. I have not fallen into the ranks of the criminal class. We are out to destroy other things than windows. We are out against worn-out ideas. Men regard us partly as stupid angels and partly as silly children. They never take us seriously. We want your attention, and not only your attention but the attention of the Government. We may have to use stronger weapons. We are fighting for the women who are forced to sell their honour, for the young girls who are held by the evil of the white slave traffic, and for women who are denied full opportunity of self-development.

Mr. Healy: How much, after making these speeches, did they get?

Witness: Two months' each.

Mr. Bodkin: Did you hear the judge say this: "If you will abstain from breaking the law and give an undertaking that you will not break the law again, you will be left free to agitate in any way you please as long as you keep within the limits of the law," and did she decline to give the undertaking and was accordingly dealt with?—Yes.

P.C. Self, P.C. Palmer, P.C. Blackwell, and P.C. Kiernan deposed to acts committed under similar circumstances by Violet Taylor, Ellen Archdale, Eileen Connor Smith, and Violet Hudson Harvey in the Strand on November 21, 1911.

Mrs. Pankhurst cross-examined P.C. Blackwell as follows:—

Mrs. Archdale is a dignified sort of lady, is she not?—I should describe her as a matronly lady.

Did she make any attempt to run away?—No.

Would you say she was the sort of person who would form her own convictions?—I cannot judge what is working in her mind.

Did she appear to you to be a person of self-possession, and with her own ideas?—I should say her own ideas were—pretty strong. (Laughter.)

Were you present at her trial?—Yes.

Did you hear it stated that she was the daughter of two pioneers of the women's movement? She was the daughter of a pioneer woman physician and of the great newspaper man Russel, editor of the *Scotsman*?—I did not hear her say that.

Well, that is a fact. I should like to ask if she must not have had very strong feeling to have done such a thing?—I cannot judge.

You are not accustomed in your ordinary business as a policeman to deal with ladies of the type of Mrs. Archdale?—I don't know; we all have our weaknesses.

Have you had anything to do with our demonstrations?—I have witnessed four or five.

Orderly demonstrations?—There was only one demonstration which I could call orderly in connection with the Suffragists.

It was not part of your duty to be present at our meetings?—No.

Mr. Graham Campbell interposed a witness whose evidence related to the window-breaking campaign of March last. The witness, Captain Edmund Ironside Bax, said counsel, desired to return to a relative who was seriously ill.

Captain Bax stated that he saw Miss Maggie Macfarlane in Cockspur Street. She broke the windows of the Hamburg-Amerika and Grand Trunk Railway Company's offices with a hammer concealed in her muff.

Mr. Healy: You have been put to a good deal of inconvenience, Captain Bax?—Yes, decidedly.

I think this is the second or third time they have taken the trouble to obtain your attendance, although a policeman was immediately on the spot?—The policeman did not see her break the window himself.

Mrs. Pankhurst: You are a soldier, Captain Bax?—I have been.

When you were in attendance at the court, did you observe that Mrs. Brackenbury, the widow of a distinguished general, had thrown her stone and was sent to prison along with Miss Macfarlane?—No.

Evidence was given that the damage done by Miss Macfarlane amounted to £104 and £40 in each case.

Police Evidence Disallowed.

Thos. McNamara, an inspector in the Criminal Investigation Department of New Scotland Yard, was next called, and stated that he was present at a meeting of the Women's Social and Political Union on November 23, 1911. He took notes of the speeches in longhand on the margin of a copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN which he bought in the theatre. He made his report, based on these notes, next morning. The speakers were Miss Christabel Pankhurst (presiding), Mr. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Cameron Swan, and Miss Evelyn Sharp.

The Judge: What is this report made from?—From my notes and with additions.

The Judge: You have filled it in from your memory?

Mr. Graham Campbell: Were the facts fresh in your memory when you made the report?—Yes, sir.

The Judge: If you are to rely on verbal evidence and the recollection of this man——

Mrs. Pankhurst: He said he took the notes on the margin of a newspaper.

Mr. Graham Campbell: He said he made his report shortly afterwards.

The Judge: Next day.

Mr. Healy asked where were the original notes.

Mr. Graham Campbell quoted from the laws of evidence in support of the admission of McNamara's evidence.

The Judge: One cannot help knowing that a man who is taking longhand notes of a speech which is rapidly delivered is not in the best position to recall what was said that he has not taken down, because his attention has been directed to what he has taken down, and therefore his memory is not so good as that of a man who takes nothing but relies on his memory alone. If you are relying upon verbal accuracy of phrasing and so forth, which I presume you are, then you know it is merely discretionary on the part of the Court to permit it or not. You are relying upon the accurate memory of a man whose attention at the moment was directed to taking down what he could, and I think it is rather dangerous to rely upon accuracy of notes so taken even though his report was made next morning.

Mr. Graham Campbell: Can you remember what was said without looking at your notes?—In part.

Mr. Graham Campbell said that there was a report of the meeting in VOTES FOR WOMEN of December 1.

The Judge, reverting to the question of taking notes in longhand, said he had a constant experience of it, and he found that while writing in longhand things frequently escaped him which he would have heard had he not been writing.

Mr. Graham Campbell observed that he had had similar experience, and proceeded to quote from the report of the meeting published in VOTES FOR WOMEN as follows:—

Miss Christabel Pankhurst, who presided, remarked that they would certainly have extended to Mr. Asquith a most cordial welcome—(laughter)—if he would have condescended to honour that gathering with his presence. They would even be pleased to hear from the Prime Minister what comments he had to offer on their recent action and their statements that night. They all felt the deepest gratitude to those magnificent women—(applause)—who had so nobly responded to the call on Tuesday night. Their heroism was all the greater because of the memory they retained of "Black Friday," and also because the great bulk of those women took a new departure in militancy which meant still more stringency and more violence from the police.

Amid great enthusiasm Miss Pankhurst announced that Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's message to the meeting was, "A lie travels round the world while truth is pulling on its jack-boots; but Suffragettes have their jack-boots on all the time." Yes, continued Miss Pankhurst, and Suffragettes, by repudiating the Government's proposals, would show the country what these proposals really were, and what they were not. They were not to be cajoled into thinking that an amendment for Woman's Suffrage might be carried with the Bill. (Applause.) They were not going to be so foolish as to fall into such a trap. Mr. Lloyd George, with his usual plausible tongue, declared that he was in favour of Woman Suffrage. There were dissensions in the Cabinet. Well, she recommended Mr. Lloyd George to follow the example of Mr. Chamberlain and resign if his colleagues hampered him in his noble designs. (Hear, hear, and a Voice: "He doesn't want to lose his £5,000!")

Nothing would satisfy the W.S.P.U., but a Government Bill. They were not going to wait until a doubtful issue was made certain; it must be decided now. The Government did not come to the women with false promises until the women were in a position of power. When asked if he objected to violence, John Bright said, "Not if it rests on a moral basis," and, concluded Miss Pankhurst, in words that rang solemnly, with a warning note, "Let them beware how they incite us to do worse!"

As she sat down the crowded building echoed and re-echoed with a remarkable outburst of cheering; men and women stood up and waved their pocket-handkerchiefs as they shouted "Bravo!"

The next speaker was Mr. Pethick Lawrence, and it was good to hear the cheers that rang out as the audience paid tribute to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, at that moment in Holloway Gaol. Mr. Lawrence said the days of brutality and oppression were over, because, in spite of the fresh brutality inflicted by the Government, the women were growing stronger and more determined, so that there was only one thing for the Government to do—yield. Tuesday's demonstration was a great victory, because it had shown the world that the members of the movement were determined, and was also the triumph of the indomitable spirit of the women themselves. His wife sent this message from Holloway Gaol—Be ready. (Applause.)

Then promise cards came pouring in; the collection was taken, and before the close of the meeting £320 was announced as the evening's addition to the war chest. A large number of promises were for varying amounts in regular weekly payments during Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's imprisonment.

Miss Evelyn Sharp, who was awaiting her trial at Bow Street, said that she spent many dark days before Tuesday, being afraid that at the critical moment her stone would not go through the window. (Loud laughter.) If, however, there was going to be any more reason for putting stones through windows, she would be there. (Applause.) And that she was not alone in her determination was clear from the number of names sent in from all over the theatre for the next protest.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence (cross examining) elicited from the witnesses that it was a crowded meeting, and that judging by the size of the collection, of the promises made, the audience was composed of people of position and standing. It was an enthusiastic and approving audience. It was witness's duty as an officer of the C.I.D. to attend a good many meetings with a view of ascertaining if anything was said that transcended the proper limits of public speech.

Listen to this. "Violence is always deplorable, so is bloodshed."

The Judge: What are you reading from?

Mr. Pethick Lawrence: It is not a speech by anyone of the defendants. (Proceeding with the quotation)—"Yet violence and bloodshed in Ulster would be an incomparably smaller misfortune than cowardly acquiescence in a revolution, which, if consummated, would assuredly plunge the whole country into civil war." Such a sentence as that is one that you would put down as a rather serious incitement, is it not?—Yes.

It is a considerably more serious statement than any made at that meeting?—I would put it down.

Do you know that that statement was made by an eminent lawyer—Mr. F. E. Smith?—I have heard of it.

Answering Mrs. Pankhurst, witness said that he had heard a good many speeches by her and other prominent members of the Union.

Have you heard these speakers say that if women had the constitutional means of redressing their grievances that men possess there would be no militancy—I mean no violence?—It is quite possible that they have said that. I cannot recollect it.

Have you heard me many times express concern as to the future and the hope that the Government would take this question seriously and deal with it before the women got out of the hands of their leaders?—I have heard some speakers say so.

Mr. Healy: I don't want to embarrass you, but what became of your original notes?—I destroyed them.

You threw them overboard like the log we heard of the other day. Did you destroy them at anybody's direction?—No.

You took them on the margin of a newspaper and embellished and expanded them next day?—Yes.

James McLean, clerk in the C.I.D. at Bow Street, a shorthand writer, stated that he attended the W.S.P.U. meeting in the Savoy Theatre on November 23, 1911, and took a note.

Mr. G. Campbell: Verbatim?—It was not verbatim, it was condensed.

Witness added that the shorthand note was verbatim but the report was condensed.

Did you make a synopsis of the speeches the same evening?—Yes.

Was there anything in the synopsis which was not in the original shorthand note?—No.

Mr. Healy: Is synopsis a Scotch word, my lord?

The Judge asked how the sentence by King David "I had said in my haste all men are liars" would appear in a synopsis.

Mr. Healy: King David said "All men are liars." (Laughter.)

Mr. G. Campbell submitted that although it was not a verbatim transcript the witness's synopsis was admissible as evidence.

The Judge: Has he got his shorthand note?

Mr. Healy: Or has he thrown it overboard?

Mr. G. Campbell: He has got what is equivalent. He has got a document.

The Judge: You characterise it as a synopsis. I do not know what that may mean.

Mr. G. Campbell: It is his own word. It is a document transcribed from notes taken at the meeting.

The Judge: The word synopsis implies omissions. He has culled from his notes what in his discretion he thought proper. He had a complete record, and had he copied it all out it would have been absolutely unassailable. A speech must be taken in its entirety. It is possible to cull certain expressions from a speech in such a way as to misrepresent its author. Speeches may be very unfairly used in that way.

Mr. G. Campbell: If your lordship feels there is any doubt I would rather not press this evidence, especially having regard to what is reported in the newspaper.

Mr. Healy asked what became of the original shorthand notes.

Witness: They were not kept, sir.

Mr. Healy: The log was thrown overboard. (Laughter.)

Further examined, witness said he attended a W.S.P.U. meeting held in the Savoy Theatre on February 15, 1912. He took and had retained shorthand notes of the speeches delivered at that meeting. Twelve or thirteen hundred people attended. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence was in the chair, and the speakers were Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Christabel Pankhurst.

Counsel proceeded to read the speeches made at the meeting, the first of which related to the Ball Case.

Mrs. Pankhurst, interposing, asked counsel to emphasise the word "unless" in the following sentence of her speech: "We mean next month to make a great protest *unless* before the day we have fixed for it we get complete satisfaction."

A report of the same meeting, witness said, appeared in the issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN of February 3.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence asked if witness was at a meeting at Croydon at which the Right Hon. Sir Edward Carson said: "There is a point at which resentment becomes so acute that we are entitled to adopt any method of preventing liberty of discussion being taken away, and we tell Mr. Asquith that he had better count the cost." Were you at Croydon when Sir Edward Carson said it?—No.

You know, of course, that in Ireland they are drilling a number of men in a part of Ulster?—I do not know that as a matter of fact.

Answering Mrs. Pankhurst, witness said he had attended many meetings of the W.S.P.U. in Scotland and in the provinces.

Do you remember that I used to urge the need for self-restraint on the part of women?—I cannot recollect any particular reference bearing that out.

Have you ever heard me emphasise that women went unarmed and took no weapons in these deputations?—I cannot recollect that.

Then, speaking generally, would you say that the tone of my speeches was that of extreme violence or that of argument and explanation? Perhaps you would give us your own idea.—I don't know that I am qualified to express any idea on that. I have only come into intimate connection with your meetings since I came to London. It was in the capacity of a newspaper reporter that I attended them formerly.

Well, that would enable you to form a very good opinion of speeches. Would you characterise me as a speaker addicted to very violent language?—I would not until recently.

Then references to violence have been quite recent?—Yes; within the past few months as far as my experience goes.

Before that much more time was spent in arguing and explaining and converting?—There was a lot of time devoted to that.

Would you say that that was a characteristic of the speeches of members of the Union?—Generally; but my experience is that they were always hinting at some possibility, some force behind the movement, some hidden weapon.

You have heard speakers say it was necessary to find some way of bringing pressure to bear on those people who had power to give us the vote and refused to do it?—Yes.

And you have heard us say: "Men have constitutional means of bringing pressure to bear which women have not." Have you heard us contrast the position of women with that of men?—Yes; you said at these meetings that men had won their freedom at the price of blood, and that you wished the women would imitate them.

Have you not heard us say that we wished to win reform without going to the lengths that men had to?—I have no recollection of you saying that.

Mr. Healy: Were you dispatched by the

Government to report Mr. Lloyd George's speech at Limehouse?—No; I did not fulfil that position. (Laughter.)

Thomas Cox, a detective-sergeant of New Scotland Yard, deposed that he was present on November 27, 1911, at a W.S.P.U. meeting in the London Pavilion. Speeches were made by Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mr. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Annie Kenney, and Miss E. Robins. He produced the notes he had made of the speeches.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence: Do I understand that, apparently, verbatim notes were taken down at the time or were they written from recollection afterwards?

The Judge: I do not gather that or I should have intervened.

The witness was understood to say he made a report from recollection within an hour of the conclusion of the meeting. The meeting was over at five o'clock, and before six o'clock he had submitted them to the inspector.

The Judge remarked that witness had written his report from memory, and Mr. Graham Campbell stopped reading the notes and read the reports of the speeches from VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Later, the Judge, referring to the witness's notes, remarked, "This is unsatisfactory."

Mrs. Pankhurst (to witness): Have you been reporting the meetings of the Women's Social and Political Union long?—Frequently.

Have you attended meetings at Caxton Hall?—Yes.

You were not present at any meeting at Caxton Hall in 1908?—No.

Mr. Healy: Was not this meeting a meeting of protest at the statement of Mr. Lloyd George attributing party bias to the women's action?—I could not say that.

Was not that the principal part of the speeches?—That is so.

And did the Government send you to take down the words of protest against one of their own Ministers?—No, sir.

Who sent you?—The police.

And is this the view now, that when women get up a public meeting in a public place to make speeches of protest against accusations which they consider false by a Cabinet Minister the police are sent to take down their speeches?—I believe that is so.

Counsel also questioned the witness with regard to the references to Mr. Lloyd George, and witness was understood to say that he did not take down any such references. He added that it was not a full report.

Mr. Healy: I want you to read anything about Mr. Lloyd George.

The Judge: It is full of Mr. Lloyd George—like King Charles' head. (Laughter.)

Mr. Healy: I am afraid it is more like the axe that took it off. (Renewed laughter.)

The Judge: (to Mr. Healy): It is not fair of you to say "confine yourself to your longhand note."

Mr. Healy: What I want to know is, whether this gentleman put all this down from memory.

Witness: Yes, sir.

Mr. Healy: What a splendid memory!

Detective-Sergeant Lionel Kirchner produced transcripts of speeches made at a meeting at Kensington Town Hall on November 11. He made his notes, he said, as soon as he got back to the office after the meeting.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence objected, but extracts from the speeches were read by counsel.

Witness next stated that he was on duty outside No. 4, Clement's Inn, from eleven o'clock in the morning until six o'clock in the evening of March 4. He saw about fifty women go there with luggage, portmanteaux and handbags. He saw Miss Christabel Pankhurst leave at about three o'clock in the afternoon with Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and another lady, whom he believed to be Dr. Ethel Smyth, and saw them return in the evening.

Mrs. Pankhurst: Have you watched No. 4 Clement's Inn on any occasion prior to the date mentioned in your evidence?—I believe I have been there before, but I don't remember the dates.

Do you know Clement's Inn well?—Yes.

Are you aware it is a very large building, and that there are many tenants besides the Women's Social and Political Union?—Yes.

And that there are several residential flats there occupied by ladies?—Yes.

Are you aware that constantly taxi-cabs are going to the doors of Clement's Inn, practically every day in the week?—Oh, yes.

What do you suggest when a great many ladies arrived on that particular day?—As the taxi-cabs came up, I got close to hear what was taking place.

Mrs. Pankhurst: I see!

Witness said he followed some of the women and heard some of them ask for the officers of the Union. He also questioned the drivers of the taxi-cabs, and gathered that a good many had been engaged at different railway termini.

Are you prepared to swear that there were more visitors on that day than on other days?—Oh, yes.

You think you have had sufficient experience in watching Clement's Inn to decide that point?—I think so.

Although you say you have only been there on two or three occasions?—I have made inquiries as well.

Witness believed that Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and the other lady went to the Pavilion.

Mrs. Pankhurst: Is there anything criminal in going to a public meeting?—I don't know, I'm sure.

They returned, you say. What do you suggest they were doing?—Attending to the affairs of the Union.

Conspiring?—I don't say that.

People usually take tea at about five o'clock?—I believe so.

If you had been present at a public meeting you would have been quite ready for a cup of tea?—Yes.

Anything very mysterious about going back for tea, especially as Mrs. Pethick Lawrence has her private residence at Clement's Inn?—No.

Perhaps you will be interested if I tell you they went out to get some dinner?—It is no interest to me. (Laughter.)

Replying to Mr. Healy, witness said he could not say when instructions were first given for notes to be taken of the meetings.

Did you get any instructions until a member of the Cabinet had been interrupted?—I could not say.

Important Cross-Examination.

Police-constable Hall deposed to attending meetings of the Women's Social and Political Union at the London Pavilion and taking shorthand notes of portions of the speeches. The transcripts were produced and read.

Mrs. Pankhurst: We are quite prepared to accept the reports in our own paper, but we question the accuracy of the speeches read. They are not our speeches.

Mr. Healy: My client also says she does not accept the accuracy of the transcripts.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence: You have given us the transcripts of your shorthand notes of these meetings?—That is so.

Did you take down the whole of the speeches or parts of them?—Parts of them, extracts.

You did not make that clear in your examination. What I understood you to say was that this was a shorthand report of the meeting. If this is a shorthand report of extracts of the speeches, I put it to you it is not really a report of the meetings at all?—It is not verbatim.

It is not a shorthand verbatim report of the meeting; it is merely a few extracts which you have selected from the speeches?—That is so.

What certificate do you hold for shorthand?—I hold a certificate for 110 words a minute.

Yes, but when you take down certain portions of a speech which you select as suitable to take down, do you take down the whole of that portion?—I use my own discretion.

It is quite possible that you omit certain sentences or words?—I take all the points leading up to the sentence in question.

You say you take only extracts. Do you also only take extracts from sentences?—Oh, no, sir; I take the whole sentence.

Do you mean that a paragraph in your transcript is a continuous piece as it appeared in the speech, or does that represent a series of little extracts joined together by you to make it into a paragraph?—No, they would be all continuous.

Let me put this to you: Here is a part of the paragraph which you have read, and which you have put down as a continuous speech. This is what your extract reads, and I ask you to verify it. It is the speech of Miss Christabel Pankhurst on January 22:—

> Ladies and gentlemen,—I am not going to keep you very long as chairman to-day, because I know that you want to hear Mrs. Pankhurst speak. Perhaps some of you may have noticed that we have a new statement in the Press by Sir Edward Grey with regard to the position. The question has been very much debated in the newspapers of late, some are in favour of the proposition and others are against it. All this time the Government have maintained a strict silence. Would the Government refuse to have the referendum taken on the subject of Woman Suffrage? If the House of Commons are going to put forth the referendum, that is another matter, and if that represents the view of the Government, then it is a pledge of their undertaking. The Government cannot disassociate themselves from this scheme. On the other hand, if the Government held the view that Sir Edward Grey has described, then they are all tarred with the same brush. The Government cannot leave this to the discretion of the House of Commons, for if the House of Commons decide for a referendum then they are bound to quit office, as they are bound to treat this question as a breach of confidence.

I put it to you that, as a pronouncement by a person who is certainly expert in political affairs, is sheer and unutterable nonsense?—I am no judge of that, sir.

What Miss Pankhurst said.

I put it to you that it has absolutely no meaning and no sense whatever. I put it to you that a person of Miss Christabel Pankhurst's intelligence, her power of holding an audience, could not have uttered a speech approximately similar to that nonsense. I will put it to you presently what she did say. I will put what she probably said, and ask you whether it does not sound much more likely to be correct. I shall put in a few words and small sentences, which will make sense of the whole paragraph:—

> We have a new statement in the Press by Sir Edward Grey with regard to the question of the referendum (not with regard to the "position"). This question has been very much debated in the newspapers of late. Some are in favour of the proposition and some against it. All this time the Government have maintained a strict silence.

Now we come to a sentence which I suggest you have omitted altogether.

> The question we asked Sir Edward Grey was, "Would the Government refuse to have a referendum taken on the question of woman suffrage?" Sir Edward Grey's answer was that he himself was against it, but if the House of Commons were going to decide in favour of the referendum, then that was another matter.

I suggest to you that that last sentence was a quotation from Sir Edward Grey, and formed no part of Miss Pankhurst's own statement. And then Miss Pankhurst goes on to say:

> If that represents the view of the Government, then the Government cannot dissociate themselves from this proposal for a referendum. The Government could not leave this question to the discretion of the House of Commons, for if the House of Commons decided for a referendum, then they are bound to quit office, as they are bound to treat this question as a breach of confidence, as they are against the referendum on other questions.

I put it to you that that is probably what she said.

Witness said that he did not dispute the accuracy of Mr. Pethick Lawrence's rendering. His note, he added, was not put forward as a verbatim one.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence: Then I am correct in saying that, instead of taking down whole sentences or paragraphs, you have selected sentences out of paragraphs, and words here and there, which conveyed what you thought was the interpretation of the sentences in the paragraph?—It is according to my notes.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence: I believe that perfectly. (Laughter.)

I think you must admit that to attempt to extract bits of sentences and bits of paragraphs and piece them together in your own fashion is to make such abject nonsense of the sense that no report you can make is of the slightest value?—I am no judge, sir.

I put it to you. If you made certain statements in court consisting of sentences and words, and if I selected every second sentence out of the ones you used and out of each sentence selected two words out of three, I put it to you that I should make such nonsense of your evidence as would not be accepted in this court. What is the value of a verbatim shorthand writer if he only takes from a sentence such parts as suit his own convenience or such words as he happens to hear?

Mr. Bodkin: He said he could only write 110 words a minute.

Replying to further questions, witness admitted that a certain portion of the transcript of Mr. Mansell-Moullin's speech appeared as follows: "Now, what are you going to do, we must go forward with the fight even if we have to use violence."

Mr. Pethick Lawrence: I put it to you that that is neither grammar nor sense.

The Judge: What is the error in grammar, and what is the error in sense?

Mr. Pethick Lawrence: I ought to have said syntax. It really is two sentences. A note of interrogation ought to be there.

The Judge: It does not make it bad grammar because a note of interrogation is left out.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence: I put it to you that what Mr. Mansell-Moullin really said was this:

> The question is: What are you going to do? How are you to nail such shufflers and wrigglers, how are you to nail them to their pledges? Some one in the audience says "Wait and see." It will be too late then. You want to nail them now, and the only thing is to keep straight on for your principle—the one that was laid down at the start. Keep perfectly straight for the principle, "As it is, or may be, granted to men." I know what it means, and I am afraid you all know as well as I do. I know the hundreds who have been imprisoned. I know the brutal treatment that so many of you have received at the hands of the police and of prison officials if not by the direct orders of the Home Secretary, at least with his active connivance. I know that some of you have been maimed for life. I know that some have died; died as directly of the violence they have received as if they had been put up against a wall and shot. I know all this, and so do you. But there is nothing for it but to go on. Your cause is a sacred one. It is the cause of justice and liberty and civilisation. It is the finest and the noblest cause the world has ever known, and it is one that must and will succeed.

Is that, do you think, the correct report of what Mr. Mansell-Moullin said, which you have put down into that one sentence which is not divided, as it should be, by a note of interrogation?

Witness said that he was not prepared to say that the words Mr Pethick Lawrence read were not uttered.

Do you not think that there is a small amount of difference between saying "We must go forward with the fight, even if we have to use violence," and saying, "I know that some have died, died as directly of the violence they have received," &c.?

Witness: Oh, yes, there is.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence: I do not think I will question this witness any further.

Mrs. Pankhurst elicited from the witness the admission that he did not regard himself as an expert shorthand writer.

Have you any knowledge of familiar quotations? You know that quotation, "Who would be free himself must strike the blow"?

Witness: I do not know it very well.

I do not think you do, seeing that you report Mrs. Pethick Lawrence as saying, "Who would be free herself must strike the first blow." (Laughter.) You will agree with me that you are not a very expert reporter of speeches at meetings?

Witness: The only thing I can say is that the phrase was used.

The Judge: Possibly the speaker did not verify her quotation. (Laughter.)

Replying to Mr. Bodkin, witness said that he was prepared to swear that every word that appeared in the transcript was uttered at the meeting.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence: Every word; yes. (Laughter.)

Mrs. Pankhurst: Are you prepared to swear that every word you reported me as saying in my speech, and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Pankhurst in their speeches, were actually uttered?

Witness: Yes.

Further evidence as to the window smashing acts of certain women was then submitted.

Evidence was given that Miss Olive Wharry broke a window value £10 at Clune House, Surrey Street, on November 22, 1911.

Witnesses from "Jay's, Limited," Regent Street, deposed that similar acts were committed by Miss Violet Aitken and Miss Clara Giveen on March 1 last. The damage was estimated at about £100.

Mr. W. H. Kinmouth, confidential clerk to Jay's, Limited, was cross-examined by Mrs. Pankhurst, who elicited that the broken window was replaced by the insurance company.

Are you aware that the business of the insurance companies has enormously increased since the accident to your window?

Witness: That I do not know.

Mr. Bodkin: Do you mean replacing windows? (Laughter.)

Mrs. Pankhurst: The amount of insurance has enormously increased. (To the witness.) Your business has mainly to do with women, has it not?—Yes.

And are the majority of your employees women?—Yes, certainly.

Then probably your firm will realise that there are women in the world now, and that they may possibly have some grievances?—I cannot answer that question.

Mrs. Pankhurst: You might be interested now if some of your customers, or some of the women you employ, wanted votes?—That I cannot answer.

It seems to me that it would have rather a practical bearing upon it?—I cannot speak to that question.

More Evidence of Damage.

Harry John Walker, representing Messrs. D. H. Evans, of Oxford Street, stated that the damage done to the windows of the firm on March 1 amounted to £250. Twelve windows were broken.

Mrs. Pankhurst: You have considerable knowledge of commercial life in the West End. You know that women are largely engaged in business nowadays?—Yes.

A business like yours depends very largely for its success upon women—customers, saleswomen, and women who make the goods?—To an extent.

If the women you employ serve you faithfully, that helps your business?—That is so.

Do you know many women in business for themselves?—I don't know any personally.

You know of them?—Yes; there may be some.

Someone has a vote in respect of Messrs. Evan's premises?—Possibly.

I suppose they have taken good care that someone is qualified to vote in respect of the premises?—I don't know.

There may be a shop next door, and it may be occupied by a woman?—Possibly.

That woman, unlike the occupier of your premises, is not qualified to vote?—I believe not.

Yet she has to pay the same rates and taxes as the man next door who does have a vote. Now, I put it to you, sir, if you were in that woman's position and had to pay all those charges just like a man, would you not get very indignant if you had not the same power to protect yourself as the man?—That is a suppositious question.

I do not think it is. Would you not feel indignant if, because you are not six feet high, you were not allowed to vote. (Laughter.) I think you would if you saw someone next door enjoying the vote. I would like to ask you whether the incidents which occurred that day may not have led many people to realise better than they had done before the fact that a large number of women engaged in business may feel very indignant because, when they are displeased with the Government, they have no power to express their displeasure in the way a man would.

Witness: Do you mind repeating that question. (Laughter.)

From one reason or another business is bad at present, is it not?—I should not like to say so.

The Coal Strike and other things have led many businesses to complain?—I don't know.

There are a great many bargain sales going on just now?—Not more than usual.

And I think that a good many people are saying to themselves that the Government is to blame for this?—I don't know what the people are saying at all.

Suppose you thought the Government was to blame, would you not consider whether you would vote against it at the next election?—I might consider it.

And would be very glad you had the power to do so?—I don't attach very much importance to the vote myself. (Laughter.)

No? But perhaps you are not in business for yourself. But if a woman found that instead of selling twenty hats a day she was only selling one, and she thought the Government was to blame for that, and she could not vote against that Government at an election, she would feel that her pocket was touched, and that she had no remedy?—Certainly, if she thought that the Government was responsible.

Thank you.

Mr. Bodkin: You do not know which department of the Government influences the sale of hats, do you?—I do not. (Laughter.)

James Ferguson Walker, of Messrs. Carrington, jewellers, Regent Street, spoke to three windows of his firm's premises

having been smashed on March 1, the damage being £18. There was property in the windows of the value of over £10,000.

Mrs. Pankhurst: Nothing was stolen, I hope?—No.

I am glad to hear that. And your windows are now insured, since I had the pleasure of seeing you at Bow Street?—Yes.

Then the insurance company has done more business. (Laughter.)

The Judge: In this case you had to bear the loss?—Yes.

P.C. 171C spoke to the arrest of Eileen Smith outside Messrs. Carrington's premises. She had a hammer (produced). She got six months' imprisonment.

John Millar Arnold, staff superintendent of Messrs. Robinson and Cleaver, Regent Street, spoke to the smashing of sixteen windows there on March 1 by Isabel Potbury and Olive Wharry.

Archibald Davidson, commissionaire at the same premises, told Mr. Healy that Olive Wharry, before being sentenced to six months' imprisonment, addressed the jury, saying that the Government alone was responsible for the actions of the ladies, and she quoted Mr. Hobhouse in support of her case. "No one is responsible for this action but the Government and myself," she had said.

Albert Storr, manager of the firm, said thirteen windows were broken, valued at £190: they were insured.

"Quite Cool."

George Taylor, from Messrs. Waring and Gillow, Oxford Street, gave evidence as to the window smashing of Barbara Wylie on March 1.

Mrs. Pankhurst: What sort of a person is Miss Wylie?—A very tall, lady-like person.

Were you surprised to see her at it?—Yes.

Did she attempt to run away?—Oh no.

Did you wonder why she did it?—I thought she had gone mad at the time. (Laughter.)

Did she appear to be mad?—No.

She was not excited, was she?—No quite cool.

"She got six months," witness answered Mr. Healy.

Evidence was also given as to the arrest of Emma Wylie at the same premises: she also got six months. The damage done amounted to £250.

Miss Wylie, one of the witnesses answered Mrs. Pankhurst, seemed quite capable of forming a good judgment of her conduct.

A commissionaire from Messrs. Barker's, High Street, Kensington, spoke to the arrest for window smashing on March 4 of Lillias Mitchall. She did damage to the extent of £24, and got four months. In her address to the jury, she had attributed the blame to the Government.

The Union's Colours.

Francis Powell, Inspector, New Scotland Yard, deposed that in November last he was engaged in connection with meetings of the W.S.P.U. He attended at Cannon Row Police Station and Bow Street Police Court in connection with the events of November 21. He also attended the meeting of the Union held in the Pavilion on the afternoon of March 4, and spoke to the accuracy of the reports of the speeches handed in. About 900 attended the meeting, he said, at which there was considerable interruption. After the meeting witness said he went to the vicinity of the Gardenia Restaurant. He saw from 150 to 200 women entering, many of them well-known to him as having been previously charged. They went to the second floor of the restaurant.

Mr. Bodkin: Do the members of the Union wear any distinctive symbols?—Yes.

What are they?—They've had many.

What are they now?—Some wear a miniature gate as a brooch, which denotes that they have been in prison; others wear badges and colours.

What colours?—Blue, green, and white. (laughter)—or perhaps it's purple.

Any yellow?—No; no yellow.

And do the members always wear these badges or symbols?—Always.

Were they worn on this occasion?—Not one.

Witness, proceeding, said he followed two of the women who came out—Myra Sadd-Brown and Mary K. Richmond. They went into the Strand and joined two other women who were under the observation of another officer. They went into a Lyons' teashop, and after passing some time went to the War Office at precisely 8 o'clock. They threw a missile and broke windows.

Officer's Tribute to W.S.P.U.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence questioned witness at length as to the history and character of the agitation of the W.S.P.U., constitutional and otherwise. Witness frankly admitted that there had been many peaceful demonstrations organised by the Women's Social and Political Union, one of them, the monster demonstration in Hyde Park, which for size and successful management outdistanced anything within his thirty years' experience of demonstrations in the Metropolis. The succession of Albert Hall meetings were also without parallel in his knowledge of the history of political organisations. He agreed that one of the non-peaceful demonstrations followed the refusal by Mr. Asquith of an application that he should receive a peaceful deputation to convey the resolution passed at the mammoth demonstration in Hyde Park. Witness also testified to the abnormal size and importance of the women's procession in London on the eve of the Coronation last year. He had never seen anything larger nor more orderly. All the propaganda meetings of the organisation were well attended, well conducted, and enthusiastic.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence was putting it to the witness that large demonstrations held by men were usually followed by the granting of the demand made by the demonstrators, but his lordship suggested that was rather a matter for argument by the jury.

Witness answered, further, that he knew of no men's organisation which had so considerably and consistently demonstrated constitutionally as the W.S.P.U.

In reply to Mrs. Pankhurst, witness said he had been in attendance at Caxton Hall at all the pre-demonstration meetings, but had not been inside the hall. On some occasions men were not admitted.

Mrs. Pankhurst: I think an exception was always made in the case of reporters and the police.

Witness: I never risked a refusal. (Laughter.)

Do you think the speeches generally were characterised by a considerable amount of self-restraint?—I don't think so.

Men sometimes make violent speeches?—They do.

Have you attended meetings addressed by members of the present Government?—Yes.

Would you include them among the violent speakers?

Mr. Bodkin objected to the question.

The Judge: The jury are the judges of what is violent.

Mrs. Pankhurst: I was anxious that you and the jury should hear what the Inspector has to say on the point. (To witness.) Were you the police officer who said you wished the Government would come out and do their own dirty work on the occasion of a demonstration?—No, I was not.

Did you assist in searching Clement's Inn?—I did.

Was it you who found a private letter in the office written by me?—No.

Do you know who did find it?—I don't.

You were asked a question about the colours of the Union?—I know them very well, but I can't remember them. (Laughter.)

I hope that is not typical of your evidence with regard to more vital questions.

Mr. Bodkin: Perhaps you will tell us what are the colours, Mrs. Pankhurst?

Mrs. Pankhurst: Certainly. Purple, white, and green.

Mr. Healy: You were present at the Pavilion meeting?—Yes.

Counsel proceeded to read the speech of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence at the meeting, in which reference was made to the advice of Cabinet Ministers.

The Judge (interrupting): I think the jury know every word of Mr. Hobhouse's speech by heart. (Several jurors: "Hear, hear.")

Mr. Healy replied that the defendants laid great stress on that speech, their contention being that these members of the Government quoted were the real inciters to violence.

The Judge suggested that counsel's speech was the better place for emphasising his point to the jury; but Mr. Healy persisted in reading it at this stage.

The Court had sat almost an hour beyond its usual time, when Mrs. Pankhurst mentioned that she and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence were feeling fatigued after the long sitting.

The Judge intimated that he would rise at 5 o'clock, and Mr. Bodkin filled in the time by calling witnesses to prove the damage resulting from various acts of window-breaking in the early part of March last.

The Court then adjourned until Monday morning.

MONDAY.

The resumed hearing on Monday opened with the calling of further evidence bearing upon the acts of window-smashing committed by members of the W.S.P.U. in March last. In the case of Miss Hope Jones Mr. Healy, K.C., elicited from the police witness the fact that defendant was given six months' imprisonment. Before receiving sentence, she addressed the court as follows:

> I should like to say that I have accepted Mr. Hobhouse's challenge, and I appeal to you to say that you would have done the same thing. I should like to say to Englishmen that you can give us women hard labour and fill your prisons with our bodies, but the spirit which encourages the women will remain. The light is still burning, and will never be put out by the hand of man.

The next witness, Detective-Sergeant Lenehan, gave evidence of having watched two women, Evelyn Scott and Mary Fraser, leave the Gardenia Restaurant on March 4, and proceed to the West End, where they purchased clubs. Subsequently he followed them about the West End until they came to Great Marlborough Street Police Court, where Miss Fraser, who carried a parcel, opened it, and handed a club to her companion, retaining one herself. Both attacked the windows of the police-court and police-station, and were taken into the station. They applied for bail, and suggested that the officer in charge should telephone to Mr. Pethick Lawrence, at 4, Clement's Inn, in order that he should come to bail them out.

Cross-examined by Mrs. Pankhurst, the witness said that he had performed the duty of watching the women. He could not tell her how many men were employed in the C.I.D. All the men worked in plain clothes. He did not think that there were any regulations to the effect that men of the C.I.D. should be of a certain size.

As a matter of fact, asked Mrs. Pankhurst, you know that there is an impression among the public that the plain-clothes policeman can always be recognised, even if he be in plain clothes?—I believe that is so.

Would you swear that the gentlemen employed in your department can be recognised as policemen quite easily by anybody?—No, I don't think that.

As a matter of fact, is it not true that one might be sitting on the top of an omnibus next to a gentleman, and never suspect that he was a police-officer, so well are they turned out? (Laughter.)—Yes.

In fact, to anyone who has been hearing a great deal about the Russian police just now, it would be a revelation to know that in England the police force is so organised that the secret police are quite unrecognisable?—I have no knowledge of the Russian police.

Well, you and I have some knowledge of the methods of the English police, have we not? Yes.

Witness added that he was not one of the detectives who went to interview the prisoners at Holloway. He swore that the ladies in this case suggested that Mr. Pethick Lawrence should be telephoned for.

Is it not a fact that the police have got into the habit of suggesting, for their own convenience, that they should telephone to Mr. Pethick Lawrence?—I cannot answer that question.

Evidence was then given concerning the acts of Miss Nellie Taylor, Miss Nellie Crocker, and Miss Gladys Roberts, who were proved to have damaged the windows of the King's Road Post Office, Chelsea, to the extent of £12. Each was sentenced to three months' imprisonment.

P.C. John Osborn proved the arrest of Miss Aileen Allen in Victoria Street on November 21. She was sentenced, he said, to four months' imprisonment.

Questioned by Mr. Healy, witness said he remembered Miss Allen saying at the trial something to the effect that her action was entirely due to the speech made by Mr. Hobhouse at Bristol.

Replying to Mr. Pethick Lawrence, witness said the trial was heard before Mr. Lawrie.

The arrests of Mrs. Mary Boyd Dodson, Miss Flora Till, and Miss Weller were next proved.

P.C. George Lloyd was cross-examined by Mrs. Pankhurst.

You are not like some of the police witnesses, engaged exclusively to look after the Suffragist agitation?—No.

You do the ordinary work of a police-constable?—Yes.

Have you in the course of your duty to deal much with women to any extent? I mean, do you frequently arrest women?—Yes.

"Not the Ordinary Women."

These women are not the ordinary women you have to deal with?—No.

Are you aware that one of the ladies you mentioned is the wife of a solicitor?—I didn't know that.

Are you aware also that her husband supports her in the agitation in which she is engaged?—I did not know.

But you will agree with me that it is rather a remarkable thing that gentlemen in the law both in the dock and outside support women in breaking windows to win their political rights? You agree with me it is rather a serious situation that that should be so?—Yes.

P.C. Bagent said, in reply to Mrs. Pankhurst, that he did not hear Miss Weller give any reason as to why she consented, against her will, to be bound over.

Detective-Sergeant Butler proved the arrest of Miss Alice Agnes Wilson and Miss M. Hughes.

Mrs. Pankhurst: The work of your section of the Criminal Investigation Department is to attend Suffragette meetings, follow Suffragette women, and generally to keep your eye on this agitation?—That is part of it.

Is that the only work your section does?—No.

You attend other meetings?—Yes.

You may be called the political section of the Criminal Investigation Department?—If you like to term it so.

There is, then, a political section?—Our department is known as the special branch.

I might describe it as the political section?—You may if you like.

Do you attend Cabinet Ministers' meetings?—Yes; I have attended those meetings.

Meetings where women have interrupted Cabinet Ministers?—Yes.

Probably one of them was present at the meeting in Carnarvon on Saturday, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer——

Mr. Bodkin: Is that relevant?

Mrs. Pankhurst: Quite relevant. (To witness): My question is, would some member of your political department be present in Wales when the Chancellor of the Exchequer said words to this effect, that to interrupt him about votes for women was a poor way of earning a day's pay? You think some member of your department would be there?—Yes, it is possible, but I don't think so.

Is there a provincial department?—No.

Then is it part of your business to follow suffragists and other politicians into the provinces?—I think at times that some of our officers have been detailed for special duty.

Detective-Sergeant Seale said he had followed two women from the Gardenia Restaurant on March 4.

Mrs. Pankhurst: After meetings you have followed women to see where they went?—Yes.

Have you had instructions to follow particular women?—Generally.

Some special women?—Yes.

Are you entirely engaged in following women?—Not entirely.

You follow other people?—Yes.

Politicians?—On some occasions.

Do you do ordinary criminal work or political work?—Political work.

Political work only?—Yes.

Have you been one of the gentlemen allotted to go into the country for the protection of Cabinet Ministers?—I don't follow.

When a Cabinet Minister has been going to speak in the provinces, has it been part of your duty to accompany him—to go in the same train?—No.

But you said that is done?—Yes, I know it is done.

Can you give me any idea from what Cabinet Ministers need protection?—No, madam, I could not.

You could not say whether they were to be protected from violence, say, on my part? (Laughter.)—I could not say.

Would it be the duty of the officer to prevent women saying, "When is the Liberal Government going to give women the vote?"—Possibly.

Detective-Sergeant Thomas Hanson, of the Criminal Investigation Department, spoke to attending a meeting under the auspices of the Actresses Franchise League, in the Criterion on December 1.

Mrs. Pankhurst: You were present and heard Miss Christabel Pankhurst speak?—Yes.

Was her speech received with approval by the meeting?—Yes.

This was not a meeting of the Women's Social and Political Union?—No, the Actresses' Franchise League.

Was it well attended?—Well attended, yes.

Crowded?—Not exactly, there were some seats vacant.

Was it an enthusiastic meeting?—Yes. It was rather enthusiastic, but there were one or two interruptions during Miss Christabel's speech.

That was the occasion when Miss Pankhurst invoked the interrupters to go and sit in the front row?—Yes.

They were men weren't they?—Yes.

Who made very senseless interruptions? (Laughter.) I mean not pertinent interruptions—harassing interruptions, and they referred to the meeting at the City Temple where Mr. Asquith was interrupted. They were Liberals—rather rabid Liberals—partisans?—Yes.

These gentlemen attended the women's meetings to try to do the same thing?—Yes.

Miss Pankhurst restored order by inviting the gentlemen to come and sit in the front row, and treated them with great good humour and successfully?—Yes.

You heard the other speeches?—Yes.

On the whole, this was a very unanimous and enthusiastic meeting?—Yes, after the interruptions ceased.

After the interruptions were so successfully dealt with?—Yes.

And would you agree that if Cabinet Ministers showed such good humour in their meetings as that shown on this occasion, political meetings generally would go all the better? (Laughter.)—That I cannot say.

Have you attended many of the meetings organised by the Women's Social and Political Union?—I have attended five or six.

Have you always found that when there have been interruptions the speakers have been able to deal with them in the same successful way?—Yes.

Mrs. Ball's Evidence.

Lilian Ball, a dressmaker, of Tooting, was the next witness. On being called she showed signs of emotion, and on entering the witness-box, broke down completely, and a few moments elapsed before Mr. Bodkin proceeded to examine her.

She said that she was a member of the Balham branch of the W.S.P.U., and a member of a deputation that went to the House of Commons in October, 1910. In November, 1911, she received a type-written message inviting her to go to the Woman's Press, in Charing Cross Road. She went into a room upstairs, having given up a card which had been sent to her. In the room were a number of ladies. She heard her name called, and went into a smaller room, where there were two or three ladies. A lady asked her if she had a pocket in her skirt, and she said no. "The lady then gave me a bag of stones, which was tied around my waist, under my coat," witness proceeded. "I said it was too heavy, and some of the stones were taken out. We were told to try to get to the back of the House of Commons and break the windows."

Mr. Bodkin: Where did you go when you left the Woman's Press?—With two other young ladies, similarly equipped, I went to the House of Commons.

How long did you remain there?—From eight till nine.

What did you do there?—Simply walked about.

Did you use any of the stones?—No, sir, I did not.

Did either of the other young ladies?—Not while I was there.

What did you do then?—I went home.

Taking the bag and stones?—Yes.

In March of this year, witness further answered, she went to prison.

Counsel next read the circular sent out to members of the Union prior to the window-breaking demonstration of March 4, in which sympathisers were asked to take part in the fighting policy:

"Militancy alone can bring pressure to bear upon the Cabinet," it said. It was signed "E. Pankhurst," and asked those responding to send in their names. Witness said she sent in her name. She also received a further circular dated February 20, 1912, acknowledging her letter, and telling her to see Mrs. McLeod at Clifford's Inn. Witness said she did not go.

Other documents arrived including a card of admission to the Gardenia Restaurant for the evening of March 4. There was also a piece of paper instructing her what to do when arrested. This she left at the place where she worked as a dressmaker at Clapham Common.

Witness was shown a document which she identified as the "Instructions to Volunteers" circular. It informed volunteers that after arrest they would be bailed out. They were advised to bring with them to the police court the following day such things as they would need during their imprisonment.

Yet another circular she received on March 1, also signed E. Pankhurst, in which the writer said she was taking some preliminary action, and she knew the rest of the volunteers would make a brave fight.

On March 4, witness proceeded, she went to the Gardenia, and on showing her card was admitted. There were many women in it. A lady asked her if she was prepared for a long or a short sentence. "I said a short sentence—not more than seven days, because I could not remain longer away from home. I was then told to go to the United Service Museum in Whitehall.

Why was that?—She said there were small panes there and I could not possibly get more than seven days.

Were you given anything?—Yes, a hammer, on which was a motto in writing, "Better broken windows than broken promises." I was advised to put the hammer up my sleeve. I did so, and went off with two other ladies.

Was anything said about time?—We were told to do it before nine o'clock.

What did you do?—I broke a window of the United Service Museum. I was arrested and taken to Cannon Row Police Station. I was afterwards bailed out by Mr. Pethick Lawrence.

Next morning I went to Bow Street bringing things with me. I was sentenced to two months' hard labour.

And the sentence is now expired?—Yes.

On the occasion when she went to the Women's Press in November, 1911, she, acting on written instructions, did not wear any badge or colours. She had the same instructions on March 4. None of the ladies wore them on these occasions.

Cross-examined by Mr. Pethick Lawrence, witness said she had taken part in a previous demonstration in 1910, and had had her foot injured by the mob who sprang upon the women.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence: Were you wearing a badge on that occasion?—I was wearing a deputation badge.

Was the setting of the mob on you intentional or accidental?—Intentional.

Did you hear it said that the reason why the women did not wear their badges was because of the injuries they had received on previous occasions when they did wear their badges?—No; I did not hear that said.

Did you not think that with the experience you had had at the hands of some of the rougher elements of the mob that it was advisable not to wear the distinctive badge of the Union under the circumstances?—Certainly.

You have heard of a man called William Ball?—Yes, sir.

Are you any relation of William Ball?—None whatever.

Mrs. Pankhurst put no questions.

Mr. Healy: Are you now in favour of manhood suffrage?—

The Judge: Has that any bearing on the issue, Mr. Healy?

Mr. Healy: How was it that the police selected you to make a statement?—When I was in Holloway I petitioned the Home Secretary, and friends did the same. The police visited my home, and found the papers and stones and that is, I suppose, why they came to me in Holloway. I don't know any other reason why I was singled out.

Who was the officer?—Mr. McCarthy and Mr. Powell.

Who saw you first?—They both saw me together.

With a common instinct they both saw you together?

Mr. Bodkin: Possibly they both came together?—They did.

This closed the case for the prosecution, and Mr. Lawrence then made his opening speech to the jury, which will be found fully reported on pages 541-2-3.

"A Discreditable Proceeding."

After the luncheon interval Inspector Powell was recalled, and was questioned by Mrs. Pankhurst.

In the course of your inquiries in preparing this case, I believe you questioned the manager of the Inns of Court Hotel, did you not?—I did.

You finally decided not to call this gentleman?—It was not for me to decide.

Would you tell me if it is true that you asked that gentleman questions which appear to me to relate entirely to my private affairs, and which had no connection with this case?—I don't think so, madam.

You asked him, I understand, who paid my accounts at the hotel?—I might have done.

Will you tell the Court why you asked that question?—To know whether the Union was paying the account or yourself, because there are other accounts there besides yours. I wanted to distinguish the accounts. Other leagues meet there, such as the Men's Political Union, and so on.

If you tell me that there are other suffrage societies meeting there, in addition to my living there as a private resident, that is news to me. I have no knowledge of them.—It is so, madam.

In order to make it quite clear that I have no connection with other meetings was it necessary to ask whether I paid my accounts by cheque or otherwise, and whether I had any accounts personally or someone else had them for me?—I wanted to know by whom the cheques were drawn. I don't think I asked any impertinent questions. I should not like to think I had. Witness added that he wanted to know whether Mrs. Pankhurst had discontinued her tenancy. She did not do so herself.

Mrs. Pankhurst: For a very good reason, because I was in Holloway.

Witness: I wanted to know whether it was a member of your own family or a member of the Union who did it.

Mrs. Pankhurst: I want to know the motive, because there may have been some reason for asking those questions. I want to know whether they could have any connection with the statement made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in Wales on Saturday?—I don't know. I was not there.

Mrs. Pankhurst: My Lord, it seems to me it is entirely exceeding the reason and the cause of this prosecution that the private life of the defendants in this dock should be inquired into in this inquisitive way.

The Judge: He had to establish any fact that connected you with the Women's Social and Political Union.

Mrs. Pankhurst: Do you think this was material? I am anxious to be satisfied whether my private life and the way in which my personal accounts are paid is material to this prosecution.

The Judge: It might be.

Inspector Powell: I thought it was.

Mrs. Pankhurst: And the reason you did not call this gentleman was because you could not implicate me in anything dishonourable.

Witness: It does not rest with me at all.

Mrs. Pankhurst: May I ask who sent you to make inquiries?—I went on my own initiative.

Mrs. Pankhurst: I think it was a very discreditable proceeding!

Evidence for the defence was then called:

The Rev. Dr. Cobb.

The Rev. W. F. Cobb, of St. Ethelburga's Church, Bishopsgate, said, in reply to Mr. Pethick Lawrence, that he had known the work of the Women's Social and Political Union for three or four years, had been present at meetings arranged by the Union, and had heard speeches made by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Pankhurst.

Mr. Lawrence was proceeding further to question the witness when the Judge intervened, and pointed out that he could not do so unless the questions related to particular speeches. If he said the defendants were accused of being members of an illegal association, it might be then material to inquire into a hundred thousand meetings; but the association to which they belonged was a perfectly lawful association. The accusation was that they said certain things at certain definite times.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence said his object was to show that although he had played a considerable part it did not necessarily implicate him in conspiracy.

The Judge: I am bound to exclude evidence that is not relevant. I have let you address the jury on relevant and irrelevant matters. When it comes to evidence, I am bound by the laws of evidence.

Mrs. Pankhurst appealed to the Judge to allow the evidence. "We stand here in this dock," she said, "defending ourselves against a charge which not only may mean long terms of imprisonment but may reduce us to the level of the lowest in the land. I appeal to you to allow this evidence to be given as to the motive, as to the need, and as to the urgency of the case."

The Judge: In this case my ruling is that you must confine your evidence to the material matter which is before us, and that is whether or not you did or did not commit the acts complained of in the indictment. That is all I am here to try, and all the jury are here to try.

Miss Eva Moore.

Miss Eva Moore, the well-known actress, was then called. She said she was vice-president of the Actresses' Franchise League, and had been acquainted with the work of the Women's Social and Political Union for several years. She was present at the meeting in the Royal Albert Hall on November 16 of last year, and heard speeches by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Christabel Pankhurst on that occasion. It did not seem to her that there was anything in the speeches inciting to violence.

What was the general trend of the speeches?—That work was demanded of us to further our cause. It was a very large meeting.

Was the meeting friendly or the reverse?—Absolutely enthusiastic.

The Attorney-General: You understood that what was advocated was that the militant campaign must go forward more than ever?—No.

Did you not hear this: "If we don't get what we want to-morrow the militant campaign goes forward with more vigour than ever"?—I cannot say that I heard those words.

The Attorney-General quoted from Mrs. Lawrence's speech, and asked the witness what she suggested the words he had quoted meant.

"I don't suggest anything," replied the witness amidst laughter.

Did you attend any of the meetings at which people were asked to come forward in the campaign of window breaking?—I cannot remember any special one.

You have not taken part in the window breaking?—No.

Mrs. Pankhurst: You have heard of the Church militant?—Yes.

I put it to you whether in your mind militancy does not mean being very determined to work in every possible way for something you think right?—Yes.

Sir Edward Busk, M.A., LL.B.

Sir Edward Busk, of Sussex Place, Regent's Park, said he was present on February 16 at a dinner given to the women who had recently been released from prison, and heard the speeches of Mrs. Pankhurst and of the released prisoners. So far as he recollected, Mrs. Pankhurst's was a very enthusiastic speech, and was received with very great enthusiasm. He gathered that the women who had been in prison adopted the course they had by their own deliberate intention. They did not seem weak-minded people likely to be influenced by others.

Mrs. Pankhurst: You heard the speech made, and you have heard me make other speeches. Do you agree that that was perhaps the most violent speech I have ever made?—Yes.

Mrs. Pankhurst read her speech, which, under the heading of "The Argument of the Broken Pane," appeared in VOTES FOR WOMEN of February 23.

Replying to the Attorney-General, Sir Edward Busk said he realised Mrs. Pankhurst's speech was a very serious one to make.

It was a speech to induce persons to volunteer to come forward and throw more stones?—That will be for the jury to decide.

I am asking you what your view is.

The Judge: You have been asked for your opinion one side, and now you are asked for it on the other.

The Attorney-General (to witness): Will you please answer my question. I am putting it to you that this speech which you heard was violent in parts. Did not that convey to you that the object of it was that other persons should copy at the earliest opportunity the excellent example of those who had been sent to prison for throwing stones?—I think that was one of the objects.

We have heard the speech read. It would no doubt have a very considerable effect upon the audiences who were present, would it not?—It might have.

Further questioned by the Attorney-General, witness thought that the window-breaking campaign was a very small part of the movement.

The Attorney-General: I suggest it is a most important part to the persons whose windows were broken?—Oh, yes.

Did not it strike you that that was a very dangerous speech to make?—I should not have made it myself.

No. Because you would recognise that there was a number of persons there who would no doubt be influenced by Mrs. Pankhurst, and would follow her in whatever she advocated?—Yes.

Witness added that he should be very glad to be able to make such an eloquent and powerful speech as the rest (the part which was not violent) was.

The Attorney-General said he was not attempting to belittle the speech in any way. Quite the contrary. He suggested it was a very dangerous speech. It was a very dangerous form of speech, was it not?—It was.

The Attorney-General: For the reason that it endangered the public peace?—I have heard Cabinet Ministers advise stronger measures. (Laughter.)

Mr. Healy: Possibly the Attorney-General? (Renewed laughter.)

Witness: Yes, possibly the Attorney-General.

The Attorney-General: If you want a good form of them, I suggest you may take Mr. Healy's. (More laughter.)

Further questioned, the witness said he refused to judge the action of the women who broke windows.

The Attorney-General: I am not asking you to judge them. I am asking you what your general view is. Do you suggest that if you can't get what you want by constitutional means you are entitled to throw stones?—My knowledge is that all reforms have been got that way.

If I want something which I cannot get, do you think I should go to Sussex Place and break the windows?—That is not the question.

The Attorney-General: It is because they are your windows. (Laughter.)

Mrs. Morgan Dockrell.

Mrs. Morgan Dockrell, Harcourt House, Cavendish Square, President of the L.C.C. Women Teachers' Union, next called, considered the circular she received asking her to join in the "great militant protest" of March 4, a perfectly innocent circular.

Replying to the Attorney-General, she said she had nothing to do with window-breaking.

Questioned by Mr. Pethick Lawrence, she had always heard the Union spoken of as a militant union. She knew the Women's Social and Political Union was steadily increasing year by year, and was the only union making progress in the movement.

Dr. Jessie Murray.

Dr. Jessie Murray was next called.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence read to her a list of the names of prisoners who had been convicted of window-breaking, but her objection was that the name of Mr. Pethick Lawrence said he understood the prosecution regarded the actions and words of these ladies as part of the conspiracy.

The Attorney-General said he had put in what they did.

The Judge remarked that no evidence had been given on the part of the Crown as to the statements of any of these women whose names Mr. Pethick Lawrence had introduced.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence: I understand that part of Lilian Ball's statement has been given as evidence. It was given, at any rate, at the police-court.

The Judge: Yes, it has always been open to you to call women who say that they did not break windows because of any incitement given to them by the defendants.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence: This witness has seen a very large number of these women.

The Judge: You cannot get it in this way. They can come and say that they did not hear of the incitement, and acted quite apart from anything you said.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence was proceeding to question the witness about incidents in November, 1910, when

The Attorney-General said there was no case mentioned by the prosecution until the end of 1911. The only reference to 1910 was that made by Mr. Pethick Lawrence in his opening statement.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence said that Lillian Ball had given evidence as to what took place in November, 1910.

The Attorney-General said the only reference to 1910 had been to connect the defendants with the incitements of 1911 and 1912.

The Judge observed that if he had been appealed to at the time as to the importance or relevance of statements made in evidence with reference to a deputation to the Prime Minister in 1910 he might have ruled that they had no bearing whatever on the issue.

Mrs. Pankhurst: The reference to "Black Friday" came first of all from Mr. Bodkin, and your Lordship asked a question about it.

The Judge: I am not going into "Black Friday" or "Black Monday," or any other day. We are holding an inquiry into the events of November 21 and March 4.

Mrs. Pankhurst: Our defence is that the happenings on "Black Friday" have a material bearing upon the later happenings, because it was in consequence of what happened on "Black Friday" that there came to be a change in policy which led to the violence which is the subject of this inquiry.

The Judge: That means that because somebody has alleged that men struck women violently on "Black Friday" it is an excuse or legal justification for incitements to women to act violently in November and March.

All three defendants protested that this was not so.

Mrs. Pankhurst: Am I to understand that you say that if we call a witness who would say that because of the violence initiated by the police on "Black Friday" she had determined to throw stones on the later occasions that that would be good evidence?

The Judge: If that lady swore on her oath that nothing you had said or done, or that any of you had said or done, had induced her in any way to commit the act that she did commit on November 21, it would be relevant. At least, unless I heard any material argument to the contrary.

Mrs. Pankhurst: The present witness is a medical woman, and we thought she might replace those women, many of whom have been in prison for a long time, and have been forcibly fed, and are not in a fit state of health to subject themselves to the further ordeal of examination in this court.

Mr. Healy said that some of the women acted as the result of provocation which they had previously received. There might have been more powerful and provocative reasons than incitement to make them act as they did, and he submitted that evidence ought not to be exclusively confined to incitement as a primary cause of the women's action.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence said that in view of his lordship's ruling he would not waste the time of the Court by calling the other ladies and gentlemen who had come prepared to give evidence. In these circumstances this closed his case.

The Judge: Are you, Mrs. Pankhurst, calling any witnesses?

Mrs. Pankhurst: I am not able to call the only witnesses I should desire to call. They are the Right Hon. Mr. Hobhouse and the last two Home Secretaries and the present Home Secretary. I am not able to call them.

Mrs. Pankhurst asked and received the permission of the Court to deliver her address to the jury on Tuesday morning.

TUESDAY.

Miss Ethel Smyth, Mus. Doc.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence addressed the jury in his defence. This speech will be reported fully in next week's VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dr. Ethel Smyth then entered the witness-box, and in reply to Mrs. Pankhurst said she was a doctor of music, was a daughter of the late General Smyth, and was the lady mentioned by the man who was released from acting on the jury because he had conscientiously objected to women.

"The Wreckers." She was a member of the W.S.P.U., and was present at a meeting at the Pavilion Theatre on February 26 last.

That was the meeting when I made what may be described as the "Referendum" speech?—Yes, I was there.

Mrs. Pankhurst then read the speech in extenso.

Dr. Smyth said that the speech was delivered by Mrs. Pankhurst exactly as it had been read in court.

The report put in evidence by the prosecution was what had been called a synopsis. "Need you have any more?" added Dr. Smyth, amid laughter.

Mrs. Pankhurst: Since I am charged with having incited you and other people to take part in the demonstration—

The Attorney-General: I do not think you are charged with having incited Dr. Smyth.

Mrs. Pankhurst: Am I in order in asking her if she was incited by me in any way?

Dr. Smyth: No. I did not wish to take any part in your March agitation because I was too busy. Then came the refusal of the Home Office to permit the inquiry into the conduct of the police on Black Friday. I know what those women had been through. I then wrote straight away to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence to say that I begged to take part in the next protest. I went so far as to say that I hoped whatever the protest might be, it would not be such a protest as the one on Black Friday, because I did not think that any women should subject themselves to that sort of usage again. If that letter has disappeared I am rather glad of it, because I think that it might possibly be cited as a case of inciting my leaders to violence. (Laughter.)

I gather that you had made up your mind to take part in some form of protest before you heard that speech?—Oh, yes.

Did you take part in the protest?—Well, as a matter of fact, I was very badly bitten in a dog-fight the week before, and I was laid-up for a month, and could not take part. (Laughter.) I was very sorry it was so.

Were you asked to take part in the protest of March 4?—No; I said that I had been bitten a bit; that I was sorry that I had not had the opportunity of identifying myself with these splendid people, but that I must turn my face the other way and go home to my work.

I believe, as a matter of fact, that you did take part in the protest of March 4?—I did.

How came you to take part after you had not volunteered?—When I was at Cardiff in a sanatorium, Mr. Hobhouse made the celebrated speech, and then I wrote up and said that I was coming. I did not see how any self-respecting woman could stay at home after that.

There was some applause among the ladies in the gallery at this remark.

Mrs. Pankhurst: You took part in the protest and broke a window?—Yes.

You were arrested, and what was your sentence?—Two months' hard labour.

Why did you choose that particular window? Were you asked to do it?—No one asked me to do it or to do anything. What I did I did entirely on my own.

You selected the window of some private person?—Yes.

The Attorney-General: It was hardly a private person.

Dr. Smyth: I am sorry. I did not mean to mislead the Court. It was the window of a gentleman, who made what, I think, was the most objectionable remark about the Women's Suffrage question that has been made. That was when he said in answer to a deputation of women that he would be very happy to pave the way to women if all women were as intelligent, as well behaved and as admirable in every way as his own wife. (Laughter.) I thought that the most impertinent thing I had ever heard, also the most fatuous, because it was as if he thought he had the pick of the basket. (Loud laughter.) So I said to myself, that is the window I am going to break.

It was Mr. Harcourt's window—Mr. Lewis Harcourt?—Yes.

He is a member of the Government and represents a constituency, in which the majority of the wage-earners are women?—Yes; and also he represents the Colonies. He was on the "anti" platform, and when I thought of Australia having sent that resolution, of which, I dare say, you gentlemen have heard, advocating the Suffrage in England, and assuring the Prime Minister that it had been a most tremendous success in Australia—a resolution that was passed absolutely unanimously—I said to myself that I was particularly glad that I had selected his window. (Laughter.)

You thought that you were doing it on behalf of the women of the Colonies as well as for the women at home?—Yes.

You were given the option of being bound over?—No, but I should not have accepted it if I had.

The Attorney-General (cross-examining): I suppose you read VOTES FOR WOMEN?—Yes.

Did you see the report of what you had done? You have a paragraph to yourself headed "Dr. Ethel Smyth." It says:—

After the magnificent appeal to the women in the audience at the London Pavilion on Monday afternoon, it was not surprising to hear subsequently that Dr. Ethel Smyth herself made a vigorous protest against the Government. Driving up to the private house of Mr. Lewis Harcourt, which was guarded by police, Dr. Smyth inquired a direction of one of them, and while he was receiving it threw a stone, and broke some glass in Mr. Harcourt's house.

Dr. Smyth said that the paragraph was quite correct in its report.

Mrs. Pankhurst: Following upon that, may I ask you if it was not you yourself who made the eloquent appeal referred to?—Of course, it was. I had had the pleasure of speaking on that afternoon.

I said that every self-respecting woman who was not held up by great difficulties at home ought to go, and therefore it would have been surprising if I had not gone myself, as I am an independent woman.

The Attorney-General: Your appeal was an appeal to break a window, was it?—My appeal was to do as we considered it necessary to do.

The Judge: Was that is to break windows?—Certainly. I did not intend to do nothing.

The Attorney-General: And you do not now intend to do nothing?

Dr. Smyth: Is not that a hypothetical case? Am I bound to answer that? (Laughter.)

The Attorney-General: I will not press that here. (Renewed laughter.)

At this juncture Mr. Healy pointed out that the words of the statute were "Aid, abet, counsel, and procure the commission of a misdemeanour." The prosecution had chosen to use the words "solicit and incite," which were words of quite a different character, and were non-statutory. He submitted, therefore, that the counts of the indictment were bad in themselves, since the statutory phraseology had not been used. Unless the prosecution could refer the Court to some evidence of a conjunct incitement on the part of the three defendants, there was no evidence to go to the jury on any of the counts in which this was charged, and these counts should be withdrawn from the jury.

Mr. Muir also pointed out that there must be either direct evidence, or some evidence which showed that the incitement alleged reached the mind of the person who was alleged to be incited. There was no evidence that the women named in the indictment were incited on November 20 to commit the misdemeanour named in the counts. There was no proof that the incitement, if there were any, reached Sarah Benett. He was not arguing as to whether there was incitement at all. He added that he wished to make it clear that the only place upon which Lady Frances Balfour's name appeared was the paper, VOTES FOR WOMEN. Mr. Pethick Lawrence was not a member of the W.S.P.U., which was exclusively a women's union, and he did not take any official part in the Union's work at all.

The Attorney-General said that if the submission of Mr. Muir were right, it would get rid of ten or twelve counts, but his (the Attorney-General's) submission was that there was ample evidence to go to the jury, and he called his Lordship's attention to the facts proved. He contended that the matter did not admit of any doubt.

The Judge said the matter was one to go to the jury on all counts. In the case of Mrs. Pankhurst she was in America in November, and so far as she was concerned that part of the charge was withdrawn.

The rest of Tuesday afternoon was occupied by the speech of Mrs. Pankhurst for her defence, which is reported fully on page 531 *et seq.*; and Mr. Healy addressed the jury on behalf of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. (His speech will appear in our next week's issue.) The Court then adjourned till Wednesday morning.

WEDNESDAY.

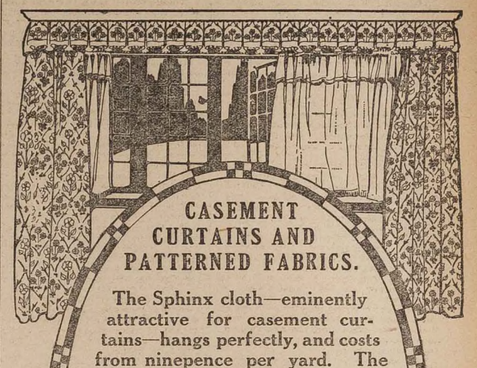
The final stages of the trial were opened on Wednesday morning, when the Attorney-General addressed the jury on behalf of the Crown. (His speech and the judge's summing-up will be given in full in next week's VOTES FOR WOMEN.)

Verdict of the Jury.

The jury found all three defendants guilty, and added: "We desire unanimously to express the hope that, taking into consideration the undoubtedly pure motives that underlie the agitation which has led to this Trial, you would be pleased to exercise the utmost leniency in dealing with the case.

The Sentences.

Mr. Justice Coleridge sentenced each of the defendants to nine months' imprisonment in the second division, and ordered Mr. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Pankhurst to defray the costs of the prosecution.



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AT THE LONDON PAVILION.

It was good last Monday, at the London Pavilion, to hear the views of a man who, instead of arguing and defending, simply approached the Suffrage struggle with the clear logic of one outside, and summed it up thus: "How on earth any civilised community can deny its women the vote passes my comprehension." That is what all men will say when the fight is over.

On Monday it was said by Mr. W. A. Lloyd, who voiced the feelings of many of his fellow-men. Australians, he said, simply could not understand how the mother-country, which gave to her colonies the free constitution, could deny freedom to women, and when he heard of the horrors of forcible feeding, it made him ashamed of his manhood. The history of civilisation was the history of the emancipation of women. Cheers greeted his emphatic testimony that in Australia Woman Suffrage had resulted in uplifting the whole political life; women voted not by party, but always on moral lines, and no politician would dare to suggest taking away the vote. He called on men to help in the fight for the freedom of British women.

The beautiful speech by the Rev. Hugh Chapman will, we hope, be published next week. He showed how the woman movement was part of evolution—the great throbbing, pulsing feeling of women who were beginning to think for themselves. With all the earnestness of a priest of the Church, he declared that all great movements began with a Cross, and that it was well worthwhile being despised and going to prison. He thought it was no wonder that in their zeal women broke the law to mend the law, and he spoke with great reverence of the imprisonment he had derived from knowing women like Mrs. Pankhurst and Lady Constance Lytton. Through his speech ran a note of regret that the Church had not actively supported a movement which was of God, but which, he declared, with a quick flash of humour, would, when it succeeded, receive the episcopal blessing.

Mrs. Mansel, who was in the chair, roused the audience to great indignation by some accounts of the suffering of women who were forcibly fed, and paid a tribute to the fine courage and confidence of the leaders on their trial.

THE SUFFRAGISTS IN PRISON.

IN HOLLOWAY GAOL.

The following were sentenced to 3, 4, and 6 months' imprisonment, dating from March 19:—

Allan, Miss Janie (4)
Allen, Miss Doreen (4)
Arton, Miss Evelyn (4)
Baird, Mrs. Kate (4)
Boyd, Mrs. Janet A. (6)
Burkitt, Miss Hilda (4)
Casey, Miss Eileen (4)
Cheffins, Miss Georgina (6)
Collier, Miss Constance (6)
Collier, Miss E. (4)
Crocker, Miss Nelly (3)
Davis, Miss Alice (3)
Downing, Miss Edith (6)
Field, Miss Louise (4)
Gaty, Mrs. Kathleen (6)
Gray, Miss Laura (6)
Green, Mrs. Alice (4)
Haig, Miss Florence (4)
Hazel, Miss Gladys (4)
Heward, Miss Jessie (4)
Hewitt, Miss Mary (4)
Hudson, Miss Edith (6)
MacFarlane, Miss Maggie (4)
McRae, Miss Helen (4)
Mitchell, Miss Lillias (4)
Oldham, Mrs. Mary (6)
Palethorpe, Miss Fanny (3)
Parker, Miss Fanny (4)
Pothury, Miss Isabelle (6)
Roya, Mrs. Helena (3)
Roberts, Miss Gladys (3)
Rowlatt, Miss Margaret (6)
Shipley, Miss Alice (4)
Swaine, Miss K. (4)
Tyrrzeo, Mrs. Jane (4)
Wentworth, Miss Vera (6)
Williams, Miss Frances (4)

IN WINSON GREEN PRISON, BIRMINGHAM.

The following were sentenced to 4 months' and 6 months' imprisonment, dating from March 19:—

Aitken, Mrs. Violet (4)
Archibald, Mrs. L. (4)
Begbie, Mrs. (4)
Blacklock, Miss Charlotte (4)
Bowen, Mrs. (4)
Bryer, Miss Constance (4)
Carwin, Miss Sarah (6)
Cook, Mrs. Grace Muriel (4)
Downing, Miss Caroline (4)
Duval, Mrs. Emily (6)
Farmer, Miss Alice (4)
Fern, Miss Emily (4)
Friedlander, Miss Helen (4)
Gwynn, Miss Clara (4)
Green, Miss Janet (6)
Huddlestone, Miss Evelyn (6)
Lockey, Miss Kathleen (6)
Marion, Miss Kitty (6)
O'Kell, Miss Kathleen (4)
Ryland, Miss Bertha (6)
Smith, Miss Maud (6)
Ward, Miss Florence (4)
Wharry, Miss Olive (6)
Wilde, Mrs. A. Redfern (6)

IN AYLESBURY PRISON.

The following were sentenced to 4 and 6 months' imprisonment, dating from March 19, those marked * on March 15:—

*Adams, Miss Martha (4)
Bland, Miss Violet (4)
Bowker, Miss Dorothy (4)
Bray, Miss Winifred (4)
Duval, Miss Laura (4)
Evans, Miss Dorothy (4)
Fussell, Miss Emily (4)
Gibb, Miss Ellison (6)
Gurney, Miss Bitts (6)
*Hicks, Miss Maud Amy (4)
Howey, Miss Elsie (4)
*Lambert, Miss Clara (4)
*Marsh, Miss Charlotte (6)
McFarlane, Miss Florence (4)
*Roxe, Miss Mabel de (4)
Smith, Miss A. Connor (6)
Stuart, Miss Gertrude (6)
Walton, Miss Olive (4)
White, Miss Florence (4)
Wright, Miss Ada (6)
Wylie, Miss Emma (6)
Wylie, Miss Barbara (6)
*Young, Mrs. Cecilia (4)

IN MAIDSTONE PRISON.

The following were sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment, dating from March 19:

Joachim, Miss Maud (6)
Jones, Miss Hope (6)
Lewis, Miss Ethel (6)
Neave, Miss Nellie (6)

THE TREATMENT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

GREAT PROTEST MEETING.

It is a convincing proof of the universal indignation roused by the treatment of women political prisoners that the meeting of protest got up at very short notice by the National Political Reform League was supported by eleven Suffrage societies, that no less that twenty-six Members of Parliament were present or gave the meeting their active sympathy, and that the large Opera House was comparatively well filled with an audience both enthusiastic and indignant. The meeting, while held to protest against the barbarous treatment of political prisoners, had reference primarily to the cases of the recent Suffrage prisoners who have been denied the privileges of political offenders, and have had their protests met by the torture of forcible feeding.

All through the speeches continual references were made, even by those who did not sympathise with militant methods, to the courage and honesty of the women in prison, and each reference evoked tremendous applause. Miss Broadhurst described the Suffragists as noble women and said that persecution would only strengthen the cause; there was great enthusiasm, too, when Mr. Atherley-Jones referred to them as "honest, patriotic women in a holy and just cause." Dr. Cobb brought in the names of Pethick Lawrence and Pankhurst, which were acclaimed with enthusiasm.

The chair was occupied by Miss M. A. Broadhurst, M.A., and among the supporters on the platform were the following Members of Parliament: Messrs. L. Atherley-Jones, Percy Alden, Noel Buxton, J. R. Clynes, J. Hugh Davis, Keir Hardie, J. E. Harvey, A. E. Henderson, Leif Jones, F. W. Jowett, George Lansbury, A. Lynch, J. Murray Macdonald, Joseph Martin, Philip Morrell, J. Parker, A. Ponsonby, Wilson Raffan, J. Richardson, W. Roch, Philip Snowden, J. H. Thomas, John Ward, Henry Watt, Tyson Williams, Will Thorne.

Lord Robert Cecil.

Lord Robert Cecil wrote to Miss Broadhurst as follows:—

"Though I do not feel able to subscribe to any general principles with regard to the treatment of political prisoners, it seems clear that if the allegations made by some of the Suffragist prisoners are true, their treatment has been indefensible. We have for some centuries abolished torture as a method of punishment, and there can be no excuse for reintroducing it on any pretence whatever. I am aware that the charges made are entirely denied by the officials concerned, and it would be very unjust to prejudge the case against them. It would be equally unjust in my view to prejudge the case against the Suffragists. It seems, therefore, that the right course is to have a thorough and impartial inquiry into the matter, conducted by persons skilled in such inquiries, who are quite unconnected with both Suffragists and the Government, and I am strongly in favour of this course being taken."

Sir Thomas Barclay.

Sir Thomas Barclay, in a letter to Miss Broadhurst, said:—

"By making no distinction between the women who have broken windows for the purpose of drawing public attention to the cause of removing a political sex disability and ordinary criminals, the social stigma attaching to criminal punishment is wantonly sacrificed."

The Speeches.

Miss M. A. Broadhurst said it was for the women in prison that most sympathy was needed at the moment. They were suffering not only vindictive and severe sentences, but they were suffering under a treatment which all thinking people must regard as degrading and humiliating. They were still honourable women who were in prison—women who were actuated by the very highest motives.

Mr. Atherley-Jones, M.P., K.C., made a forcible speech, in the course of which he said: "I have traditional interest in the treatment of political prisoners—I ought to have said hereditary interest—and I have always raised my voice in the House of Commons, when opportunity offered, for the purpose of asserting the right of political prisoners to humane and honourable treatment. I might take as my text an observation made as far back as the year 1840 by Lord Beaconsfield, then Mr. Disraeli, when he said that political offenders ought to be imprisoned for the purpose of detention only, and not for the purpose of punishment. It is a sinister and ironical reflection upon the progress of civilisation in this country that the treatment of political prisoners of which we complain has been associated in both instances—in the instance of 1848 and the instance of 1911 and 1912—with the administration of a Liberal Government. To me as a Liberal—yes, still a Liberal!—it is a somewhat mournful admission.

I have noticed that the present Home Secretary and his predecessor in office have, when the question of the treatment of Suffragist prisoners has been raised in the House of Commons, sheltered themselves under the cover of the action of the magistrates or other judicial tribunal, and have asserted, wholly erroneously, that it is no part of the duty of a Home Secretary to exercise the prerogative of the Crown in connection with the punishment which a person receives. I wholly repudiate that. It is historically incorrect, and if you travel comparatively a small ambit of time, from the year 1840, when there was a Parliamentary inquiry into the treatment of prisoners of all types in this country, up to the time of the Suffragist imprisonments, there has been a continuous intervention of the Home Secretary in regard to the prison treatment which persons at various times have received. In other words, to put it in a phrase, there is an unlimited prerogative on the part of the Crown, either to discharge a person or to mitigate his sentence. Therefore, don't for one moment permit in your judgment the executive Government of this country to shelter themselves behind the judicial administration.

Now, are the Suffragist prisoners political offenders? I go back to the year 1848, to my father's treatment in prison; the treatment of political offenders was again the subject of consideration, and the then Home Secretary stated that although there was no provision for the treatment of political prisoners, there was abundant power in the hands of the Home Secretary and in the hands of the visiting magistrates. It is now in the hands of the Home Secretary alone. . . What really is at stake is whether we are to recognise that it is an obligation on the part of a civilised society like the Government of Great Britain to accord to political offenders a different method of treatment from that which is meted out to ordinary offenders. . . .

I say that what we ask, what we have a right to ask, is that those honest, patriotic women who have acted in what they believe to be a holy and just cause, should receive the treatment which the judgment and the verdict of civilised society has for more than a century past declared should be the just treatment to be applied to those who fight for a political cause.

Mr. Keir Hardie's Advice.

Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., who was accorded an enthusiastic greeting upon rising, said: "We all want to bring what pressure we can to bear upon the Russian Government to secure Miss Malecka's release. But with what face can the present Government approach the Russian Government about Miss Malecka when there are women suffering injustice in our own prisons at home equal to anything that is likely to befall Miss Malecka? ("Hear, hear!" and cheers.) By all means let us endeavour to secure the release of Miss Malecka; but let our Government, before interfering with the affairs of a foreign Government, see that its own record is without reproach.

Mr. Keir Hardie concluded by urging women not to wait, but to get the vote this session.

Mr. Lansbury.

Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., said he could not help thinking that when a Government became alarmed about a certain public movement and considered that movement dangerous, neither that Government nor its magistrates should be trusted with the power of the law and allowed to exercise it according to their own particular class or political prejudices. He strongly contended that the first duty of a Government in a country where grievances existed was to remove those grievances, and not to punish people for showing them up and bringing them to the light of day. And yet we had a Government which claimed to be the greatest progressive Government of the day falling back on methods of repression. He could not understand why Liberal members who had stumped this country on behalf of Irish prisoners were not stumping the country now on behalf of suffrage prisoners. He thought it was "up to" the Liberal women of this country to leave off running about at the heels of Liberal politicians. He wanted Liberal women who believed in the vote to refuse their aid and help to any party which refused to do justice to women. What they had got to do was to compel the present Parliament to grant some measure of woman's suffrage to get the matter settled.

Dr. Cobb.

The Rev. Dr. Cobb proposed the following resolution:—

"That this meeting draws attention to the recent treatment of prisoners committed for political offences, and demands from the Government an immediate and impartial inquiry towards necessary parliamentary action.

"That this meeting also desires to express its strong disapproval of the harmful and degrading process of forcible feeding recently resorted to in the case of suffragist prisoners."

He said he could not conceive anything more brutal or barbarous or illegal, or contrary to the whole genius of British liberty than forcible feeding. The only solution was to make the Government realise that those women who were in prison and being forcibly fed were not criminals in the ordinary sense of the term, but were political offenders and entitled to all the rights and privileges of political offenders. (Cheers.)

Other Speakers.

Miss Margaret M. Farquharson and the Rev. F. M. Green also spoke, and were followed by Mr. W. Lyon Blease, who said he was pretty firmly of the opinion that more damage was done by "unimaginative respectability" than by vindictive cruelty. After the massacre of Peterloo, the man who has responsible for the refusal of an inquiry was Lord Castlereagh, who was just as honest a man as Mr. McKenna, and just as dull.

The resolution was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

LADY SELBORNE'S PROTEST.

Lady Selborne writes in the *Standard*: "May I join in the protest, and request our rulers to treat those who break the law while agitating for a reform in the franchise with no greater harshness than they mete out to prisoners convicted of the like misdemeanours in other cases?

"The case of the Jameson raiders is a very good standard of comparison. Mrs. Pankhurst and her followers broke the law. So did Dr. Jameson and his followers. Mrs. Pankhurst destroyed property. So did Dr. Jameson. There the parallel ends, because there was no loss of life or any injury to any person in consequence of the action of the militant Suffragists.

"Yet surely this difference cannot, by itself, justify the women being sent to hard labour and the men being treated as first-class misdemeanants. Justice should be even-handed. I think we, most of us, feel that degrading punishments are not appropriate to people who are struggling for a reform in the law which they believe will be for the benefit of the nation, even if they commit actions which we cannot approve of."

DEPUTATION TO MR. McKENNA.

A deputation, arising out of the recent meeting at the London Opera House, to consider the status of political prisoners, waited on the Home Secretary on Tuesday last. The deputation consisted of Lady Aberconway, Lady Cowdray, Countess Brassey, Sir Edward Busk, the Countess of Selborne, Miss Broadhurst, Mrs. Cecil Chapman, the Rev. Dr. Cobb, Mr. Lyon Blease, Miss Margaret M. Farquharson, Mr. W. H. Dickinson, M.P., Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., Sir Alfred Mond, M.P., Lord Russell, Dr. Drysdale, and Miss Underwood.

The deputation was introduced by Mr. Atherley Jones, K.C., M.P., and among the speakers were Miss Broadhurst, Lady Aberconway, Sir Edward Busk, Mr. W. H. Dickinson, M.P., Mr. Philip Snowden, Dr. Cobb. The speakers urged an absolute differentiation of treatment in respect of political offenders. They asked in the case of any offender who has received a sentence of imprisonment in the second or third division or with hard labour for an offence arising out of organised agitation with a political object, and as part of a political movement in which the offender is taking part, the Prison Commissioners shall allow such offender treatment in accordance with the rules for offenders of the first division.

Mr. McKenna having replied, the deputation withdrew. The proceedings were private.

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

In the House of Commons on Tuesday, May 21, Mr. Keir Hardie asked the Prime Minister whether, if it be shown that there is a strong volume of opinion amongst Members of the House of Commons in favour of the enactment of the Political Offenders Bill, down for Second Reading on Tuesday, he will endeavour to give the time necessary to enable the Bill to pass this Session?

Mr. McKenna: I am afraid that at this period of the Session it is impossible for the Government to give facilities for Private Members' Bills.

Mr. Lansbury: Will the Government consider the advisability of putting the terms of the Bill into practice without the Bill being passed?

Mr. McKenna: I have not given sufficient study to the subject to answer that.

Sir J. D. Rees: Is the right hon. gentleman now in a position to say what is a political offender?

Mr. McKenna: So far as my researches have gone, there is no case in which in my Department any distinction has been drawn between political and any other offenders.

Mr. Lansbury: Is it not a fact that Dr. Jameson and his colleagues were treated as political offenders?

Mr. McKenna: No. I have investigated that case and, although the offenders in question were treated differently, it was not on the ground that they were political offenders.

Mr. Lansbury: Was it because of their social status?

[From later information received, we understand that the second reading of the above Bill will be taken on Wednesday, June 5.]

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PRISONERS' HAMPERS.

Mrs. A. E. Gordon, 16, Daleham Gardens, Hampstead, will be very glad to have all names of prisoners who are receiving parcels from their friends regularly. Gratefully acknowledged: Miss Hobson, 5s.; Miss Burgess, 4s.; Miss M. Smith, 10s.; Miss A. L. Durham, 10s.; Mrs. McCrea, 5s.; L. F., 10s.; Mrs. Wroughton, 15s. 7½d.; Friend (Birmingham), 10s.; Miss Harris (for Mrs. Reya), 3s.; Mrs. Willock (for Miss Joachim), 10s.; G. Tollemache, £3 3s.; Miss M. Taylor, 5s.; Miss Hobson, 1s. and books; Saved on Cigarettes, per Miss Baker, Charing Cross Pitch, 1s.; Mrs. Wallace Quest and Friend, 10s.; Collected Miss Underwood, 5s.; Mrs. Pearce, 5s.

THE N.U.T.

Miss H. M. Townsend (member of N.U.T.), of 27, Murillo Road, Lee, S.E., asks us to make known that an informal meeting of Suffragist teachers will be held on Thursday, June 6, at 5.30 p.m., at Alan's Tea Rooms, 263, Oxford Street, W. Miss Townsend hopes that all interested will make the meeting known. She would be glad if intending visitors would send her a postcard during the next few days. Miss Townsend would also be thankful to those who cannot come, if they will send her by post helpful suggestions towards pressing forward the teachers' claim to the franchise.

SPEAKERS' CLASS.

Hon. Elocution Mistress—Miss Rosa Leo, 45, Ashworth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W. Hon. Sec.—Miss Hale, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

The speeches to-night and at every class for the present will be made on the summary which has been drawn out. Those who have books are asked to kindly return them without fail, as others are waiting to read them. Miss Leo's private classes are held every Saturday at 4 p.m. at 41, Norfolk Square, W., by kind permission of Mrs. Ayrton, and all communications concerning these should be addressed to Miss Leo. Inquiries respecting public classes should be addressed to Miss Hale. Both these classes are open to members of the W.S.P.U. *only*.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL.

When the Liberal Association of West St. Pancras invited Mr. Herbert Samuel to speak on Home Rule for Ireland, it was only natural that some Irishwomen should be present to remind him that a Home Rule Bill that excluded women from the franchise was not Home Rule at all. Evidently Mr. Samuel expected some such message, for he seemed nervous and ill at ease until well launched in his speech. He spoke eloquently of the past records of which Liberalism was proud, but his eloquence lasted but a short time, for a woman leant forward and said, "Is Liberalism proud of its treatment of women in prison, Mr. Samuel?" Mr. Samuel had no answer. A few of those sitting near threatened to throw the interrupter out, but she calmly remained seated, and when the speaker referred to men paying taxes, again the interjection came quickly, "Women pay taxes, too, Mr. Samuel." He again gave his interrupters an opportunity when he said that before this Parliament came to an end the Government was resolute to place on the Statute Book "One man one vote." The question immediately rang out, "And what about the women?" A man's voice this time. Protests were made by other women in the hall, but they were ordered by the chairman to sit down. They reminded him that on the ticket was stated, "Questions invited." It was evidently felt by many present that fair treatment had not been given to the questioners.

MR. MASTERMAN AT OXFORD.

When Mr. Masterman spoke on Sunday in New College dining hall, Oxford, on the Oxford House Mission in Bethnal Green, the pertinent question was put to him: "Why don't you give women votes to help you improve Bethnal Green?" Though Mr. Masterman did not reply, we learn from a correspondent that the audience at the back of the hall had from that moment two sets of ears—one for the speaker and the other for interrupters!

ITEMS OF INTEREST.

The Men's Political Union will hold a public meeting at Kensington Town Hall on Wednesday, May 29, at 8 p.m. This meeting will also take the form of a farewell to the hon. treasurer, Mr. Frank Rutter, who has accepted an important appointment in Leeds. Amongst the speakers will be Miss Sylvia Pankhurst; Dr. Brodie Patterson (who will speak from a spiritual point of view), Mr. H. W. Nevinson, and Mr. Frank Rutter. The chair will be taken by Mr. Victor D. Duval. Admission free. Reserved seats, 1s. and 6d.

On June 2 the people of South-West London will have the unique opportunity of hearing Miss S. Pankhurst and Mrs. Drummond (and others) on Wimbledon common at 6 p.m. No one should miss the meeting. For particulars of special tram and train arrangements apply to Miss Shedden, 9, Victoria Crescent, Broadway, Wimbledon.

Walthamstow members and friends are asked to concentrate on the public meeting to be held in the Conway Hall on Saturday, June 8, at 8 p.m., when Mrs. Mansel and Mr. Joseph Clayton will speak. Miss Lennox will take the chair.

The Liverpool office, 11, Renshaw Street, will be closed from May 25 to May 30. Will members please send subscriptions to office rent fund for April and May. More subscribers are requested (minimum subscription, 6d. per month per member). Several members have asked for an American Tea, which will be held on June 8, commencing at 4 p.m.

The Sydenham and Forest Hill Local Union will hold a jumble sale shortly. Date will be announced later. Meanwhile, members and friends are asked to put aside all articles they can spare. Offers of drawing-rooms (small or large) for meetings will be welcome.

An open-air campaign will be held on the Southport shore at Whitsuntide. Meetings, when Dr. Helena Jones will speak, on Saturday, May 25, and on Whit Monday, at 3 p.m. Will local members volunteer to help at both meetings?

The next meeting of the Irish League for Women's Suffrage will be held at the Emerson Club, 19, Buckingham Street, Strand, on Tuesday, May 28, at 8 p.m.

A conference to consider the best means of launching a Friendly Society for Women Clerks and Secretaries, to transact business under the National Insurance Act, will be held at the Woman's Institute, 92, Victoria Street, on Thursday, June 6, at 8 p.m. Mrs. Creighton will preside.

A mass meeting of Irish Suffragists will take place in the Antient Concert Rooms, Dublin, on Saturday, June 1, to support the demand of Irishwomen for inclusion in the Home Rule Bill, and to urge upon the Government to adopt the amendment to that measure, making the Local Government register the basis of franchise for the new Parliament. Delegates from all parts of Ireland will be present. Miss Hayden, M.A. (Senator of the National University, Lecturer in Modern Irish, University College, Dublin) will preside. The following will, it is hoped, be among the speakers: Councillor Mary Strangman (Waterford), Miss Day (Cork), Mrs. Creighton (Sligo), Mrs. Wyse Power (vice-president Sinn Fein organisation), Mrs. Cope (Armagh), Miss Lennox (Irish League for Woman Suffrage, London), Mrs. Sheehy Skiffington, M.L. (I.W.F.L.), &c. Irish Suffragists are invited to lend their cordial support and help to make the meeting an unprecedented success. Hospitality will be provided for delegates from the country who desire it. Poster-parades will be held during the preceding week (beginning on Whit Monday). Volunteers are requested to send in their names at once. Tickets (reserved 1s.) may be had from the Hon. Secretary, Meeting Committee, Antient Concert Buildings, Dublin.

Miss Crocker and Miss Roberts, the two brave Nottingham organisers, are due to be released on June 4, and a Reunion Supper has been provisionally arranged for Friday, June 7. All further particulars may be had from Miss Burgess, 6, Carlton Street, Nottingham.

The speech given by the Rev. Hugh Chapman, Chaplain of the Royal Chapel of the Savoy, at a meeting in the Aberdeen Hall, Dublin, under the auspices of the Irishwomen's Reform League, has been published in pamphlet form, with the title, "The Soul of Woman's Suffrage." It may be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, Irishwoman's Reform League, 29, South Anne Street, Dublin, and from the Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C. Price, 1d. each.

Competitions in Business Knowledge will be a special feature of the Business Exhibition which will open at the Agricultural Hall on May 30. For many years a woman, Miss Violet Smallhorn, was champion typist of England, but the cup is now held by the American, Mr. Trefzger. Last year a woman won the Junior's Typewriting Contest, and one of the winners in the Secretarial Contest was also a woman. All the competitions are open to women on equal terms with men. Particulars may be obtained from the Competition Manager, The Organiser, 2, Breams Buildings, Fetter Lane, E.C.

Miss Carry Squire now has facilities at 32, Great Tower Street, London, E.C., to enable her to undertake all kinds of secretarial work, including compilation and indexing of catalogues, indexing, précis writing, duplicating, typewriting, translating, and book-keeping.

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MEETINGS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

May.			
20 to 25	Cheltenham, Clarence Street Lamp	Miss Agnes Kelly	—
Friday, 24	Newcastle, North Shields, Boro' Road		7.30 p.m.
" "	Manchester, 32, King Street West		7.30 p.m.
" "	Glasgow, Bearsden, Senwick	Drawing-room Meeting. Mrs. A. J. Webbe, Mrs. Crawford. Hostess: Mrs. Quaile	3 p.m.
" "	Glasgow, Charing Cross Halls	Mrs. A. J. Webbe. Women only	8 p.m.
Saturday, 25	Southend, outside Technical Schools	Miss E. C. Haslam	8 p.m.
" "	Hereford, St. Peter's Square	Mrs. Davis, Miss Flatman	8 p.m.
" "	Ilfracombe, 2, Larkstone Villas	At Home. Mrs. Curtis. Women only	4 p.m.
" "	Merthyr		8 p.m.
" "	York, Colby Chambers	Jumble Sale	2 p.m.
" "	Manchester, Stretford		7 p.m.
Sunday 26	Manchester, Peter Street, Grand Theatre		7 p.m.
Tuesday, 28	Canterbury, Westgate		7.45 p.m.
" "	Hastings, Caroline Place		8 p.m.
" "	Clacton-on-Sea, Bank Chambers	Work Party. Hostess: Mrs. Huxter	3-5 p.m.
" "	South Shields, Market Place		7.30 p.m.
" "	Bolton, Progressive League Rooms, Borough Hall, Corporation Street	Important Members' Meeting	8 p.m.
Wednesday, 29	Bedford, St. Peter's Hall	Miss Georgina Brackenbury, Miss Wolff van Sandau. Chair: Councillor Seamark	8 p.m.
" "	Eastbourne, Eastern Bandstand		11.30 a.m.
" "	Newcastle, 77, Blackett Street	At Home. Mrs. Atkinson	8 p.m.
Thursday, 30	Dover, Market Square		11.30 a.m.
" "	Frome, Temperance Hall	Mrs. Mansel	8 p.m.
" "	Hereford, Widemarsh Common	Mrs Davis, Miss Flatman	8 p.m.
" "	Barry, King's Square	Mrs. Drummond. Chair: Miss Hamilton, B.Sc.	7 p.m.
" "	Sunderland, Hendon Street		7.30 p.m.
Friday, 31	Birmingham, King's Heath	Drawing-room Meeting, Mrs. Impey. Hostess: Miss Sheen	
" "	Newport, Temperance Hall	Mrs. Drummond	4-6 p.m.
" "	" Bridge Street	Mrs. Drummond	8 p.m.
" "	Hull, Paragon Square	Demonstration. Dr. Helena Jones, Miss Mary Phillips, Mrs. Marshall, Mrs. Walter Holmes	7.30 p.m.
" "	North Shields		7.30 p.m.

LONDON MEETINGS FOR THE FORTHCOMING WEEK.

May			
Friday, 24	4, Clement's Inn, W.C.	Speakers' Class. Miss Rosa Leo	7.45 p.m.
" "	Croydon, 50, High Street	Poster Parade	11.30 a.m.
" "	" " "	Speakers' Class	7 p.m.
" "	Croydon, Katherine Street	Miss Mina Sheppard	8 p.m.
" "	Fulham, Munster Road	Mrs. Bouvier	8 p.m.
" "	Harringay, Burgoyne Road	Mrs. Bigger, Miss M. Darton	8 p.m.
" "	Harrow Road, Prince of Wales	Miss Gargett. Chair: Miss Smyth	8 p.m.
Saturday, 25	Harlesden, Manor Park Road	Mrs. Bigger, Miss Jacobs	8 p.m.
" "	Ilford, Balfour Road	Miss Elsa Myers	8 p.m.
" "	Kingston, Coronation Stone	Mr. Geoffrey Gush. Chair: Mrs. Dacre Fox	11.30 a.m.
" "	Lewisham, 9a, Loampit Vale	Members' Rally	3 to 8 p.m.
" "	North Finchley, Church End	Mrs. Brindley	8 p.m.
" "	Palmer's Green, Alderman's Hill	Miss Richard. Chair: Miss Hilda Gargett	8 p.m.
" "	Willesden Green Library	Mrs. Bartlett, Miss E. Duval	8 p.m.
" "	Wimbledon Broadway	Miss Startup	7.30 p.m.
Sunday, 26	Catford, Tram Terminus	Miss H. M. Townsend	7 p.m.
" "	Clapham Common	Miss Jacobs	3 p.m.
" "	Ealing Common	Mrs. Penn Gaskell. Chair: Mr. J. Y. Kennedy	3.30 p.m.
" "	Hampstead Heath, Flagstaff	Mrs. Bouvier	11.30 a.m.
" "	Streatham Common		3 p.m.
" "	Wimbledon Common	Mrs. Lamartine Yates. Chair: Mrs. Hutt	3 p.m.
Monday, 27	Kingston, 13, Union Street	Members and Friends. Hostess: Mrs. Gilbert Head	3.30 p.m.
Tuesday, 28	Camden Town, Cobden Statue	Mrs. Bouvier, Miss Dearn	7.30 p.m.
" "	Edgware Road, Nutford Place	Miss Guttridge. Chair: Miss Smyth.	8 p.m.
" "	Hammersmith, The Grove	Mrs. Smithwick	8 p.m.
" "	Merton, The Grove		8 p.m.
" "	Palmer's Green, 6, Stonard Road	"Fireside Talks"	8 p.m.
Wednesday, 29	Croydon, 50, High Street	Working Party	3 p.m.
" "	Ealing Broadway, Haven Green	Mrs. Tidswell. Chair: Miss J. L. Till	7.30 p.m.
" "	Harlesden, Manor Park Road	Miss Rogers, Miss Doudney	8 p.m.
" "	Ilford, Chadwell Heath, Tram Terminus	Miss Haslam	8 p.m.
" "	Islington, Highbury Corner	Miss E. Wyatt. Chair: Miss Meakin	8 p.m.
" "	Lewisham, Market Place	Miss C. D. Townsend	7.30 p.m.
" "	Putney, Montserrat Road		8 p.m.
" "	Thornton Heath Clock	Miss Gibbs, Mrs. Russell	7 p.m.
" "	Wimbledon Hill		8 p.m.
Thursday, 30	Paddington, 52, Praed Street	Mrs. Morgan Dockrell. Chair: The Hon. Mrs. Haverfield	8.15 p.m.
" "	Radlett, "London House"	Enquirers' Evening	8.30 p.m.
" "	Raynes Park	Mrs. Dacre Fox	8 p.m.
" "	Steinway Hall, Lower Seymour Street, Portman Square, W.	The Rev. F. M. Green, Miss Douglas Smith	8 p.m.
" "	Wimbledon, Lecture Hall, Lingfield Road	Miss Nina Boyle, the Rev. G. T. Sadler, M.A., LL.B. Chair: Mrs. Lamartine Yates	8 p.m.
" "	Wimbledon Park		8 p.m.
Friday, 31	Balham, Bijou Hall	Drawing-room Meeting	8 p.m.
" "	4, Clement's Inn, W.C.	Speakers' Class. Miss Rosa Leo	7.45 p.m.
" "	Croydon, Katherine Street	Mrs. Dilks	8 p.m.
" "	Croydon, 50, High Street	Speakers' Class	7 p.m.
" "	Ealing Broadway and West Ealing	Poster Parade	7.8 p.m.
" "	Fulham, Munster Road	Miss Nancy Lightman	8 p.m.
" "	Harrow Road, Prince of Wales, W.	Mrs. Cay. Chair: Miss Feek	8 p.m.
" "	Hornsey High Street, The Fountain	Miss Coombs	7.30 p.m.
" "	Kilburn, Victoria Road	Mrs. Depen, Miss Meakin	8 p.m.
" "	Southfields Station		8 p.m.

Saturday, June 15, Albert Hall Meeting, 8 p.m.

Monday, May 27, being Whit Monday, there will be no meeting at the London Pavilion.

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WANTED, in neighbourhood of Strand, from June 24, one room as office for a small Suffrage Society; rent, £20 to £25.—Apply to Miss Bullen, 55, Berners Street, W.

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