

The Suffragette

EDITED BY CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

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

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THREE YEARS' PENAL SERVITUDE.



MRS. PANKHURST.

"I break the law from no selfish motives. I have no personal motives, neither have any of the other women who have gone through this court during the past few weeks, like sheep to the slaughter. Not one of these women would, if women were free, be law-breakers. They are women who seriously believe that this hard path that they are treading is the only path to their enfranchisement. They seriously believe that the welfare of humanity demands this sacrifice. They believe that the horrible evils which are ravaging our civilisation will never be removed until women get the Vote. They know that the very fount of life is being poisoned. They know that homes are being destroyed; that because of bad education, because of the unequal standard of morals, even the mothers and children are destroyed by one of the vilest and most horrible diseases that ravage humanity.

"There is only one way to put a stop to this agitation; there is only one way to break down this agitation. It is not by deporting us, it is not by locking us up in gaol, it is by doing us justice."

—Mrs. Pankhurst at the Old Bailey, Thursday, April 3, 1913.

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A Review of the Week.

Mrs. Pankhurst.

When we went to press, Mrs. Pankhurst had not yet been released. She has been one week in prison without food. When seen by her solicitor, on the Saturday after her trial, she was already very weak and ill, and her condition was such as to cause him great anxiety. The authorities, in answer to all inquiries, have insisted that Mrs. Pankhurst's health was good. We know enough of the worthlessness of all official statements to realise that no reliance is to be placed on them. A few hours before Miss Emerson's release, owing to ill-health, the Government had stated that her health also was perfectly good. This is but one illustration of official mendacity. It is perfectly obvious that the Government have resolved to inflict upon Mrs. Pankhurst as much suffering as they dare, and to allow her to remain in prison as long as they possibly can without actually causing her death. Very strong pressure is being brought upon the Government to effect her release.

Miss Annie Kenney's Arrest.

The Government have ordered the arrest of Miss Annie Kenney on the charge of being a disturber of the peace and an inciter to others to commit divers crimes and misdemeanours. They have revived a statute 500 years old, presumably because they are 500 years behind the times. This action seems to indicate they are now bent on making a desperate effort to crush militancy. They will fail utterly as they have always failed in the past. Every coercive step they take brings them nearer to their own ruin. The arrest of Miss Kenney will inevitably be taken as a fresh incitement to militancy.

Miss Kenney has been granted bail and remanded for ten days. The magistrate, at the instance of the Public Prosecutor, refused to allow Miss Kenney even to address meetings on why women should have the vote. The ten days' remand, however, will give Miss Kenney an opportunity to prepare her defence against this extraordinary charge. Mrs. Drummond will take Miss Kenney's place in the chair at the Albert Hall.

Revolution in Full Swing.

The conviction of Mrs. Pankhurst has been followed by the biggest revolutionary outbreak that the country has seen since the struggle for the Reform Bill in 1832. As we showed in a recent issue, the burnings of those days were quite as carefully and deliberately planned as the present burnings are said to be. They were in most cases not the work of an infuriated mob, but were carried out by individuals who were believed to be organised and to work in accordance with a system. One thing is certain: they cannot have shown more resource and courage and forgetfulness of danger to themselves than do the brave women reformers of the present day.

Released Hunger-Strikers.

Four more Suffragists, having adopted the hunger strike, have been released from Holloway Prison before the expiration of their sentences. In the case of three of the women forcible feeding was resorted to during a long period of time. The women released are Miss Olive Wharry, Miss Emerson, Mrs. Branson, and Miss Gibbs. For weeks Miss Olive Wharry carried on a secret hunger strike, and went for thirty-one days without food. When the fact was at length revealed to the officials, there was no attempt at forcible feeding, and Miss Wharry was released.

Mrs. Branson and Miss Gibbs have been released in a very weak and emaciated condition. Miss Emerson had to be conveyed from the prison in an ambulance van, and is in such a nervous and prostrated state of health that no friend is to be allowed so much as to see her for at least a week.

Miss Stevenson, who is still being forcibly fed in prison, is described as being in a truly terrible condition; a report concerning her state of health will be found on page 424.

The Cat-and-Mouse Bill.

We shall comment more fully on the Committee stage of the Cat and Mouse Bill when that stage has been completed. In the discussion on Tuesday night, Mr. McKenna stated that he reserved the right to feed by force. The conditions on which he proposes to release prisoners under this Bill are of a most intolerable kind. The mere attempt to put the Bill into operation will involve a heavy expenditure of public money. The utter collapse of the Bill is universally expected. The discussion of this Coercion Bill was preceded by the introduction of the Plural Voting Bill, a measure which is one of the causes of the agitation with which the Cat and Mouse Bill deals.

Three Years' Penal Servitude.

If anything were needed to bring the administration of the law into final and utter contempt it is the sentencing of Mrs. Pankhurst to three years' penal servitude for inciting to the destruction of property while certain men who are inciting to the destruction of human life are left in the full enjoyment of their liberty. The sentence of three years' penal servitude, which provoked a vigorous demonstration in court, was passed in defiance of the jury's strong recommendation to mercy. This recommendation to mercy was morally speaking an acquittal, and a sign that responsible public opinion is favourable to Suffragist militancy.

The sympathy extended to Mrs. Pankhurst on her conviction by all sorts and conditions of men and women shows that the Liberal Government have indeed made of their prisons temples of honour, and that sentence of penal servitude earned under their regime are believed to confer much greater dignity than the peerages and other honours that they dole out to their supporters. While the reputation of the militants stands higher than that of any other body of people in the country, their Ministerial betrayers and persecutors are sinking every day into deeper and deeper disgrace.

Not the Ordinary Selfish Motive.

Those familiar with Mr. Bodkin's style of advocacy will not need to be told that in developing the case for the prosecution he did his utmost to raise a cloud of prejudice against the accused. For the rest his remarks were a mere chain between several passages quoted from Mrs. Pankhurst's speeches at Cardiff and elsewhere.

The judge in summing up delivered himself of the usual warning that the prisoner's motive had nothing to do with the question of her guilt or innocence, and that the provocation supplied by bad law and injustice did not affect the question either. He denied that Suffragist militancy is civil war, adding, "of course, in time of war things are done which are unavoidable, which are part of the machinery, the unfortunate necessities of warfare." Yet even he was constrained to say to the jury, "you will probably have no doubt that this defendant is not actuated by the ordinary selfish motive that leads most of the criminals who are in the dock to commit the crimes they do commit. You will probably agree that she has embedded in her mind, deeply embedded in her mind, the conviction that she will be discharging a public duty if by any means, fair or foul, she can bring about the change in the law which she thinks is essential to the well-being of society and the well-being of women."

Mrs. Pankhurst's Defence.

Mrs. Pankhurst offered no legal defence, but made a defence based entirely on moral and political considerations. Her speech was a recital of the unendurable wrongs that move women to demand the vote and, upon its refusal, to fight for it. She held up to execration the law that allows the marriage of girl children of twelve years old, the law that denies a mother to be the parent of her own child, the law of divorce that creates unequal moral standards for husband and wife, the law that makes two years' imprisonment the maximum for certain abominable offences against women and against girl-children. Mrs. Pankhurst denounced the state of affairs under which men of immoral life may sit as judges to try unhappy girls on the charge of infanticide and to extend a dangerous leniency born of a follow-

feeling to other immoral men charged with sexual crimes. She proclaimed the fact, disclosed by recent investigation, that in London small girls are being entrapped and corrupted and trained to minister to the vicious pleasures of wealthy men. These things she declared to be the cause and justification of militancy.

Press Comments on the Trial.

The Daily News, after saying of the judge's sentence on Mrs. Pankhurst that he had "a conception of mercy which probably surprised the jury as much as the spectators," said that there would "of course be no attempt at forcible feeding." Referring to the possibility of release on license and subsequent arrest, The Daily News said:—

For three years, therefore, whether in or out of prison, Mrs. Pankhurst will be out of action. It is an unpleasant prospect that is before us—the prospect of a prolonged duel between a woman and the law she refuses to recognise as valid in regard to the sex that has no part in making or administering it.

A prolonged duel between Mrs. Pankhurst and the law may occur, but considering that she can repeat her incitement not only by speech but by writing, and considering that the Government's persecution of her will be an incitement to militancy, she certainly cannot be "kept out of action."

The Daily Graphic says that the cat-and-mouse plan can be tested on Mrs. Pankhurst, and if it fails "more drastic methods" must be tried. What more drastic methods are possible, we should like to know? The Daily Express calculates that if the cat-and-mouse plan could be carried into effect Mrs. Pankhurst's sentence would terminate until 1930. The Morning Post, commenting on the trial, says:—

Certain politicians, and even members of the Government, have been so prodigal upon this subject as to suggest to these misguided ladies that to win their battle they should adopt the tactics of the lawless mobs which burned down Nottingham Castle and tore up the H. Is. Park railings. The notorious incitement by Mr. Hobhouse is a case in point. Again, Mr. Lloyd George has, if we may use a metaphor, dangled the Suffragette upon his knee when it suited him to support her cause, and run away from her when it was no longer politically expedient to carry on the flirtation. Such incitements and deceptions have had their inevitable effect, and the blowing up of the Walton Heath house was the Nottingham Castle chicken come home to roost. The historical critic will derive a certain grim amusement from the way in which the following of Radical advice results in Tory coercion.

For the present deplorable situation some of our politicians, and especially fast-and-loosers like Mr. Lloyd George, are largely responsible.

The Annual Report.

The Annual Report of the Union has attracted the attention of all the newspapers. Criticism is freely offered, but that which appears particularly to offend the susceptibility of one particular journal is the fact that the sum of £6,321 is devoted to the salaries of paid organisers and members of the staff.

This payment is regarded as excessive, but on examination it will be found that this sum would provide one hundred paid workers (and there are more than one hundred) with an average salary of only £63 per annum. This amount compares very favourably, from the point of view of economy, with that drawn by Members of Parliament and by Cabinet Ministers. Mr. Lloyd George, if he had to subsist on this amount, would indeed be a poor man!

Rumours are being circulated that the Government intend to direct their attacks upon the funds of the Union; but we need not assure our readers that all money contributed to the movement will be put well out of reach of the enemy.

The Labour Party Again Found Out.

It is a shocking thing that Suffragists should be giving money and to aid the candidates of the Labour Party, for the Labour M.P.'s have forfeited the trust of every sensible and self-respecting woman. Their action on the second reading of the Cat-and-Mouse Bill was disgraceful. Only five Labour members voted for Mr. Keir Hardie's amendment and fifteen Labour members voted against that amendment. Only seven Labour members voted against the second reading of the Cat-and-Mouse Bill and fourteen voted for the Bill. We say deliberately that if after this Suffragists continue to support or trust the Labour Party they will be disloyal to their sex and disloyal to their cause. These Suffragists who forgive the Labour Party's behaviour in connection with the Cat-and-Mouse Bill will share the Labour Party's guilt.

The Plural Voting Bill.

The Labour Members' action on the Plural Voting Bill is no less shameful than their action on the Cat-and-Mouse Bill. Twenty-five of them voted for the Plural Voting Bill, and only three voted against it. Again we say that henceforward Suffragists who support Labour candidates will be disloyal to their own cause. The introduction of the Plural Voting Bill is, of course, grossly dishonourable, and a complete breach of faith on the part of the Government. Every Suffragist in the House

of Commons ought to have opposed it. That they did not, and above all that the Labour Party did not, is a proof of the folly of trusting to men politicians to win votes for women.

Second Reading Debate on Cat-and-Mouse Bill.

Mr. McKenna's speech on the second reading of the Cat-and-Mouse Bill was characteristic of the man. Himself renowned for his unscrupulous mendacity, he had the effrontery to suggest that credence should not be given to his victims' account of the torture he has ordered to be inflicted upon them. His speech contained two especially damaging admissions. One is that the new system proposed by the Bill involves harsher treatment of ordinary criminals released on license, because the sentence of a ticket-of-leave convict is running out during the time he is at liberty, whereas under the Cat-and-Mouse Bill the course of the sentence would be arrested. Thus the Cat-and-Mouse Bill, besides being a means of persecuting Suffragist prisoners of war, may be used to make harder the lot of ordinary ticket-of-leave convicts. The Bill is indeed a revolutionary one. Mr. McKenna's second admission amounted to this—that he reserves the right to feed by force any Suffragist prisoner who will not recant and promise submission in future.

The Government's Attack on the Constitution.

A very important speech was made by Mr. Atherton Jones, who discussed the Bill not from the Suffragist point of view but from that of a man versed in constitutional and criminal law. He declared the Bill to be entirely contrary to the leading principles of our criminal jurisprudence, which principles are that punishment should be certain, that it should be the result of judicial proceedings and not of a proceeding by the Executive, and further that there shall be no interference by the Executive in the limitation of punishments except in the direction of mercy. Every one of these principles is, as Mr. Atherton Jones pointed out, contravened by the Cat-and-Mouse Bill. And this is a Bill which Labour M.P.'s have supported! We ask all fair-minded persons to tell us whether this attack by the Government upon the Constitutional liberties of the people is not far more dangerous and more criminal than Suffragist attacks upon property can ever, on the most unfavourable showing, be said to be!

The Cause of Militancy Discussed.

Mr. McCurdy, who sought to inform the House of Commons concerning the cause of the difficulty which the Cat-and-Mouse Bill is designed to remove, was eventually, as might be expected in that absurd assembly, silenced by the Speaker; but before this happened he had contrived to make many valuable points. Having protested against the reactionary and unconstitutional terms of the Bill, Mr. McCurdy quoted from the defence offered to the Law Courts by Mrs. Leigh and other Suffragist prisoners. He then traced the history of the suffrage agitation, showing plainly that the apathy and unfaithfulness of the House of Commons and the treachery of the politicians are the real causes of militancy. A striking illustration of Mr. McCurdy's remarks was provided by the voting on Mr. Keir Hardie's amendment. This was moderate to the point of weakness, for it suggested as an alternative to the Cat-and-Mouse Bill not the introduction of a Government measure for Woman Suffrage but the promise of Government support for a private member's Woman Suffrage Bill after the second reading. Yet this amendment in a House which contains a majority pledged to Woman Suffrage secured only eight votes.

Coercion Will Fail.

Warnings that the Government's unconstitutional measure of coercion will fail were delivered by Mr. Whyte and Lord Wolmer. Mr. Whyte said:— "Surely we must all admit that these women call themselves outlaws, and not only call themselves so, but are so. The consequence is that this law, like any other, will simply be disregarded by them, and it will only be one more confession of the failure that waits upon all such attempts until finally the demand that they make is granted."

Lord Wolmer said:—

"It seems to me that the spirit of the Suffragettes is a sort of religious fanaticism, and though I utterly disapprove of their actions I do not believe that they can be suppressed in the manner proposed by the Bill. They are only criminals for what they believe to be a great cause. I do not defend them, but I say that apart from the question of Women's Suffrage they are just like any other ordinary people. They are not criminals; they are simply politicians who are prepared to go to all lengths to enforce their principles."

Neither Mr. McKenna nor Mr. Ellis Griffith, the two spokesmen of the Government, showed any great concern that the Bill will achieve its object, Mr. Ellis Griffith observing: "Whether we shall solve the difficulty by this Bill I am not in a position to say."

GOOD NEWS OF MRS. TUKE.

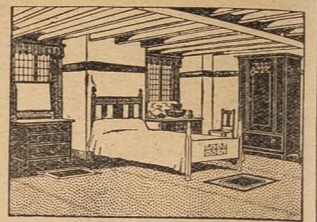
Mrs. Tuke, the hon. secretary of the W.S.P.U., who recently went to South Africa in search of health, writes, in a letter dated March 17, that she is feeling well and strong, and adds: "Now that my face is turned homewards, I am anxious for the time when I shall be amongst you all again." Mrs. Tuke sends special greetings to the Albert Hall audience. She has arranged to sail from Capetown by ss. Briton on April 7.

THE £250,000 FUND.

CONTRIBUTIONS FROM MARCH 15 TO MARCH 18.

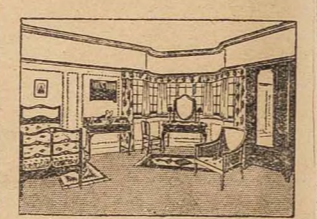
Table listing contributions from March 15 to March 18, categorized by 'Already acknowledged' and 'Self-Denial'. Includes names like Mrs. Shaw, Mrs. Wilkinson, Mrs. H. C. House, etc., and a total of £145,488 14 11.

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MRS. PANKHURST'S DEFENCE.

Verbatim Report of Mrs. Pankhurst's Speech at her Trial at the Old Bailey on Thursday, April 3, 1913.

My lord, gentlemen of the jury, when you were empanelled it came into my mind that I might in justice object to each of you as you took your place, because in this country it is an accepted axiom that every Englishman is tried by his peers if he is accused of breaches of the law. No woman is tried by her peers. You are of one sex, I am of another; but I decided not to challenge you—not because I would for a moment expect that my objection would be upheld, but because, after all, these trials afford us, at a very big price, an opportunity of trying to get into the minds of the men who try us—who are human as we are—something of what women feel about their condition, about the laws to which they have to submit, although they have had no part in making these laws, and what they feel about the administration of these laws if unhappily they are brought in conflict with the law.

The Conduct of the Prosecution.

My lord, I propose to say a few words about the prosecution, and the way in which it has been conducted. I shall not take very much of the time of the Court in dealing with it, but I feel I must say, first of all, a little about the speech of counsel for the prosecution. Mr. Bodkin said, and quite rightly, that I stand here accused of a serious charge, a serious crime, and that the whole situation is very serious. I entirely agree with him. I could have wished that in his speech he had relied upon the actual facts to be proved, upon my speeches and the general seriousness of this situation, unprecedented in the history of this country, where a very large number of women, women against whom no word can be said as to their moral character nor their ordinary conduct in life, come into conflict with the law and are sent to serve long sentences of imprisonment. But counsel made certain remarks of a personal kind, and made certain suggestions, which I think were unworthy of him, and unworthy of the seriousness of the case which he had to lay before the jury. He referred to me—or rather his words conveyed the suggestion—that I am a woman riding about in my motor car inciting other women to do acts which entail imprisonment and great suffering, while I, perhaps indulging in some curious form of pleasure, am protected—or think myself protected—from serious consequences. Mr. Bodkin knows perfectly well that I have shared the dangers these women have faced, that I have been to prison three times. He himself was instrumental in sending me the last time I went to prison. Two of the sentences I have served I served for the whole period, for trifling acts of damage, and while there I was treated like an ordinary criminal, searched, put into prison clothes, given solitary confinement, eating prison fare, conforming to all the rules—which I think are admirable rules—imposed upon women who have broken the laws of this country in the ordinary way. Now I hate speaking of personal matters, but I think I owe it to myself and the movement—because many of these suggestions have been made not only here but even in the House of Commons—I think I owe it to myself to say that I own no motor car, and never have owned one. The motor car referred to is a motor car used, just as you gentlemen, if any of you are tradesmen, use a cart or carriage to carry on your business. The Union to which I belong owns a motor car for the ordinary propaganda work of the organisation. In that motor car, or in cars lent to me by friends, I have gone about my work as a speaker in the Woman Suffrage movement. I would like to say in passing that it is very difficult in this country for a woman to own a motor car, unless she has inherited property. There is only one trade that I know of in which women earn enough to buy motor cars, and that is the abominable trade of ministering to the vicious pleasures of rich men. Then indeed women are able to purchase and own motor cars.

Mrs. Pankhurst's Income.

It was said in the House of Commons quite recently—and I feel it due to myself, since motor cars have been mentioned and suggestions made of money for personal purposes, to say this—it was said in the House of Commons, in the debate in which Members of Parliament tried to find out how to deal with the militant Suffragists, that some of us were making incomes of £1,000 or £1,500 a year out of it. That is untrue, my lord. There is no woman in our movement making any income like that. Speaking of myself, I may say that my part in the movement has cost me a considerable portion of my income, because I had to surrender—and I take no special credit for it, I could not do otherwise—I had to surrender a very important part of my income in order to be free to do what I considered was my duty in this movement. It is hardly fitting for counsel—who, after all, I must remind them, are not prosecuting me solely from a love to preserve public order—it is not fitting, and it impairs

the dignity of the situation, to bring suggestions of this kind into so serious a matter.

Before I leave this subject, I would like to say that in ending his speech counsel suggested to the jury that it would be their duty to end this impossible state of things by finding me guilty, and by making it possible for his lordship to decide what punishment should be inflicted. I feel he laid out to you a false hope if he led you to believe, gentlemen, that your verdict could possibly end this serious situation.

Now I want to explain to you, my lord, why I detained the Court by cross-examining the witnesses for the police who had made reports of my speeches. It was not that I wished in any way to question the substantial accuracy of their reports as to the line I took in my speeches. Perhaps you may not understand my motive, but it was this. It doesn't matter very much in my case whether I prove that verbal inaccuracies occurred in these reports, but it may have a very serious import in other cases. You may have to try a case where the actual expressions used mean that someone's liberty, someone's future, might depend upon an absolutely accurate report. That is not so in my case, but I do venture to say it is a very serious thing that gentlemen against whom I have nothing whatever to say as individuals, or against their desire to be accurate, should be employed by the authorities of this country to deal with very delicate reports—reports that might involve very serious consequences to those persons accused, when obviously by their training they are not competent to make absolutely accurate reports of what people say. One of the witnesses under my cross-examination showed that his vocabulary, his idea of the meaning of words was entirely different to that accepted by ordinary people.

Now I want to address myself to my defence. I pleaded not guilty because in the indictment I am described as having "wickedly and maliciously incited women to do certain acts." I am not a wicked or a malicious person, neither are any of the women who responded, if they did respond, to my incitement. Therefore I felt justified—although I am prepared here and now to accept responsibility for every one of the speeches I made, and to accept responsibility for the incitement with which I am charged—I say, looking to what I have done from the highest standpoint of justice, I am not guilty of having wickedly and maliciously incited women to break the law or to destroy property.

Women Have Ceased to Respect the Law.

It is a very serious thing, my lord, when a large number of people, respectable people, ordinary people, naturally law-abiding people, people of upright lives, come to hold the law in contempt, come to seriously make up their minds that they are justified in breaking the law. The whole of good government rests upon acceptance of the law, upon respect of the law, and I say to you seriously, my lord, and gentlemen of the jury, that women of intelligence, women of training, women of upright life, have for many years ceased to respect the laws of this country. It is an absolute fact, and when you look at the laws of this country as they affect women, it is not to be wondered at. In the witness-box there stood yesterday a little girl, a little girl of twelve years of age, intelligent, the kind of little child who would certainly to women appeal very closely as needing protection, as needing to be shielded and guarded against all kinds of difficulties and dangers; immature, not fit to face life on her own account. Yet by the laws of this country as they exist to-day—and I find no man either in Parliament or out of Parliament anxious to alter that law—by the law of this country that little girl is marriageable, considered old enough to be the mother of children, considered fit by the law to accept responsibilities. And to women that is a wrong so intolerable, so dreadful, that we feel ourselves justified in using very strong measures indeed in order to get power to alter that law. I am here and I may be sent, if you find me guilty, and if his lordship pleases, to a very long term of penal servitude. I believe I am right in saying that the maximum punishment that could be inflicted upon me would be a sentence of fourteen years' penal servitude. That is the kind of law that is framed to deal with persons who are found guilty of injury to property. Women are revolted when they compare that law with the law which makes the maximum punishment for certain injuries to the moral and physical well-being of a little girl two years' imprisonment. We think that there is no crime greater than a crime, the perpetrator of which has corrupted the physical life and the moral life of a little girl; and our whole training as women has made us feel like that. We have been taught that our moral integrity and our physical integrity we must hold dearer

than all else in life, and yet we find that when men made laws to deal with offences against children who are being trained to feel like that, the maximum penalty is two years' imprisonment.

The Law of Divorce.

Then—I don't want, gentlemen, to weary you with reciting all these laws which are so intolerable to women, but I do want to refer quite briefly to a law which every mother in the country who has thought seriously upon this matter and who realises what that law is, feels ought to be altered. I am a mother of children myself, and I don't want you to imagine that there are not many women like me, many, many women who have been fortunate. I have been fortunate in my marriage: I have been fortunate because my husband never invoked the power of the law against me or attempted to interfere with me in my relationship with my children, but it is possible under the law that women have to submit to, made by men, for a mother to be deeply wounded in her tenderest feelings towards her children, because married mothers by the law of this country are not constituted equal legal guardians of their children with the fathers. Women for many years, my lord, have been trying to get equal power of guardianship with the fathers over the children, and we know that the vote is needed to get that equal legal power. Then there is the law upon which the Royal Commission has been sitting for some time past, the law of divorce. The law of divorce in this country is so scandalous in Europe as it affects women. Its inequality is intolerable to women. Talk about revolution and rebellion! Why, I tell you, gentlemen, that that law in itself, once women are convinced that revolution is necessary to alter it, is sufficient justification for any revolution that women may adopt.

Well, then there are other laws, the laws of inheritance particularly, which I might cite to you as grounds for this impatience which women are feeling. I want to go on as rapidly as I can. I want to say a few words to you, very serious words—having dealt with the law itself—about the administration of it. Now, my lord, I recognise that it is a very difficult thing for me to do, but I must find courage to do it, and I hope you will bear with it, because for me and for thousands of women whose I feel I represent here to-day, this is a very burning question. The laws we have are inadequate to deal with certain grievances and injustices to women, but in addition to the inadequacy of the laws we are satisfied that the administration of the laws, such as they are, is inadequate as they are, is also very imperfect. I was a very young woman when my attention was called to this in a very painful way. I am the widow of a barrister, and I am glad to say, lived in perfect harmony and comradeship with my husband. I had an opportunity of learning a good deal more about the administration of the law than the ordinary average woman who had not my opportunities. When I was a very young woman, not long married, and the mother of young children, a very painful thing occurred. The Assizes were opened, and the next morning one of the judges of Assize did not take his place in Court. There were cases being tried at those Assizes, cases of wretched men charged with horrible offences against women. The Judge (interposing): Mrs. Pankhurst, I am very loth to interrupt, I really do not like to interrupt, but there must be some limit of propriety observed by women in your position. I am anxious that you should have a fair trial, as I am sure you have had, but you must realise that the only question the jury is concerned with is—are you or are you not guilty of the offence charged against you? I must ask you to observe the proper decorum incumbent upon you, and confine yourself to that.

A Question of Decorum.

Mrs. Pankhurst: My lord, I cannot allow you, as a judge, to indicate what is decorum on my part; it must be perfectly obvious to you and to the Court that I am not saying these things in any light spirit. After all, you, my lord, and the gentlemen of the jury are probably going, if I am convicted, to send me to what in all probability will be my death, and I ask you to indulge me.

The Judge: I cannot allow you to travel now into questions of personalities with regard to distinguished people, which is, I gather, what you are going to touch upon, and which have no possible bearing on this question. I have not stopped you in inveighing against the laws of this country and the way they are administered, but I do say that you are not to be allowed to go into particular questions, which I gather from your observation you desire to do, because they have no possible bearing upon this case. Anything you may think fit to say with regard to the question that the jury are concerned with by all means say it, and at any length you wish. I should not think of stopping you, but you must observe the proper limitations.

Mrs. Pankhurst: Well, my lord, if you will allow me to argue that point for a moment with you? I was reading a case the other day where a man was charged with attempting to murder his wife. He defended himself, or rather he was defended by counsel, and counsel was allowed to plead in mitigation of that man's punishment that his wife was an immoral woman. No evidence was produced to prove it, but he received a very light sentence because that was taken into consideration. Now I put it to you, my lord, that when I am addressing the jury I have a right to tell them what led me to stand in this

book-to-day, what experience has brought me to make the speeches that they have heard, and I ask you, my lord, to trust me not to use names. I don't want to blacken any human being's character, but I do ask you to allow me to try to put into the minds of these gentlemen, to make them feel my point of view, and the point of view of all these other women.

The Judge: I have told you the proper limits within which you can exercise your rights, and within those limits you are at liberty to address the jury at any length you think fit. You say something about mitigation of sentence. At the present moment the sole question before the jury is—are you, or are you not guilty of this offence? Any observations relevant to that question by all means address to them, and I should be the last to shorten or stop your address.

Mrs. Pankhurst: Then, my lord, do you decide that I am not to offer any criticisms whatever on the administration of the laws as they affect women?

The Judge: Your criticisms of persons, which I gather is what you desire to make, I do stop. It has nothing on earth to do with the question we are concerned with. The jury have to give their verdict on the evidence, and anything you like to say upon the evidence you are at liberty to say and I desire you should say.

Mrs. Pankhurst: Well, my lord, at an earlier stage of the proceedings I wished to have certain passages from my speeches read, and I agreed to their omission because I thought that when I addressed your lordship and the gentlemen of the jury, I might be allowed to refer in my speech.

The Judge: If there are passages in your speeches that have not been taken down and that are relevant to the question, I should not mind your reading them, but they must be relevant to the question whether you are or are not guilty of the charge made against you. If you refer to any passages in your speeches which depreciated this sort of crime or which you wish to give as evidence, you can do it now.

Mrs. Pankhurst: Well, my lord, is not motive allowed to come into this question at all?

The Judge: The motive you have already told the jury, and have said that you are not wicked. As a matter of fact, you are not charged with being "wickedly" guilty of this offence. It is immaterial what your motive was for committing the crime. It does not go to the question of whether you committed it wickedly or not in the indictment. "Wickedly" is not in the indictment, to begin with. I am going to call the jury's attention to that presently.

Mrs. Pankhurst: The charge which has been supplied to me is that "within the jurisdiction of the said Court unlawfully, maliciously and wickedly did incite."

Mr. Bodkin: I beg your pardon. That is not the indictment upon which the jury are trying you, believe me. They are only trying the indictment in relation to the explosion at Walton Heath House, and you are charged with counselling, inciting and procuring persons unknown to commit this offence. It is immaterial what your motive was for committing the crime. It does not go to the question of whether you committed it wickedly or not in the indictment. "Wickedly" is not in the indictment, to begin with. I am going to call the jury's attention to that presently.

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how is it that members of His Majesty's Government are not in the dock by my side, for they are equally guilty? Mr. Hobhouse, a member of the Government, said that women could not have the vote until they had done the things that men did in their agitation to get the vote. There are other people also who ought to be here with me, and they are the leaders of His Majesty's Opposition. Even within the last few days speeches have been made about Ulster, boasting that the men of Ulster are drilling in arms and preparing for civil war. Threats are being made that Ireland is to be drowned in blood if the Home Rule Bill is forced upon unwilling people in Ulster. And yet these people, who are being incited in that way, referred to in that way, are not in the position I am in. They are voters. They have the constitutional means of getting redress for their grievances; but women, it is our place, as counsel said, to behave like ordinary citizens. When I intervened in the course of counsel's speech, a reference to the women who have died in this agitation, counsel retorted that they should behave themselves as ordinary citizens. We are not ordinary citizens, gentlemen. If we were ordinary citizens, armed with the power that ordinary citizens possess, that men have, we should get redress for our grievances by ordinary means, but even deprived of those constitutional means as we are, we do not break the law like ordinary citizens who are men. In one of my speeches I pointed out that in London there is provision for five hundred men law-breakers. Well, gentlemen, I ask you, what are women to do? I have been told that I may not refer to the provocation we have received in the administration of the law, that I may not tell you of a judge of Assize who was found dead in his brothel.

The Judge: I think you have committed and been guilty of a most shameful want of decorum in making that observation. I stopped you before. You have done the very thing that I told you a few minutes ago that you ought not to do.

Mrs. Pankhurst: It is true, my lord.

The Judge (angrily): You have not loyally abided by the observation I made to you and by the limits I laid down within which you should keep. You are doing yourself no good, now me to tell you so.

Mrs. Pankhurst: It is true, my lord.

The Judge (angrily): You have not loyally abided by the observation I made to you and by the limits I laid down within which you should keep. You are doing yourself no good, now me to tell you so.

Well, these are the things that have made us women determined to go on, determined to face everything, determined to see this thing out to the end, let it cost us what it may. And if you convict me, gentlemen, if you find me guilty, I tell you quite honestly and quite frankly, that whether the sentence is a long sentence, whether the sentence is a short sentence, I shall not submit to it. I shall, the moment I leave this Court, if I am sent to prison, whether to penal servitude or to the lighter form of imprisonment, because I am not contentedly versed in the law to know what his lordship may decide; but whatever my sentence is, from the moment I leave this Court I shall quite deliberately refuse to eat food—I shall join the women who are already in Holloway on the hunger strike. I shall come out of prison, dead or alive, at the earliest possible moment; and once out again, as soon as I am physically fit I shall enter into this fight again. Life is very dear to all of us. I am not seeking, as was said by the Home Secretary, to commit suicide. I do not desire to die, but I desire to see the law broken, and I desire to see this country enfranchised, and I want to live until that is done. Those are the feelings by which we are animated. We offer ourselves as sacrifices, just as our forefathers did in the past, in this cause, and I would ask you all to bear in mind this question to yourselves—Have you the right, as human beings, to condemn another human being to death—because that is what it amounts to? Can you throw the first stone? Have you the right to judge women? If I were a man I would take the position of a judge in Ireland, who, when a girl charged with child murder was placed before him, said: "Where is the man?" And since the man was not forthcoming—because by the laws of this country the man is not forthcoming in a case like that, although equally guilty—because they are not given the vote as men are, he refused to pass sentence on the girl. That is what I ask you to do to me in my case.

Why Women are Militant.

Mrs. Pankhurst (proceeding): Gentlemen of the jury, I want you to understand how women feel who went to the Commission on Divorce. A gentleman occupying a high place in the administration of the divorce laws expressed opinions with regard to equality of divorce repugnant and hateful to the feelings of women. I want you to realize how women feel when they read in the papers cases of punishment inflicted upon men guilty even of corrupting the physical and moral life of their own little girls—their own little daughters. They are sent to terms of imprisonment. I was sent to Holloway Prison the first time for six weeks for breaking a pane of glass valued at 3s., classed as an ordinary prisoner, treated as an ordinary prisoner, while a man in your city I know very well, occupying a high position, was sent for six weeks in the First Division for having corrupted several little girls. Those are the reasons that have made women take part in this agitation, and I want to say to you, gentlemen, as I have already said in my speeches, that so long as you who have power—I speak to you as representing all the men possessing political power in this country—so long as you allow these things to go on, women are driven to take the law into their own hands, and seen by violent means, if need be, the power to get them altered. If there is in the framing of the laws and the administration of the laws so wide a gulf set between women's feelings and men's feelings on moral matters, that in itself is a justification for what we are doing.

Now, there was a time in the history of this country when the laws became so bad as to be obnoxious to the masses of the people of this country. Men at that time did not have the vote. There came a time when it was impossible to find a jury to convict people found guilty of breaches of the law, because the punishments were so vindictive, so terrible, that they were out of accordance with public opinion. In those days juries acquitted—when the penalty of hanging was imposed for small offences, juries came to the point when they returned verdicts of not guilty on every occasion. We have had the same condition of affairs in Ireland quite recently. During a violent agitation in Ireland, it was impossible to find juries to convict. Now I ask you, gentlemen, looking at the condition of women to-day, looking at the impossibility there is of women getting reform of the laws that affect them very closely and very deeply, I ask you, is it right that you should assist in punishing women who are driven by desperation to take the stand they are taking? More than a thousand have gone to prison in the course of this agitation, and not against one of those women can you find one word that can be said against her character or her life.

Over One Thousand Women.

Over one thousand women have gone to prison in the course of this agitation, have suffered their imprisonment, have come out of prison injured in health, weakened in body, but not in spirit. I come to stand my trial from the bedside of one of my daughters, who has come out of Holloway Prison, sent there for two months' hard labour for participating with four other people in breaking a small pane of glass. She has hunger-struck in prison. She submitted herself for more than five weeks to the horrible ordeal of food by force, and she has come out of prison having lost nearly two stone in weight. She is so weak that she cannot get out of her bed. And I say to you, gentlemen, that is the kind of punishment you are inflicting upon me or any other woman who may be brought before you. I ask you, if you are prepared to send an incalculable number of women to prison—I speak to

you as representing others in the same position—if you are prepared to go on doing that kind of thing indefinitely, because that is what is going to happen. There is absolutely no doubt about it. I think you have seen enough even in this present case to convince you that we are not women who are notoriety hunters. We could get that, heaven knows, much more cheaply if we sought it. We are women, rightly or wrongly, convinced that this is the only way in which we can win power to alter what we are intolerable conditions, absolutely intolerable to us as women. A London clergyman only the other day said that 60 per cent. of the married women in his parish were breadwinners, supporting their husbands as well as their children. When you think of the wages women earn, when you think of what this means to the future of the children of this country, I ask you to take this question very, very seriously. Only this morning I had information brought to me which could be supported by sworn affidavits, that there is in this country, in this very city of London of ours, a regulated traffic, not only in women of full age, but in little children; that they are being purchased, that they are being entrapped, and that they are being trained to minister to the vicious pleasures of persons who ought to know better in their positions outside.

Well, these are the things that have made us women determined to go on, determined to face everything, determined to see this thing out to the end, let it cost us what it may. And if you convict me, gentlemen, if you find me guilty, I tell you quite honestly and quite frankly, that whether the sentence is a long sentence, whether the sentence is a short sentence, I shall not submit to it. I shall, the moment I leave this Court, if I am sent to prison, whether to penal servitude or to the lighter form of imprisonment, because I am not contentedly versed in the law to know what his lordship may decide; but whatever my sentence is, from the moment I leave this Court I shall quite deliberately refuse to eat food—I shall join the women who are already in Holloway on the hunger strike. I shall come out of prison, dead or alive, at the earliest possible moment; and once out again, as soon as I am physically fit I shall enter into this fight again. Life is very dear to all of us. I am not seeking, as was said by the Home Secretary, to commit suicide. I do not desire to die, but I desire to see the law broken, and I desire to see this country enfranchised, and I want to live until that is done. Those are the feelings by which we are animated. We offer ourselves as sacrifices, just as our forefathers did in the past, in this cause, and I would ask you all to bear in mind this question to yourselves—Have you the right, as human beings, to condemn another human being to death—because that is what it amounts to? Can you throw the first stone? Have you the right to judge women? If I were a man I would take the position of a judge in Ireland, who, when a girl charged with child murder was placed before him, said: "Where is the man?" And since the man was not forthcoming—because by the laws of this country the man is not forthcoming in a case like that, although equally guilty—because they are not given the vote as men are, he refused to pass sentence on the girl. That is what I ask you to do to me in my case.

You Are Not My Peers.

You have not the right in human justice, not the right by the Constitution of this country, if rightly interpreted, to judge me, because you are not my peers. You know, every one of you, that I should not be standing here, that I should not break one single law—if I had the rights that you possess, if I had a share in electing those who make the laws I have to obey; if I had a voice in controlling the taxes I am called upon to pay, I should not be standing here. And I say to you it is a very serious state of things. I say to you, my lord, it is a very serious situation, that women of upright life, women who have devoted the best of their years to the public weal, that women who are engaged in trying to undo some of the terrible mistakes that men in their government of the country have made, because after all, the last resort means, that women are charged against her, although she believes that by means of this kind the condition of society will be altered.

The Judge then recapitulated the evidence concerning the bomb explosion at the house which was being prepared for Mr. Lloyd George; after which he referred to a letter written by Mrs. Pankhurst to members of the W.S.P.U., and read copious extracts from Mrs. Pankhurst's speeches, which had been previously read by the counsel for the prosecution, and were reported in last week's paper. In conclusion the Judge said:—

Gentlemen, I will ask you now to consider your verdict. I will close as I began by saying that if the defendant has not been proved to your satisfaction guilty of having incited or counselled those who destroyed or damaged the house to do it, or if your minds are left in any reasonable doubt about it, it will be your duty to find her not guilty. Of course, one or two isolated statements of an orator ought not to be pressed too strongly an extreme way, but if you find time after time that language of this kind is used by the defendant, used with full knowledge of the inference it would induce, and the consequences it would bring about, and she had it in her mind to commit this act, then you will find her guilty.

The jury then expressed their desire to retire, and left the jury box.

On the jury returning into Court after the lunch adjournment, the Clerk of Arraigns asked: Gentlemen of the jury, are you agreed upon the verdict? The Foreman: Yes, sir.

The Clerk: Do you read Mrs. Pankhurst guilty or not guilty?

The Foreman: Not guilty.

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The Foreman: Not guilty.

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The Clerk: Do you read Mrs. Pankhurst guilty or not guilty?

The Foreman: Not guilty.

you as representing others in the same position—if you are prepared to go on doing that kind of thing indefinitely, because that is what is going to happen. There is absolutely no doubt about it. I think you have seen enough even in this present case to convince you that we are not women who are notoriety hunters. We could get that, heaven knows, much more cheaply if we sought it. We are women, rightly or wrongly, convinced that this is the only way in which we can win power to alter what we are intolerable conditions, absolutely intolerable to us as women. A London clergyman only the other day said that 60 per cent. of the married women in his parish were breadwinners, supporting their husbands as well as their children. When you think of the wages women earn, when you think of what this means to the future of the children of this country, I ask you to take this question very, very seriously. Only this morning I had information brought to me which could be supported by sworn affidavits, that there is in this country, in this very city of London of ours, a regulated traffic, not only in women of full age, but in little children; that they are being purchased, that they are being entrapped, and that they are being trained to minister to the vicious pleasures of persons who ought to know better in their positions outside.

Well, these are the things that have made us women determined to go on, determined to face everything, determined to see this thing out to the end, let it cost us what it may. And if you convict me, gentlemen, if you find me guilty, I tell you quite honestly and quite frankly, that whether the sentence is a long sentence, whether the sentence is a short sentence, I shall not submit to it. I shall, the moment I leave this Court, if I am sent to prison, whether to penal servitude or to the lighter form of imprisonment, because I am not contentedly versed in the law to know what his lordship may decide; but whatever my sentence is, from the moment I leave this Court I shall quite deliberately refuse to eat food—I shall join the women who are already in Holloway on the hunger strike. I shall come out of prison, dead or alive, at the earliest possible moment; and once out again, as soon as I am physically fit I shall enter into this fight again. Life is very dear to all of us. I am not seeking, as was said by the Home Secretary, to commit suicide. I do not desire to die, but I desire to see the law broken, and I desire to see this country enfranchised, and I want to live until that is done. Those are the feelings by which we are animated. We offer ourselves as sacrifices, just as our forefathers did in the past, in this cause, and I would ask you all to bear in mind this question to yourselves—Have you the right, as human beings, to condemn another human being to death—because that is what it amounts to? Can you throw the first stone? Have you the right to judge women? If I were a man I would take the position of a judge in Ireland, who, when a girl charged with child murder was placed before him, said: "Where is the man?" And since the man was not forthcoming—because by the laws of this country the man is not forthcoming in a case like that, although equally guilty—because they are not given the vote as men are, he refused to pass sentence on the girl. That is what I ask you to do to me in my case.

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Mrs. Pankhurst (proceeding): Gentlemen of the jury, I want you to understand how women feel who went to the Commission on Divorce. A gentleman occupying a high place in the administration of the divorce laws expressed opinions with regard to equality of divorce repugnant and hateful to the feelings of women. I want you to realize how women feel when they read in the papers cases of punishment inflicted upon men guilty even of corrupting the physical and moral life of their own little girls—their own little daughters. They are sent to terms of imprisonment. I was sent to Holloway Prison the first time for six weeks for breaking a pane of glass valued at 3s., classed as an ordinary prisoner, treated as an ordinary prisoner, while a man in your city I know very well, occupying a high position, was sent for six weeks in the First Division for having corrupted several little girls. Those are the reasons that have made women take part in this agitation, and I want to say to you, gentlemen, as I have already said in my speeches, that so long as you who have power—I speak to you as representing all the men possessing political power in this country—so long as you allow these things to go on, women are driven to take the law into their own hands, and seen by violent means, if need be, the power to get them altered. If there is in the framing of the laws and the administration of the laws so wide a gulf set between women's feelings and men's feelings on moral matters, that in itself is a justification for what we are doing.

Now, there was a time in the history of this country when the laws became so bad as to be obnoxious to the masses of the people of this country. Men at that time did not have the vote. There came a time when it was impossible to find a jury to convict people found guilty of breaches of the law, because the punishments were so vindictive, so terrible, that they were out of accordance with public opinion. In those days juries acquitted—when the penalty of hanging was imposed for small offences, juries came to the point when they returned verdicts of not guilty on every occasion. We have had the same condition of affairs in Ireland quite recently. During a violent agitation in Ireland, it was impossible to find juries to convict. Now I ask you, gentlemen, looking at the condition of women to-day, looking at the impossibility there is of women getting reform of the laws that affect them very closely and very deeply, I ask you, is it right that you should assist in punishing women who are driven by desperation to take the stand they are taking? More than a thousand have gone to prison in the course of this agitation, and not against one of those women can you find one word that can be said against her character or her life.

Over One Thousand Women.

Over one thousand women have gone to prison in the course of this agitation, have suffered their imprisonment, have come out of prison injured in health, weakened in body, but not in spirit. I come to stand my trial from the bedside of one of my daughters, who has come out of Holloway Prison, sent there for two months' hard labour for participating with four other people in breaking a small pane of glass. She has hunger-struck in prison. She submitted herself for more than five weeks to the horrible ordeal of food by force, and she has come out of prison having lost nearly two stone in weight. She is so weak that she cannot get out of her bed. And I say to you, gentlemen, that is the kind of punishment you are inflicting upon me or any other woman who may be brought before you. I ask you, if you are prepared to send an incalculable number of women to prison—I speak to

you as representing others in the same position—if you are prepared to go on doing that kind of thing indefinitely, because that is what is going to happen. There is absolutely no doubt about it. I think you have seen enough even in this present case to convince you that we are not women who are notoriety hunters. We could get that, heaven knows, much more cheaply if we sought it. We are women, rightly or wrongly, convinced that this is the only way in which we can win power to alter what we are intolerable conditions, absolutely intolerable to us as women. A London clergyman only the other day said that 60 per cent. of the married women in his parish were breadwinners, supporting their husbands as well as their children. When you think of the wages women earn, when you think of what this means to the future of the children of this country, I ask you to take this question very, very seriously. Only this morning I had information brought to me which could be supported by sworn affidavits, that there is in this country, in this very city of London of ours, a regulated traffic, not only in women of full age, but in little children; that they are being purchased, that they are being entrapped, and that they are being trained to minister to the vicious pleasures of persons who ought to know better in their positions outside.

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You Are Not My Peers.

You have not the right in human justice, not the right by the Constitution of this country, if rightly interpreted, to judge me, because you are not my peers. You know, every one of you, that I should not be standing here, that I should not break one single law—if I had the rights that you possess, if I had a share in electing those who make the laws I have to obey; if I had a voice in controlling the taxes I am called upon to pay, I should not be standing here. And I say to you it is a very serious state of things. I say to you, my lord, it is a very serious situation, that women of upright life, women who have devoted the best of their years to the public weal, that women who are engaged in trying to undo some of the terrible mistakes that men in their government of the country have made, because after all, the last resort means, that women are charged against her, although she believes that by means of this kind the condition of society will be altered.

The Judge then recapitulated the evidence concerning the bomb explosion at the house which was being prepared for Mr. Lloyd George; after which he referred to a letter written by Mrs. Pankhurst to members of the W.S.P.U., and read copious extracts from Mrs. Pankhurst's speeches, which had been previously read by the counsel for the prosecution, and were reported in last week's paper. In conclusion the Judge said:—

Gentlemen, I will ask you now to consider your verdict. I will close as I began by saying that if the defendant has not been proved to your satisfaction guilty of having incited or counselled those who destroyed or damaged the house to do it, or if your minds are left in any reasonable doubt about it, it will be your duty to find her not guilty. Of course, one or two isolated statements of an orator ought not to be pressed too strongly an extreme way, but if you find time after time that language of this kind is used by the defendant, used with full knowledge of the inference it would induce, and the consequences it would bring about, and she had it in her mind to commit this act, then you will find her guilty.

The jury then expressed their desire to retire, and left the jury box.

On the jury returning into Court after the lunch adjournment, the Clerk of Arraigns asked: Gentlemen of the jury, are you agreed upon the verdict? The Foreman: Yes, sir.

The Clerk: Do you read Mrs. Pankhurst guilty or not guilty?

The Foreman: Not guilty.

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PRISON NEWS.

FOUR HUNGER-STRIKERS RELEASED.

STATEMENT BY RELEASED PRISONERS.

News has reached the offices of the W.S.P.U. that Mrs. Pankhurst, who has been hunger-striking ever since she entered Holloway on Thursday, April 3, is in a state of collapse. There has been no attempt to feed her by force.

MISS OLIVE WHARRY RELEASED.

Without food for 31 days. Miss Wharry was released from Holloway on Tuesday morning (April 8). She had hunger-struck for 31 days, and had not been forcibly fed. After the first eight or ten days she had suffered a good deal from weakness, and had attacks of faintness at exercise and chapel, but as time went on they seemed to pass off.

It will be remembered that Miss Wharry was charged with burning down Kew Tea Pavilion. She was tried at the Central Criminal Court on March 7, and sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment.

MISS EMERSON RELEASED.

A terrible condition of nervous collapse. At last the Home Office has been forced to order the release of Miss Zelia Emerson. On the evening of Tuesday, April 8, an ambulance was followed by a four-wheeler, left Holloway Prison. She has endured forcible feeding for five weeks, preceded by a fortnight of secret hunger-strike. She is understood to be in a terrible condition of nervous collapse, and no one is to be admitted to see her under any circumstances. In consequence, no definite statement of her experiences in prison can be given until next week's issue; but it is feared that she has suffered terribly.

THE "UNKNOWN WOMAN" RELEASED ON SATURDAY.

Miss Margaret Gibb, who refused her name and all information about herself, and was known as "206-L," the Unknown Woman, was released from Holloway on Saturday afternoon. Miss Gibb, it will be remembered, was arrested in the grounds of the All-England Lawn Tennis Club at Wimbledon, and sentenced at Wimbledon Police-court on March 4 to two months' imprisonment.

night before her trial at Wimbledon. She even went without water. On Saturday, March 8, she was taken to hospital, and forcibly fed that same evening for the first time. She lost weight rapidly. She was constantly sick after being forcibly fed, and has lost altogether fully two stone since she has been in Holloway. She says that the whole operation was revolting. The taste of the oil on the tube—the idea that very likely the same one was used on everybody else—entailed such mental torture that she thinks, to a great extent, that was the cause of her sickness. She is also convinced that too much food was poured down.

It took six wardresses to hold her down. She is very much bruised from her struggles with them, but she says they were kind to her. She had two and a nurse was there as well. The wardresses stayed with her after she had been fed to see that she remained lying down, in the hopes that that would prevent her from being sick, but it was no use. For the last three days she was left in peace before being released. Miss Gibb corroborates all that Mrs. Branson has said about the treatment of the corners of her mouth were in a most terrible state.

Table with 4 columns: Suffragists in Prison, Date when sentenced, Length of sentence, Place of Imprisonment. Lists names like Miss Louise Gay, Mrs. Ethel Beckett, Miss Mabel Muriel Scholefield, etc.

MRS. BRANSON'S STATEMENT.

then she contracted still more, and she said that they put something still finer at the end of the tube, and that they got down. It was used about three times. The third time there was a lot of hæmorrhage in the nasal passage. They did not feed her the second time that day. Next morning she was fed once again, and very little went down. They still used the nasal tube. The following day she was not fed at all; they left her. When they began again she was fed through the mouth, but in a day or two she managed to contract her muscles so that the tube would not pass that way. She had a very strong jaw, and they had much difficulty in opening it that they tried the tubes, one through the nostrils, and the other down the mouth, and she could not manage to resist both. After this she always had three doctors. On April 2 her front tooth was broken clean out from the root. She had a gap in her teeth at the back, and they used to force both sides of her mouth back at the same time, splitting the flesh, in order to insert the gag. She resisted with all her might every time. She had steadily refused to be weighed, but she knew herself she was losing weight fast. On Friday morning, the last time Mrs. Branson spoke to her, after they had tried through the mouth and failed to get the tube through, they had tried me and nose at the same time. Miss Stevenson was determined to fight to the last, and was prepared to face anything. Of Miss Masters there is less news. She went out one day for exercise with the other hunger-strikers. Mrs. Branson never heard her speak. She was fed through the mouth, and it hurt her throat. Miss Phyllis Brady and Miss Millicent Dean are reported to be hunger-striking on remand. Miss Pleasance Pendered has now been on hunger-strike for upwards of six

weeks. No more news of her is forthcoming.

Mr. William Lansbury was released from Pentonville on April 9, while Mrs. Dove Wilcox, Miss Grace Stuart, Miss Dorothy Barnes, and Miss Mary Richardson will be welcomed back on Thursday morning, April 10, after we have gone to press.

MISS SYLVIA PANKHURST. The following bulletin has been received from Miss Pankhurst's medical attendant:—"I weighed 8st. 4lb. when I went into Holloway, when they began to feed me I was 7st. 1lb., and they got me up to 7st. 7lb. in ten days. But ever that I steadily went down, little by little, to 7st. 6lb., then 7st. 4lb., then 7st. 3lb., and at last 7st. 1lb. That shows that their feeding does not keep the strength up.

FORTHCOMING RELEASES. On Monday, April 14, Miss Marjory Masters will leave Holloway. Although she had only one month to serve, Miss Masters was determined to make her protest as emphatic as ever she could, and to hunger-strike. She has been forcibly fed nearly all the time.

PRISONERS' FUND. All eyes and all hearts are focused upon Holloway at the present time. We need the members that so long as there are women in prison, so long, week by week, does this fund need support. You are asked to express your admiration of the brave women fighting in this very practical way. Gratefully acknowledged:—Miss Strangways, 10s.; Misses Wratlaw, 10s.; Misses Purdy, 5s.; Mrs. Lane, 2s.; Mrs. Busch-Kitchell, 2s.; Miss Elizabeth Murphy, 1s.

THE CAT AND MOUSE BILL COMMITTEE STAGE.

The House went into Committee on Tuesday to consider the Prisoners (Temporary) Discharge (Ill-health) Bill, and on Wednesday, as we go to press, the discussion on the Bill is still in progress. A full report of the debate will appear in our issue of next week.

The terms of the licence, as read by Mr. McKenna, by which it is proposed to discharge prisoners under this Bill are as follows:— 1. The prisoner shall return to the above-mentioned prison on the day of —, 19—.

A DUEL. REMAND THE CASE. Mr. Muir, for Miss Kenney, said his client was quite prepared to enter into recognisances, with sureties, not in any way to break the law until such date as the magistrate would deal with the case. He submitted that any person charged with an offence—that was what it amounted to—was entitled to that minimum of justice which he applied for. If the magistrate would consent to that course, the only question was what would be a suitable date for the court to hear the case.

Mr. Muir: I am assuming, Sir Albert, that she has made unlawful speeches. She will undertake, with sureties, and on her own undertaking and personal word, that she will not utter anything of an unlawful nature. What my learned friend is seeking to do is to ask her to make no speech at all. That, I submit to you, he has no right to ask for.

Mr. Bodkin: It is very difficult for a person engaged in a movement of this sort, with the numerous speeches that she has made, to make no speech at all. That, I submit to you, he has no right to ask for. Mr. Bodkin: Yes, of course, that in general language is all very well, but a lady in this position has no right to be the judge of what language she may use, and may not use. Who is to prevent her, at any public meeting of this movement, from using language which

ARREST OF MISS ANNIE KENNEY. CHARGE OF INCITEMENT.

REMANDED FOR TEN DAYS. EXTRAORDINARY DEMANDS OF CROWN PROSECUTOR.

On Tuesday afternoon Miss Annie Kenney was dramatically arrested at Lincoln's Inn House on a charge of inciting women to commit acts against the peace. The action of the authorities was taken under an Act, Edward III., Cap. 34, directed against disorderly persons. She was at once conveyed to Bow-street, where a formal remand until Wednesday was ordered. Bail was allowed.

SPEECH FOR THE PROSECUTION. SURETIES DEMANDED FOR GOOD BEHAVIOUR.

Mr. Bodkin, for the prosecution, said that the sole question for the magistrate was whether he thought it was a case in which the defendant should be bound over. As he had already said, these proceedings were not taken by way of punishment, but were for the purposes of taking precautions that there should be, from that date at any rate, no further acts or incitements to damage of property, and the precaution was that she should enter into recognisances and sureties. The matter, from the point of view of the public, was an urgent one, and he would strongly impress upon the magistrate that from his experience of the cases that had arisen it was desirable at the earliest moment that security should be taken that such speeches on the part of the person who uttered them should cease, and cease immediately. The only guarantee proposed by the law was recognisances.



Photo. [L.N.A.] Miss Kenney leaving the court.

safeguard against that repetition is the sureties referred to and an absolute undertaking to abstain from speaking in public.

The Magistrate (to Mr. Muir): Will she give that undertaking? Mr. Muir: She will give an undertaking to make no speeches of an unlawful character at all. This lady is engaged in a movement which has two branches. One of them is admittedly lawful, the other is admittedly unlawful. Why should she be prohibited from engaging in the lawful branch? The Magistrate: What you ask, Mr. Bodkin, is that she should make a statement in writing that she will not make speeches which would incite to these militant acts?

Mr. Bodkin: She is willing to give that undertaking. Mr. Bodkin: Yes, of course, that in general language is all very well, but a lady in this position has no right to be the judge of what language she may use, and may not use. Who is to prevent her, at any public meeting of this movement, from using language which

ALBERT HALL. MONEY POURING IN FROM RICH AND POOR.

The great Albert Hall meeting, which takes place the day after we go to press, will be fully reported in next week's issue. The hall promises to be full to overflowing, and everything points to this demonstration being the greatest that the W.S.P.U. has ever held. Money and promises continue to pour into the offices of the Union, and it is evident that members are striving, as never before, and with a very passion of devotion and sacrifice, to give the Government at this great demonstration an answer worthy even of the high cause in which they fight—a thank-offering, too, for women so courageous, so selfless, that they are a mystery to their foes fighting on a lower plane, breathing a vitiated air.

What Mrs. Pankhurst is to her followers is well exemplified in the following letter which will find an echo in innumerable hearts:—"Sleep at night is almost impossible, or if it comes, Mrs. Pankhurst comes with it. The same probably is true of thousands, sleeping or waking; she haunts us, driving us on each to our part."

It is the same woman who writes:—"I promised 6s. monthly, then doubled it, and wish to add a special donation of 30s. for the meeting. This is the price I have just given for a hat, and unless I give the same amount to the W.S.P.U., I could not wear it."

One other letter—a significant answer to the "wealthy woman" theory concerning the W.S.P.U.'s funds—is all that space permits. "I am one of your poorest working members who has planned an idea amongst my fellow workers to send £1 to the Albert Hall campaign within the next three months, and more if possible. I have undertaken to do their mending and making of plain articles, which they already have piled on me, and by a little early rising I hope in my spare time to carry out my intentions and help the cause. I have so much at heart. Will other of our working members follow suit? We could do much in this way and show the working woman's love to our leader at this special campaign." Owing to insuperable difficulties at the last moment, the cinematograph display mentioned in our last issue has had to be abandoned.

THE HOLLOWAY CAMPAIGN.

Despite the organised attempts to break up the meetings in the neighbourhood of Holloway Prison night after night, large crowds have assembled to listen to the speakers. On Saturday a very large crowd joined in the meetings around the prison. After the band had played for some time near the main entrance, and at 7.30 Miss Barbara Wylie, Mrs. Moore (of Bow), Mrs. G. W. Williams, and Mr. John Scurr addressed a meeting which was so large that it became necessary to divide forces and speak from both sides of the main entrance. Meetings have also been held at Cobden's Statue, the Cattle Market, and Holmorton-road.

Since Mrs. Pankhurst's imprisonment the prison has been picketed by women. Funds are needed to cover the expenses of the campaign, and every member who is not in prison is asked to help by giving time or money, or both. Gratefully acknowledged:—Mrs. Clapham, £1 1s.; Miss Collier, 1s.; Miss Neave, 7s.; "The Mother of a Prisoner," 2s.; "A Boy in the Crowd," 1d.; F. J. K., 2s.; Dr. L. Garret Anderson, 2s.; Miss F. R. Wright, 3s.; "A Man in the Crowd," 6d.; Mrs. D. A. Thomas, 10s.; Mrs. H. Mackworth, 10s.; Miss Joachim, £1; Miss Claude Potbury, 1s.; Miss Janie Allan, £1. (Office, 19, St. Thomas'-road, Finsbury Park, N. Org. Miss G. Francis, Hon. Sec., Miss Miss Janet Green.) After this week the organisation of the campaign will be undertaken by Miss Margaret West.

SEND A TELEGRAM.

As this issue will reach many of our readers on Thursday, April 10, just before the Albert Hall meeting takes place, those who are unable to be present at the meeting and have not yet promised to contribute to the collection are reminded that there is still time to promise a contribution by telegram.

Telegrams sent before 4 o'clock should be addressed to "Wospolu, London"; after 4 o'clock, "Chairman, Suffragette Meeting, Royal Albert Hall, London."

I promise towards Albert Hall collection. (Sender's name and address.)

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The War Against Slavery.

Why is no protest made by the men and women who condemn Suffragist militancy against the forcible measures taken by the Great Powers, and particularly by the British Government, to coerce Montenegro? The silence of the anti-militants in face of this act of militancy is proof enough, if any proof were needed of anything so self-evident, that condemnation of W.S.P.U. militancy is not based on any moral principle.

The anti-Montenegrin militancy of our own and other Governments is ten thousand times less justified than the militancy of the Suffragettes. Even admitting that Montenegro is in the wrong in asserting a claim to Scutari, she is not so much in the wrong as are Mr. Asquith and his colleagues in resisting the enfranchisement of women. Moreover, the question of whether Scutari shall belong to Albania, as to which the Great Powers show a suspicious solicitude, or whether it shall belong to Montenegro is a matter of infinitesimal importance compared to the question of whether British womanhood shall be given free and equal citizenship.

Those Suffragists who condone the Government's forcible breach of neutrality in the case of Montenegro, and denounce the use of force by their fellow Suffragists, must justify their opinion in one of two ways.

The first is this: They must believe that Britain and the other Great Powers are justified in using force against Montenegro because she is weaker than they. In other words, they must believe that might is right.

Or in the alternative these anti-militants must believe that whereas force may properly be used by men it must never be used by women. But this is to make Joan of Arc herself a moral outcast. It is to create a double standard of morality for the sexes. Suffragists who hold these views are first-cousins to the Anti-Suffragists! The fact is that a Suffragist who thinks the use of violence permissible at all must think it permissible in the present struggle for the vote.

When we consider that there are Suffragists who are anti-militants and yet approved the South African War, in which, for the sake of votes for men who would not wait five years for them, money, property and life were sacrificed! The brain reels before this illogicality and inconsistency!

No quibbles about the private property of private citizens will serve to cloud the issue, because war—as every authority on matters martial knows, and as the Government only the other day contended in the Parliamentary debate on the seizing in war time of private property at sea—war is ultimately an attempt to conquer a nation by coercing the private citizen through injury to his private property and material interests.

The Liberal Government cling to the right to capture private property at sea because, as they

assert, it will enable the British fleet to attack the property while sparing the life of the private citizens of the enemy country and thereby create a public opinion in that country favourable to peace! Precisely the methods of the Suffragettes!

Now where the critics of militancy go astray is in failing to realise with sufficient acuteness—with their whole soul and brain—that the Suffragist agitation is a war against slavery, that it is a crusade against a wrong whose evil effects are spreading very quickly. In the American anti-slavery war, life, as well as property, was sacrificed; yet the subjection of women is a far greater evil than negro slavery, because its extent is wider and because its results are more disastrous.

The chief fruits of woman slavery is the Social Evil. As a result of the Social Evil, the nation is poisoned morally, mentally and physically. Women are only just finding this out. As their knowledge grows they will look upon militancy as a surgical operation—a violence fraught with mercy and healing.

The cure of the social evil is to have stronger women and purer men. That cure will come with and through the vote. Admit women to citizenship and you not only give them a weapon for their protection, but by altering their whole position you raise them in their own estimation and in that of men. You establish the fact that they are equal in dignity and equal in human value to men. The Social Evil arises from the man's idea that women are his inferiors and a proper food for exploitation; a little, it may be, from women's acceptance of this man-made theory; and from the fact that under men's ordering of affairs women are starved into the slavery of vice.

The militant women have determined upon the abolition of woman slavery—firstly, for the sake of the slaves themselves; secondly, for the sake of women in general; thirdly, for the sake of the race.

It is not endurable that thousands of women shall live as outcasts and pariahs—their moral nature corrupted, their bodies destroyed. That is the question as it affects the slaves. The existence of these slaves degrades the position of all women and fills the minds of men with unclean thoughts about womanhood.

The human race is affected by a most awful scourge because of white slavery. What do the doctors tell us? One doctor says: "The problem of venereal disease is one of the most if not the most important which besets every civilised nation at the present time." Another doctor says: "Of the three scourges affecting the human race—namely, syphilis, tuberculosis, and cancer—the first takes the lead to all intents and purposes, for have we absolute proof that it is curable in every sense of the word? I am inclined to think that it is the exception for a syphilitic person to be really cured." May the day yet come, cried the same doctor, when we may "stay the inroads of this vile malady"! Says another doctor, this disease is "an extremely important cause of mental deficiency." Yet there is nothing about it in the Government's Mental Deficiency Bill! The surgeon at a great woman's hospital says, "Most of the cases of venereal disease that come before me are those of innocent women who have been infected by their husbands."

An Australian doctor says, "Some of us think that syphilis is the principle cause of death before senility, that it underlies many infectious and causes much disaster." He instances the fact that in a certain women's hospital half the operations are due to this disease, and continues, "It is quite possible that if you eliminate these diseases you would have, from the medical point of view, almost a new world to deal with." A new world! That is what women want. By Militancy they are preparing for it! With the vote they will build it. Pessimists may tell us that a world-old shame can never be unrooted. Our answer is that women have never been allowed to try. That we should fly was once declared impossible! The veteran scientist, Mr. Alfred Russel Wallace, has just published a book, "Social Environment and Moral Progress," in which he says to women that the future progress of humanity depends on them. By their political influence and by their moral influence he tells them they can save the race and they can lead it onward.

The militant women are simply those who believe that the beginning of this work brooks no delay.

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

MRS. PANKHURST'S TRIAL.

AN IMPRESSION BY BEATRICE HARRADEN.

Three or four weeks ago, at a public meeting in New York, one of the questions asked me at the end of my speech on the Suffrage Movement in England was: "What do you think will be the outcome of Mrs. Pankhurst's trial?" My answer was: "I am going home to hear and know for myself."

As I spoke, a vision of Mrs. Pankhurst rose before me. With my mind's eye I saw her standing in the dock of the Old Bailey, alone, detached, impersonal, an outward and visible sign of a great idea, a deliberate and not a wasted sacrifice to an imperishable thought; the thought of Freedom. And last Wednesday and Thursday there she stood, in real life, as I had seen her in my vision, dominating the Court, for the simple reason that she was the greatest person in the Court. Her accusers, her judges, her critics, her enemies appeared to me as phantoms of the moment, grass "that in the morning is green, and growth up, but in the evening it is cut down, dried up, and withered." The pomp and circumstance of the law, the majesty of justice, the authority of citizenship seemed a vain pretence, a meaningless claim, as compared with the dignity and high purpose of this woman of noble character, whom the folly and ignorance of Ministers and Members of Parliament had made into a rebel of the land. Whatever judgment may be pronounced on her in this generation, her name will stand out in the annals of the history of the world as the brave and dauntless Englishwoman who arose and rallied the women of all countries to throw off their fetters of subjection, and win freedom, fair play, and a permanent recognition of the woman's point of view; as the dauntless and brave Englishwoman, mistaken in method if you like, but fearlessly sincere, who accepted the responsibility of inciting to crime for the sake of pushing on a reform which was destined to grapple with crime in a way unthought of by the men of that time.

Did any faint glimmering of what Mrs. Pankhurst really stood for penetrate into the brains of the men in the Court, all alike, prosecutor, judge, barristers, jury, sheriff, witnesses, aldermen, detectives, drowsy with the sleep of three or four generations: the unfortunate plight of most of our men in England nowadays? It would seem that something in the way of light was transmitted to the jury, who, in spite of being enjoined not to take notice into consideration, and not to be influenced by the defendant's power of oratory, nevertheless added to their verdict of "guilty" a strong recommendation to mercy. What made them add that strong recommendation to mercy, when everything had been done to present the case in the worst light, and the value of Mrs. Pankhurst's defence had been undoubtedly impaired by interruption, and the judge had summed up against her in a manner which struck me as hostile, and the whole trial, by reason of the constant re-reading of the speeches of incitement, had been wearisome and almost boring? What influenced them to that extent? Which of them first said: "Here is something hidden we don't understand!" Well, I like to think that the idea came from the jurymen whom I picked out from the beginning as looking the least promising and impressionable, but relatively awake. I watched him closely. For some mysterious reason, I had a splendid seat in a reservation called mysteriously City Lands, which I now understand was the Lord Mayor's private preserves. If I had had any intelligence, I would have realised this from the mere fact that I and others with me went in by the Lord Mayor's entrance, and even came face to face with the painted and gilded coach which still delights the child-like, including myself. Well, from this vantage ground I could see and study everyone, and I noticed that this man bent forward attentively as the time went on. He looked steadily at Mrs. Pankhurst—and he looked past her: and who knows, perhaps he saw "some distant scene." He used his thinking powers—that man with the pink tie. As a novelist, priding myself on psychological insight, which is probably wrong, I pinned my faith on him and shall continue to believe in him to the end.

Anyway, the jury's finding testified definitely to the fact that Mrs. Pankhurst had not impressed them as she had impressed the judge as being malicious and wicked. And here, since there is always something humorous, even in the most tragic situation, I cannot resist pointing out how

comically inconsequential all the facts and events of the trial appeared to me to be. Here was a case which could, no doubt, have been defended with success. Although undefended, it was not really proved. The firing of that house was not directly traced to Mrs. Pankhurst. She accepted responsibility for it after it was done, just as the Cabinet has had to accept responsibility for the words or deeds of its component members. But it was not proved that she was responsible for this particular deed. Hairpins and hatpins were found, it is true; but they may have belonged quite easily, say, to Mrs. McKenna (who was also sitting in our mysterious City Lands). Then to continue, the judge specially admonished the jury to dismiss all considerations of motive. The jury cheerfully ignored his lordship's instructions, and as we all know, added to their verdict a strong recommendation to mercy. The judge immediately proceeded to ignore the jury's recommendation, and passed what he himself called a severe sentence. And to crown all, Mrs. Pankhurst, having heard her sentence, announced that she refused to serve it, and would take means to prevent it from being carried out. Nothing, in fact, fitted in with anything else. Nothing was the fulfilment or development of anything preceding it. It was constantly being insisted, for instance, that the case was a criminal case, and not a political one. And yet most, if not all of the substance in Mrs. Pankhurst's speeches, which were the chief evidence against her, turned on the political aspect of the situation; and the efforts of the prosecution were therefore naturally concentrated on the only material available for purposes of prosecution. And in the Court sat noted detectives, always employed on political work exclusively.

And this reminds me that throughout the trial we were taken care of, even in our respectable places, by several plain-clothes officers disguised as detectives, and their number was increased as the time approached for the passing of the sentence, and I noticed that in all parts of the Court, where there were women, extra men strolled in with that amusing attempt at innocent detachment which invariably betrays the secret vigilance of the law. Well, it was probably needed on this occasion. I have said nothing about Mrs. Pankhurst's defence, except that frequently occurring strictures minimised its effect. At one moment she was told that of course no one wished to interrupt her, but that her remarks were irrelevant. At another time she was told that she was not observing the decorum of the Court, and at another moment, although she had certainly made no promise of silence on the subject to which his lordship objected, she was accused of being unloyal. It was marvelous how she kept any self-control at all. At each interruption she stopped short, paused, and then quietly went on, as though nothing had occurred to break her continuity. Who knows, perhaps those very interruptions, borne by her so bravely and patiently, testified on her behalf. She scored, then, perhaps, in spite of the judge; as she scored earlier when the prosecutor, in a mocking tone, quoted from one of her speeches her words: "Some have fallen by the wayside," and added his own, "The wayside is at Holloway."

Mrs. Pankhurst's voice rang out, clear though quiet: "Some of them are dead." And this is only one of the many instances throughout the trial when she met an unworthy attack, a damaging statement, a derisive comment by a quiet rejoinder the effect of which was magical. A few words only, each time, but not one more needed. But to my mind she made the greatest impression on all who heard her, and was at her finest, strongest, and best when, after she had received her sentence, she addressed a few parting words to the Court. I shall always think of her as she leaned forward, a flash of defiance on her cheeks, as she said she would resist to the last, a wave of her hand as she dismissed all thought of her own approaching doom, and a light of passionate earnestness on her countenance as she appealed to the men, to the judge, the jury, to all present to see to it that this deplorable state of things was put an end to in the only way which was possible, by the enfranchisement of women. I cannot remember her exact words, I only remember that they were words of exhortation, and that as she gave utterance to them, it was she, our leader, sentenced to three years' penal servitude, who appeared to be the Judge of the Court, clad in his robes of office, endowed with his authority, but in addition, consecrated by sacrifice and selflessness. Then she vanished from our sight.

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THE WOMEN'S REVOLUTION—A REIGN OF TERROR—FIRE AND BOMBS.

Militancy on an Unprecedented Scale.

MANSIONS BURNT OUT, OTHER HOUSES FIRED.

RACE STAND BURNT TO THE GROUND.

Bomb Explosions at Railway Stations.

RAID ON PICTURE GALLERY.

Coinciding with the vindictive sentence of three years' penal servitude passed upon Mrs. Pankhurst, militancy on an extraordinary scale has developed throughout the country, a remarkable feature being that in the vast majority of cases no arrests were made.

At Chorley Wood a country house has been burned down, the walls and chimney-stacks alone remaining.

Several houses in the Hampstead Garden Suburb have been fired, and a house at Potters Bar, while a large mansion on the outskirts of Norwich has been utterly destroyed.

There has been an outbreak of fire in the Hampstead Garden Suburb Free Church, which, however, was discovered and quenched before the whole of the building was involved.

The grand stand on the Ayr race-course has been burnt to the ground, and attempts have been made to fire the Cardiff and Kelso race stands.

A bomb has exploded at Oxted Station; windows and walls were blown out.

An empty railway carriage in a siding has been blown to pieces.

An explosion has occurred in the vicinity of Dudley Castle, when the windows of the keeper's cottage close by were shattered, and siege guns weighing a ton were moved two feet by the explosion. No arrests were made.

The glass in thirteen famous pictures in the Manchester Art Gallery has been shattered. Three women were arrested.

There have been extensive raids on letter-boxes. Telegraph wires have been cut, flower-beds damaged, and windows broken; while false fire alarms have been given at Newcastle.

Giving to fears of Suffragette invasions, Windsor Castle has been completely closed to the public. Firemen are constantly on duty, and night watchmen patrol the precincts.

Similar precautions are observed at Cumberland Lodge, the residence of Prince and Princess Christian, Chatsworth House, Haddon Hall, and Nottingham Castle are also guarded.

Owners of houseboats on the Thames have been warned by the police that an attempt may be made to set fire to them by women using a launch.

At Hampstead Garden Suburb a number of residents are urging the formation of a vigilance committee to patrol the district.

In view of the Suffragist protests, the authorities have decided to exclude women from Crews Railway Station when the ceremony of presenting addresses to their Majesties takes place on their arrival.

COUNTRY HOUSE GUTTED.

NO ARRESTS.

Roughwood, a large country residence standing in its own grounds on the Roughwood Estate at Chorley Wood, on the borders of Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire, was discovered about three o'clock on Friday, April 4, to be on fire. Despite every effort, the building was burnt out, only the walls and chimney-stacks being left standing. The house, which was valued at between £2,000 and £2,500, was built about seven years ago, and stood in four

and shavings had been put into the dresser drawers and then ignited, but here again the flames became extinguished before the woodwork was more than charred.

The fires are thought to have been caused by Suffragists, but no arrests were made.

Early on Monday morning fire broke out in yet another house in Hampstead Garden Suburb, at No. 6, Eskine-hill, when a large wooden crate containing ornamental tiles, deposited in the dining-room, was found to be alight, but the flames were extinguished.

Close by was a tin which had apparently contained paraffin; the fire is attributed to Suffragists, but no arrests were made.

HOUSE FIRED AT POTTERS BAR.

Built at a cost of about £700, a new unoccupied house on the Mount Grace estate, Potters Bar, was found by the caretaker on Sunday night to have been on fire. He smelled smoke and paraffin, and on making investigations, found in a cupboard under the staircase about half a hundredweight of inflammable materials, such as wood, sticks, paper, and also some paraffin. The under part of the stairs was burnt, but it was not ascertained whether the fire had been closed after the fire was lit, the fire must have gone out owing to absence of air.

Two women had been seen at the gate of the house, and on the step leading to the front door was found a card on which was written, "Votes for Women," but no arrests were made.

In the ground between the house and the stables were found three cards bearing the words "Votes for Women" and other Suffragist mottoes.

No arrests were made.

RACE STAND BURNT DOWN.

NO ARRESTS.

In the early hours of Saturday morning the club stand on Ayr racecourse, a three-storey building, was practically burnt to the ground. The stand, which was used by the members of the Western Meeting Racing Club and their friends, was a conspicuous and picturesque feature of the great range of buildings within the racing enclosures.

It was in a small room to the south-west corner of the stand, which was on a floor that the fire was first detected. About 2.30 a.m. two miners returning to Ayr from Mossburn Colliery noticed a gleam of light through the window. Having roused the caretaker, who lives near, they then warned the police at the Town Hall, Ayr. By the time the fire brigade arrived the flames had burst through the roof. The staircase was composed of pitch pine, and the whole of the woodwork of the interior was then blazing. Little could be done to save the building, the fire being fanned by a strong east wind. Everything inflammable was destroyed, only the subterranean brick and ironwork remaining. From 500 to 600 chairs were stored in the stand. These, of course, were demolished.

In the morning two local Pressmen, going over the ruins, noticed that the door opening on the enclosure had been forced, apparently with a crowbar. They picked up behind this door Suffragist literature, including *The Suffragette*, dated April 4. The stand cost £3,500 to erect. The damage, which is covered by insurance, is estimated at £2,000. No arrests were made.

KELSO RACE STAND FIRED.

SATURATED RAGS AND PAPER.

An attempt was made on Saturday morning to destroy by fire the new grand stand in the paddock at Kelso Racecourse. This building has just been completed, and constables had been on duty guarding it during the night.

A motor-car, in which were two women, drove up to the course in the early hours of the morning. Patrol-constables and rags and paper were placed at advantageous points, and had just been fired when a couple of constables arrested the women. The fire was subdued before a large amount of damage was done. The women were taken to the first instance to Kelso Police station, where they gave the names of Helen Smith and Mary Brown, adding that they came from Glasgow. Afterwards they were sent to Jedburgh. About midday they were taken before Sheriff Baillie for examination, and were remanded pending further inquiry.

They were sent by the afternoon train to Edinburgh; there they were allowed bail in £20 each. The trial is to take place in Edinburgh in the space of three or four weeks.

CARDIFF RACE STAND FIRED.

BLAME MR. HOBHOUSE.

An attempt was made on Sunday night to set fire to the stands on Cardiff Racecourse.

In the centre of the front of the members' stand, which is above the club-room, were found a quantity of chopped wood boxes, etc., all soaked with paraffin, four firelighters, two spent matches, an empty matchbox, part of a candle, and five bottles—four empty, and one partly full of turpentine. Three of the other four bottles had contained paraffin. There were also several cotton wool pads saturated with spirits. The whole equipment was so arranged that once lighted the articles would have made a fierce fire, and the rest would have been easy, with the wooden flooring, steps and rails. The pile was well saturated with paraffin. On the stand were found copies of *The Suffragette* and two pieces of paper, on one of which was written, "Blame Mr. Hobhouse," and on the other "Release Mrs. Pankhurst."

No arrests were made.

TENNIS PAVILION ATTACKED.

On entering the pavilion of the Dundee West-End Lawn Tennis Club on Saturday the caretaker discovered that it had been interfered with overnight, and an attempt made to set it on fire. A large quantity of newspapers and boxes of matches were found in a heap. These and other articles were charred. An explosive fluid was also found. The fire evidently died out before it obtained a firm hold of the building. The attempt is thought to have been made by Suffragists.

At King's Norton an old King Henry VI. school, which has long been closed, was opened on Saturday. On a blackboard was found written: "Two Suffragists have entered here; but, charmed with this old-world room, have refrained from their design of destruction." The room windows had been forced open to obtain access.

FIRE AT A CHURCH.

SUFFRAGETTES SUSPECTED.

On Wednesday, April 2, the Hampstead Garden Suburb Free Church narrowly escaped being burnt down, the fire being attributed to Suffragists.

About 4 o'clock yesterday afternoon a man went up to the church to practise on the organ and found it full of smoke. He called a policeman, but already damage had been done amounting to about £100.

The Hendon Fire Brigade was sent for, but owing to the fact that the fire had been started in a cupboard in the vestry, in which was a lead water-pipe, the heat of the fire melted the pipe, and the water helped to put the fire out. On the arrival of the fire brigade it was found that the cupboard, which was used for the storage of paper and other articles, was blazing furiously. Other doors in the passage were blistered. Evidently the fire had been smouldering in the cupboard for some time.

EXPLOSION IN RAILWAY STATION.

WALLS AND WINDOWS BLOWN OUT.

An attempt to blow up Oxted Railway Station was made early on Friday morning, April 4.

When the staff arrived they found there had been an explosion in the lavatory, the door, walls, and windows having been blown out.

A travelling basket was found containing a clock timed to go off at 3 a.m. There was also a tin of petrol.

It is assumed that a fuse had been laid with gunpowder, and that this had exploded without igniting the petrol.

At Oxted, the plaster in the roof of adjoining premises, the porters' room,

had fallen in great flakes. The time of the explosion is gauged by the fact that a police officer heard a noise "like the blowing off of a gun at 2.40 in the morning, and saw a blaze that raced like a flash of lightning and then disappeared."

Outside the station was found a single-barrelled nickel-plated pistol, apparently dropped by someone in flight.

The attempt is attributed to Suffragists. No arrests were made.

"SUSPECTS" AT MITCHAM GOLF LINKS.

WOMEN REFUSED BAIL.

Two women, who gave their names as Miss Phyllis Brady and Miss Millicent Deane, were on April 4 arrested near Mitcham Golf Links on a charge of being suspected persons loitering with inflammable material in their possession. A constable said he saw the women carrying bags. The constable followed them across the golf links to Footing Junction, where they dropped their bags and ran. The bags contained three one-gallon tins of paraffin, patent fire-lighters, a large quantity of cotton wool, and a newspaper containing a report of Mrs. Pankhurst's trial, across which was written, "Beware how you treat Mrs. Pankhurst, or worse will follow." Appearing at Croydon Police Court on Saturday, the Bench remanded them for a week, and sanctioned bail on condition that they would give their proper

names and full addresses, and also that they would give an undertaking to refrain from breaking the law during the adjournment.

The women, however, withheld the required information, and were therefore refused bail.

RAID IN ART GALLERY.

WIRE CUT IN SNAKE PASS.

The lonely Snake Pass in Derbyshire has been the scene of some further wire-cutting attributed to Suffragists.

Communication between Manchester and Sheffield and other places, on April 3, was found to be interrupted, and investigation led to the discovery that a large number of wires had been cut at a spot several miles out of Glossop.

In addition to the cutting of some score or more of wires, a box was broken open in which repairing material is stored, and steps were taken to make the work of connecting up the lines as difficult as possible.

At Lipson, near Plymouth, some half-dozen telephone wires were found cut, among them being a trunk line.

Placards bearing Suffragist demands were affixed to neighbouring telephone poles.

Wires have also been found cut at Llantarnam, near Pontypool, where a number of paper was found attached to one of the poles bearing the words,

the large hyacinth beds, which are close to the wrecked pavilion, had been completely destroyed.

Those who had committed the damage left no message behind, but an examination was made of the ground, and footprints, believed to be those of women wearing goshaws, were discovered all over the damaged flower-beds.

WHO HOAXED "THE DAILY EXPRESS"?

The *Daily Express* has been hoaxed with a neatness and a wealth of detail that must have furnished many a laugh to Suffragists on Tuesday.

The hoax—a "facsimile" document detailing plans for blowing up the football stands at the Crystal Palace—was reproduced in that paper in all its horrid entirety, together with copious notes disclosing *The Daily Express* in a state of bustling horror that contends comically with acute satisfaction at the magnitude of the "scop."

The "document" itself is as satisfactory as anything a writer of sensational fiction could have devised. Suffragettes are thrillingly referred to by number; they belong to "delicious" touch; "Militant Corps 23," and even the now rather well-worn "Polly"—the name by which a policeman said he had once heard one Suffragette address another—does duty yet again. Incidentally, the paper on which the "document" is printed differs from several particulars from any used by the W.S.P.U.

HOLLOWAY PATROLS.

lest the authorities should attempt to hurry Mrs. Pankhurst out of prison when they dare no longer keep her for fear of her death, and leave her, as they did Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, unattended and alone, numbers of women picketers are keeping watch, day and night, outside the walls of Holloway Prison. There is no lack of volunteers for this sentry duty, which is performed smartly and systematically, the women marching up and down bearing flags in the purple, white and green of the Union, and relieving each other at regular intervals.

On a police-officer attempting to drive one of them away, she returned the concise answer: "As long as the Queen is inside, her subjects will patrol outside."

On Sunday evening, in consequence of the formation of a crowd outside the prison, and the refusal of two of the picketers, Miss Macaulay and Miss Edwards to go away, they were arrested for obstruction. Police evidence to this effect was given next day.

Mr. Marshall maintained that the defendants were within their rights, and that they were not the cause of the crowd assembling, but the magistrate did not agree.

Miss Macaulay and Miss Edwards decided to be bound over, and were fined £5, or in default 21 days. They refused to pay the fine, and were sent to prison. After spending about half an hour in their cells, they were informed that the fines had been paid, and released.

"LAUGHING-STOCK OF EUROPE."

The New York papers devoted a large amount of attention to the trial of Mrs. Pankhurst. *The Sun* yesterday said: "Nothing more grotesque than the struggle between the Suffragettes and the Government could ever have been conceived by W. S. Gilbert. The country wanted for its law and order has become the laughing-stock of Europe."

QUESTION IN THE HOUSE.

MRS. PANKHURST.

Mr. McKenna, replying to Mr. Keir Hardie on Wednesday afternoon, stated that Mrs. Pankhurst was not taking food. She was not being forcibly fed; the medical officer did not advise that she should be released—(hear, hear); her own medical officer had not been allowed to see her (hear, hear). With regard to a question as to taking action to secure her release he had nothing to say (cheer).

There have been further letter-box raids at Preston (8 pillar-boxes), Barrow, Lawshaw, Brighton (200 letters damaged), Hove, Brixton, Manchester (300 letters damaged), Harrogate, Glasgow, Liverpool, Eastbourne, Richmond, Bournemouth, Kew, Hford, and in Stroud Green, Muswell Hill, Winchester-street, Victoria-street, Grosvenor-place, and Buckingham-gate, London.

In Glasgow wholesale attacks were made on pillar-boxes, both in the central parts of the city, and in various suburban districts.

Envelopes bore the words, "Asquith and Co., Medieval Torturers," and "Release Mrs. Pankhurst."

A CHARRED RUIN.

During the week ten windows have been smashed at the Labour Exchange at Parkhead, Glasgow, and two false fire-alarms have been given at Newcastle. In each instance, in answer to the fire-alarms, brigades turned out. No arrests were made.

ROUGHWOOD, CHORLEY WOOD, WHICH WAS BURNT OUT BY SUFFRAGETTES.

Photo [Topical]

A REMINDER FOR MR. CHURCHILL.

The historic Smeaton Tower on the Hoe was the object of attention of Suffragettes on Thursday, April 3. All around the base was found painted in large white letters messages to the Lords of the Admiralty (including Mr. Winston Churchill), who entered the Sound on board the yacht *Enchantress* shortly before 8 o'clock.

The words conspicuously written were on the Sound side: "To Churchill: No security till you give women votes, no matter how big the Navy." On the town side: "To save the State from shipwreck give women the vote."

In the centre shelter was scrawled, "To Churchill: No rest for the Government while they torture us women;" while the words, "Votes for Women," decorated the shelter nearest the tower.

FLOWER-BEDS WRECKED.

Further damage, believed to be the work of Suffragettes, has been done at Armstrong Park, one of the beauty spots at the east end of Newcastle, where three or four weeks ago the pavilion was fired.

Armstrong Park was closed at seven o'clock on Friday night, April 4, and, as far as could be seen, no one was hiding in the grounds.

At 6.30 on Saturday morning, however, when the head gardener began his day's work, he discovered that three of

the defendants appeared before the city stipendiary on the following day, when Mrs. Forester stated that they had had no intention of destroying the pictures, as was proved by the fact that they had no knives in their possession. The accused were remanded until Friday, when they will come up for trial at the Minchin-street Police Court at 2.30 p.m.

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"SUSPECTS" AT MITCHAM GOLF LINKS.

WOMEN REFUSED BAIL.

Two women, who gave their names as Miss Phyllis Brady and Miss Millicent Deane, were on April 4 arrested near Mitcham Golf Links on a charge of being suspected persons loitering with inflammable material in their possession. A constable said he saw the women carrying bags. The constable followed them across the golf links to Footing Junction, where they dropped their bags and ran. The bags contained three one-gallon tins of paraffin, patent fire-lighters, a large quantity of cotton wool, and a newspaper containing a report of Mrs. Pankhurst's trial, across which was written, "Beware how you treat Mrs. Pankhurst, or worse will follow." Appearing at Croydon Police Court on Saturday, the Bench remanded them for a week, and sanctioned bail on condition that they would give their proper

names and full addresses, and also that they would give an undertaking to refrain from breaking the law during the adjournment.

The women, however, withheld the required information, and were therefore refused bail.

RAID IN ART GALLERY.

WIRE CUT IN SNAKE PASS.

The lonely Snake Pass in Derbyshire has been the scene of some further wire-cutting attributed to Suffragists.

Communication between Manchester and Sheffield and other places, on April 3, was found to be interrupted, and investigation led to the discovery that a large number of wires had been cut at a spot several miles out of Glossop.

In addition to the cutting of some score or more of wires, a box was broken open in which repairing material is stored, and steps were taken to make the work of connecting up the lines as difficult as possible.

At Lipson, near Plymouth, some half-dozen telephone wires were found cut, among them being a trunk line.

Placards bearing Suffragist demands were affixed to neighbouring telephone poles.

Wires have also been found cut at Llantarnam, near Pontypool, where a number of paper was found attached to one of the poles bearing the words,

the large hyacinth beds, which are close to the wrecked pavilion, had been completely destroyed.

Those who had committed the damage left no message behind, but an examination was made of the ground, and footprints, believed to be those of women wearing goshaws, were discovered all over the damaged flower-beds.

WHO HOAXED "THE DAILY EXPRESS"?

The *Daily Express* has been hoaxed with a neatness and a wealth of detail that must have furnished many a laugh to Suffragists on Tuesday.

The hoax—a "facsimile" document detailing plans for blowing up the football stands at the Crystal Palace—was reproduced in that paper in all its horrid entirety, together with copious notes disclosing *The Daily Express* in a state of bustling horror that contends comically with acute satisfaction at the magnitude of the "scop."

The "document" itself is as satisfactory as anything a writer of sensational fiction could have devised. Suffragettes are thrillingly referred to by number; they belong to "delicious" touch; "Militant Corps 23," and even the now rather well-worn "Polly"—the name by which a policeman said he had once heard one Suffragette address another—does duty yet again. Incidentally, the paper on which the "document" is printed differs from several particulars from any used by the W.S.P.U.

HOLLOWAY PATROLS.

lest the authorities should attempt to hurry Mrs. Pankhurst out of prison when they dare no longer keep her for fear of her death, and leave her, as they did Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, unattended and alone, numbers of women picketers are keeping watch, day and night, outside the walls of Holloway Prison. There is no lack of volunteers for this sentry duty, which is performed smartly and systematically, the women marching up and down bearing flags in the purple, white and green of the Union, and relieving each other at regular intervals.

On a police-officer attempting to drive one of them away, she returned the concise answer: "As long as the Queen is inside, her subjects will patrol outside."

On Sunday evening, in consequence of the formation of a crowd outside the prison, and the refusal of two of the picketers, Miss Macaulay and Miss Edwards to go away, they were arrested for obstruction. Police evidence to this effect was given next day.

Mr. Marshall maintained that the defendants were within their rights, and that they were not the cause of the crowd assembling, but the magistrate did not agree.

Miss Macaulay and Miss Edwards decided to be bound over, and were fined £5, or in default 21 days. They refused to pay the fine, and were sent to prison. After spending about half an hour in their cells, they were informed that the fines had been paid, and released.

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"AFTERWARDS."

By I. A. R. WYLIE.

The sentence has been passed, the last word of contempt and indignation has been hurled across the empty dock at the angry, impotent, red-coated figure far beyond. We have stood outside Holloway gates and have caught a last glimpse of that dearly loved, most honoured woman; we have given her our last message to carry with her into her physical loneliness. We have shouted "God bless you!" and with those words have uttered the truest prayers, the most solemn promises—"We for whom you suffer will be worthy of you." Then the gates clanged to and we were left outside.

And so the most pitiable, most contemptible, and most sublime farce is played out to the first act. The Law has played its part; Justice has only once spoken—through a woman—and a faint wavering echo has come back to her. "Strong recommendation to mercy!" Now it is over. We each must go our own way. What remains to us? It seems to me—a very wonderful, strange thing—I do not suppose one woman has gone home to-night really sad. Sorrow is a thing of regret, of dejection, and no woman can feel that to-night. We have witnessed something noble, awe-inspiring in its magnitude, nothing for which we need feel sorrow. We have seen a frail, delicate woman pit herself against the whole ruthless, stupid, brutal machine of the Law, against the conventions and powers of a whole Nation—and conquer. We have seen the victory of the Spirit over Force, and the vision has left us purified. That is, at least, the feeling that I personally have carried home with me, and I believe it is the feeling of us all.

In these days of crass materialism, when the machine is valued higher than the inventor, the inventor higher than his Creator, it is good for us to be brought to realise that the real strength in this world is after all Spiritual, that we still carry within us that latent power which gave Jacob in his day the means to wrestle with God himself and to prevail. In these days of artificial and conventional morality, when Law replaces Justice and the Church God, it is good for us to realise that beneath all there remains unchanged a fundamental morality and Justice, for whose sake Humanity can still bring forth its saints and martyrs. That has been proved to us to-day. It is that which has sent us home with proud faces and a song in our hearts. It is something which our enemies can as little understand as the old Pagans understood the Christians' happiness and peace in the bitterest adversity. We have seen arise up in our midst a pure, selfless sacrifice to the great Ideal of Humanity. Generations have passed since men laid down all that life offers for this Ideal. And now it has been left to a woman to remind us that the old spirit is not dead. That is why, consciously or unconsciously, we are so proud to-night. Our whole sex has been lifted up. We, who for years have been isolated individuals, members of a scattered, disunited sex, have now been welded into one strong whole, with a high example set before us which has revealed to us the possibilities that lie within ourselves.

All this is no mere sentimentality, but a sentiment which, lying at the bottom of our Movement, makes us individually and as a whole invincible and invulnerable. We have won this day a victory greater, perhaps, than that of our political enfranchisement. We are now morally enfranchised. A woman has said—"You cannot rule me against my will," and with those words has unshackled herself and us from the galling conventions and fallacies which have bound our sex for generations. We are now free—outlawed as yet—but at least free to fight for our final emancipation. This is her gift to us. May she know, in the midst of her suffering, that we shall cherish that gift dearer than our lives, that we will prove worthy of it. May she feel that she has confirmed this day her royal place in our hearts and in the hearts of those who shall come after us. May this be her crown and reward!

And now I will dare speak personally, because I believe that I am but voicing the sentiments of all—I am proud to live in the same generation with this woman, proud that I speak the same tongue and that I am of the same sex. I shall endeavour to be worthy of my privilege. And whatever adversity may come to me hereafter, this day will make it bearable and Life worth the living.

We have been given a new Song—a new Inspiration. It is for us to make for ourselves and for the Race a new world.

Plays Ancient and Modern.

In the present day, when subtlety and mental efficiency are sternly required of you for the smallest action, and you are not even allowed to blow your nose except at the right psychological moment, it is a relief and refreshment to go to *The Great Adventure*, at the Kingsway Theatre, and spend an evening of delightful amusement which needs no soul-searching analysis. The actual act of laughing is without doubt one of the most healthy exercises for the nervous system; no one can laugh genuinely at will; people are overtaken by their sense of humour, which makes them laugh at inconvenient moments and at quite small incidents, without its being possible for them to give any reason for their conduct; because humour can no more be analysed than charm. Mr. Arnold Bennett certainly possesses his full share of this quality. The story of the shy artist who manages to get his servant buried as himself in Westminster Abbey, and retires under his servant's name to bliss and peace at Putney, with a pearl among women as his wife, is now too well known to need recounting. The charm of the play lies not only in its very great wit, but in the human element with which it abounds. Everybody, even those who are far from the top rung of the ladder, must have felt some time or other in their lives that it would be rather a blessing to be dead for an interval, so as to shirk tiresome duties, and have the possibility of beginning again. And so *I am Carve* evokes sympathy from start to finish. The fourth act was the only one which gave me a feeling that the fun of the piece was beginning to be spun out. Of course, the whole company played with consummate skill, and as for Miss Wish Wynne's performance, if it can't be described as genius, I don't know what can.

To jump from comedy to the deepest tragedy is a mental gymnastic of some magnitude, which makes it distinctly difficult to describe one's impressions of *Hamlet* in the same breath as *The Great Adventure*. Everybody who cares in the least about the theatre knows Mr. Forbes Robertson's arresting way of playing *Hamlet*, his strong personality and wonderful voice and dignity giving the impression of a great loneliness and, as Goethe says, "Shakespeare sought to depict a great deed laid upon a soul unequal to the performance of it." He also impresses you with his intellectual subtlety, which causes him partly to assume madness to serve his purpose. But with all the endless interest which was attached to this fine performance, one felt a very active regret that he had not got a better company to support him. Everyone, I suppose, said their lines more or less correctly, but in a meaningless way, and with no personality behind. The Queen seemed to me to be the most absolutely ungenue and dreary performance I have ever seen on the stage. The dulness (when Hamlet was not present) was the principal feature of some of the scenes, so that one could not help wishing that Hamlet's advice to the Players had been followed: "Be not too tame neither, but let your own discretion be your tutor."

And now I must end up these impressions with a short account of an old comedy in new clothing. I thoroughly enjoyed seeing *Diplomacy* again in a modern garb. The play of course strikes one now as totally unreal, and delightfully and childishly theatrical, but for all that it still retains a sort of grip. When I saw it acted twenty years ago the cast consisted of Sir John Hare, Mr. Forbes Robertson, Miss Kate Rorke, Sir Squire and Lady Bancroft, and Miss Elizabeth Robins. Comparisons, as we all know, are odious, and yet at times they are inevitable, for with the vivid recollection of that star performance twenty years ago it was impossible not to notice that the present generation fell short of their predecessors in the tragic moments, while on the other hand they played their comedy scenes with far greater lightness and conviction. Of course certain jokes were inserted which were considered to be up-to-date, and which certainly do not improve the modern edition of this play. But it is not a play that can be talked of seriously; it is sufficient to say that one is astonished that there is still so much life in it and power to amuse a very full house. The company were all very talented, and seemed to have an exceptional knowledge of foreign languages.

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THE "ARSENAL" CASE.

Miss Hockin Found Guilty.

FOUR MONTHS' IMPRISONMENT. IMPRESSIVE SPEECH FROM THE DOCK.

Before Mr. Justice Lush, at the Old Bailey, on Friday, April 4, Miss Olive Hockin, thirty-two, an artist, was convicted of complicity in the attempted outrage at Roehampton Club, and was sentenced to four months' imprisonment in the second division, in addition to paying half the costs of the prosecution. Defendant was indicted for having conspired to set fire to the croquet pavilion and furniture belonging to the Roehampton Club (Limited), Surrey; to damage plants and orchid houses at the Royal Botanic Gardens, at Kew; and to cut telegraph wires. Defendant was further charged with having placed a fluid in a letter-box in Ledbrooke-road.

Mr. Hockin and Mr. Travers Humphreys were for the prosecution, and Mr. R. D. Muir appeared for Miss Hockin, who pleaded not guilty. Accused is alleged to have allowed her studio at Campden-hill gardens to be used as an emporium for the appliances of the women's "warfare," and to have taken part by planning, affording hospitality, and providing materials for unlawful projects.

ROYAL ACADEMY EXHIBITOR. Mrs. Hall, wife of the caretaker of the buildings in which the defendant had her studio, was cross-examined by Mr. Muir. She said Miss Hockin spent many hours each day in painting, and had exhibited pictures at the Royal Academy. About Christmas she had many more lady visitors than usual.

Mr. Muir said it was now admitted by the prosecution that on February 26 Miss Hockin was nursing her mother all night.

Mr. Justice Lush: That is the Roehampton date, so she was not there, it is admitted, on that night.

Harry George Arnold, secretary of the Roehampton Club, said the pavilion was valued at £1,000 and the furniture at £200. Although even in my childhood I can remember thinking it "an almost incredible fact that women should not have the vote and support the State in the same way that men do, yet I did not realise that the question was of very much practical importance. All my life I have been an artist—not a portrait painter, as the newspapers have said, but simply a lover of beautiful things. My business in life seemed to me to be to see and think only of what was fair and beautiful, and to translate it as best I could into the language of colour and line, so that I might show other people what great beauty there was in the world, and through my pictures bring home to them some knowledge of the Divine Spirit that I myself feel so definitely conscious of, and of which all beautiful things are but the symbol and outward expression.

That lasted for a good many years, during which the world, as it is shown in current novels and plays, seemed to me an unreal thing that did not exist. Well, I suppose it was inevitable that some day the clamour outside should break into this dream-world of mine. One thing after another began to open my eyes and raise my suspicions, and, finally, at a great public meeting that was held in support of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill then before Parliament, I realised for the first time that I was living in a world where it was an acknowledged fact that thousands of women and girls were being forced to earn their living by selling their own bodies—by giving their bodies first, not even out of affection, but simply for pay. I realised then for the first time that this was a fact not only known and tolerated, but was even by some people considered so necessary a part of civilisation that the question of licensing houses where these unfortunate might be kept has been actually recommended.

I shall never forget my horror when I learnt that a prostitute was not an abnormal thing, occurring here and there in a generation, but that London alone keeps on her streets a number of girls in the last report of the Penal Reform League to be from forty to ninety thou-

studio to be used as a depot for the purpose of these unlawful agitators. I can't believe you would blame in your heart the man who did that. I shall ask you to say you are not satisfied by the evidence that it has been proved before you that the defendant did more than that. I shall ask my lord to direct you that if you are satisfied that that is all she did, although it is true that upon an indictment differently framed she might be charged and convicted of a general conspiracy, on these indictments, as they are framed, she is not guilty.

Mr. Justice Lush, in summing up, said the jury would not allow the fact that defendant was a woman to be taken into consideration, on these indictments, as they are framed, she is not guilty. Mr. Justice Lush, in summing up, said the jury would not allow the fact that defendant was a woman to be taken into consideration, on these indictments, as they are framed, she is not guilty.

After an absence of about twenty minutes the jury found the prisoner guilty of conspiracy to commit damage at Roehampton. On the other counts they found her not guilty.

Verbatim Report of Miss Hockin's Speech.

AN ARTIST CRUSADER.

"Of what use can it be to hang up pictures in a pig-sty?"

Although I am not guilty of the charges that are brought against me, I am not for one moment attempting to deny that I am a militant Suffragist. I have joined the women's movement, and am working in it heart and soul, because it is my most deeply-rooted conviction that the world would be fairer, that conditions of life would be better, not only for women and children, but for men as well, and that our boasted civilisation would be less of a mockery if women had more recognition and more power in public matters.

I feel that this is a very solemn place and a very solemn occasion, and one on which one may just speak the truth, without shame, so if you will listen for a moment I should like to tell you how I became a Suffragette. Although even in my childhood I can remember thinking it "an almost incredible fact that women should not have the vote and support the State in the same way that men do, yet I did not realise that the question was of very much practical importance. All my life I have been an artist—not a portrait painter, as the newspapers have said, but simply a lover of beautiful things. My business in life seemed to me to be to see and think only of what was fair and beautiful, and to translate it as best I could into the language of colour and line, so that I might show other people what great beauty there was in the world, and through my pictures bring home to them some knowledge of the Divine Spirit that I myself feel so definitely conscious of, and of which all beautiful things are but the symbol and outward expression.

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I shall never forget my horror when I learnt that a prostitute was not an abnormal thing, occurring here and there in a generation, but that London alone keeps on her streets a number of girls in the last report of the Penal Reform League to be from forty to ninety thou-

sand, and that it is estimated that of these some number between eight and eighteen thousand die every year from disease directly resulting from their way of life. Perhaps you are wondering what all this has got to do with the vote. But I must ask you to listen to a little more biography.

"I PUT DOWN MY PAINTS." From that moment I put down my paints and brushes. I knew that painting would never again take the first place in my life, as it had done up till then. "Of what possible use," I asked myself, "can it be to hang up pictures in a pig-sty? What is wanted is not works of art, but simply someone who can handle a pitchfork, and does not mind foul smells, and who will just go in and clean it out."

Well, I wanted to know what people were doing by way of cleaning out this pig-sty. I heard, among other things, of the National Vigilance Association, and I went up to see what they were doing, and to ask if my services could be of any use to them. I saw the secretary, Mr. Cecil, a man of great experience, who has done much international work trying to wake the public conscience to the necessity for dealing with the question of white slavery. I asked him many questions as to why—and why—and why—this and that were not done questions relating not only to the White Slave Traffic which (thanks to the women's movement) the Government has at last been forced to deal with, but chiefly to the question of prostitution as a whole, and other such things on which the calloousness and indifference of the Government and the public filled me with amazement. "Ah, yes," he said at last. "I quite agree with you that all this ought to be attended to. But you see men and women look on these things from different points of view. You will never get laws passed to deal with them," he told me plainly, "until women have equal political power with men."

A GREAT LIGHT. Well, that was another revelation to me, and a great light was thrown upon the whole Suffrage movement. "This," I thought to myself, "is what the Suffragettes are about. This is at the bottom of it, and this is why they are going to prison in their hundreds. This is why they have given up living comfortable, lady-like, sheltered lives, and have come out into the streets, are speaking at street corners, and unflinchingly facing hostile and jeering crowds, are breaking windows, and doing all the other things that are so deeply repugnant to a woman's sense of propriety."

From that day I decided to work for Woman Suffrage. And because I saw that it was the only organisation that put the woman's question before every other consideration whatever, and was not content simply to state the case and plead and wait, but was determined to push the question through, by force, if necessary, and because I saw that owing to the flippant and frivolous way the question has always been treated both by the public and the Government, some method of using force was absolutely necessary, I joined the Women's Social and Political Union, and became a militant Suffragette.

It is not that I think the possession of the vote will work miracles—it will not miraculously abolish the evil of sweating and white slavery and prostitution; but I cannot but see that it is the first necessary step towards the raising of the whole status and condition of women, by the sweeping away of the stupid and artificial sex-barriers that have been raised to keep women subject to the desires and caprices of men. And I hope that as long as I live I shall never give up working for this end.

Mr. Justice Lush: Under all the circumstances, I think I shall be justified in passing the lenient sentence of four months' imprisonment in the second division, and in ordering you to pay half the costs of the Prosecution. Prisoner: A court composed entirely of men has no moral right to convict and sentence a woman, and un il women have the power of voting I shall continue to defy the law, whether I am in prison or out of it.

Mr. Justice Lush: Then you will take a very foolish and wrong course. That is all I can say.

MISS IRVING SENTENCED

Six Months' Hard Labour.

A case that has aroused much comment and indignation is that of Miss Isabel Irving, who was indicted at the Old Bailey on April 4 for maliciously damaging three panes of glass, valued at £40, at the premises of the Ronco Company, Ltd., in Holborn, on March 14.

Defendant, in addressing the jury, said she had to inform a waitress at the police-station that she was a Suffragist because she was about to receive most disgraceful treatment. "I was ordered to strip," she said, in indignation, "and when I refused the matron told me she would call men in to do it."

The Recorder called Detective-sergeant Crocker, who said the defendant had simply been searched in the ordinary way. Defendant said she was wearing a dress named called, and a messenger was sent to Snow-hill station for her.

Inspector Buckett, of Snow-hill station, who was also sent for, said defendant was treated just like other female prisoners. It was not the custom to order a woman to be stripped when she was searched.

Mary Jane Fardell, matron of the Snow-hill station, denied that she had ordered defendant to strip or threatened to call men in to do it. Prisoner had refused to allow herself to be searched, and witness then said she would report the matter to the inspector.

The Recorder, in summing up, said he had done his best to investigate defendant's complaint, and there appeared to be no foundation for it.

The jury found the prisoner guilty, and she was sentenced to six months' hard labour.

Defendant: It makes no difference what you give. I shall not do it.

MR. HARBEN AT THE LONDON PAVILION.

An Answer to the Government.

In the course of a fine speech at the London Pavilion on Monday, Mr. Harben said: "The Government have just sent me to prison for six months' hard labour. Lord Robert Cecil says this is a dwindling movement, dwindling in numbers and in keenness. It is no use Lord Robert Cecil or anybody else blinding his eyes to it. In this country at the present moment, there are more women who are prepared to go to extreme lengths for that cause than ever before. As to the funds, they will hear something about them on April 10 at the Albert Hall, and it is up to you, it is up to all of us indeed, to make that collection at the Albert Hall on Thursday an answer to the Government."

At a later stage, referring to Mrs. Pankhurst's trial, Mr. Harben said: "Who are her enemies? Who are the people who put her in the dock? It is the Marconi Ministry. It is the men who have sold every rag of the principle that they ever possessed. The men who were elected in the name of freedom, and who have cast into prison for freedom's sake more men and women than any government in two generations."

What is, as a matter of fact, the accusation that was brought against Mrs. Pankhurst? The accusation was that she conspired to break the law. That she did, in fact, what every great reformer in the world's history has been driven to do. What Christ did. What Socrates did. What Cromwell did. What Garibaldi did. What all the people whose names are honoured in history have done. That was her offence. And the British public who are so indignant and so shocked at the breaking of the law, what and who are they? Why, they are breaking the law every day.

Do you remember an old story?—the story of another trial that took place a long time ago when the elders of the people, in order to bring about the downfall of one of their countrymen, went to the Roman Governor and complained that He had forbidden them to pay tribute to Cesar, and called Himself a King; and though they themselves hated the Roman ruler, though they themselves spent a great deal of their time plotting against Cesar, they said, "We know no king but Cesar."

That is the spirit that attacked Mrs. Pankhurst last week, and it has succeeded to exactly the same extent as it succeeded then; to exactly the same extent as all persecution can succeed; so far and no farther; keeps on her streets a number of girls in the last report of the Penal Reform League to be from forty to ninety thou-

INCREASE THE CIRCULATION!

Special "Suffragette" Week, April 24 to May 1.

SPECIAL SCHEMES—WHO WILL VOLUNTEER?

It is to THE SUFFRAGETTE that members of the W.S.P.U. look forward as the paper of the week.

That being a self-evident fact, needing no elaboration, it stands to reason that THE SUFFRAGETTE is the paper which must be made easily obtainable by every person who wants it, and—more important still!

—by every person who, without wanting it, needs it—needs the information, the education, the essential truth which it provides.

For such a paper as THE SUFFRAGETTE it is not sufficient that it should be obtainable in shops or on bookstalls. That may do well enough for the organs of an effete party press—organs dealing endlessly with subjects about which there is no real life—but new and living gospels must be taken out "into all the world," and preached "to every creature."

With this object in view, a paper-selling campaign, on a very much extended scale, has just been started, which will culminate in a special "SUFFRAGETTE" week, from April 24—May 1.

Unprecedented success is attending this scheme. Mrs. Dacre Fox and her helpers are concentrating on the various special functions which take place in and around London. The papers are watched each day, and wherever a gathering of people is to be found, there will be a special SUFFRAGETTE seller.

The following is a list of gatherings where special sellers have been sent—The Congress of Historical Studies, the Accesses' Franchise League, the Horticultural Flower Show, the Insurance Tax Resistance meeting at Caxton Hall, the King and Queen's visit to Woolwich, the Christian Science Church, the Church League's meeting on the White Slave Traffic; and papers have been sold out almost immediately.

At queues outside Drury-Lane Theatre one seller disposed of five dozen within an hour. Here an Anti gentleman bought up one dozen and distributed them amongst the crowd, with the result that the seller found her bag quickly cleared.

It is hoped as time goes on that this scheme will enlarge itself. Preparations are being made to have sellers at all the Society functions during the season. Such places as Ascot, Henley and the Derby will be visited and the details are under consideration.

SPECIAL SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR POSTERS.

Miss Birch, who is undertaking the poster side of the work, has had a splendid response to her appeal for subscriptions. It is hoped to get posters shown on every railway station in the kingdom, and efforts are at present being concentrated on London. When this has been done the scheme will extend to buses and so on, but readers will realise the enormous amount of work and sacrifice this will require.

Helpers are needed more than ever. Those who can give any time to this special scheme are asked to communicate with Mrs. Dacre Fox, and those who will pay for posters are urged to let her know at once. Sellers are wanted everywhere, so that wherever people go THE SUFFRAGETTE will be in evidence, and that no member of the public who wants to buy a paper shall be unable to do so.

This scheme is quite apart from the ordinary paper pitches which are kept going weekly. It is essential that our readers should understand this. The object of the whole thing is to extend the sale of the papers to all large gatherings of people.

The following extracts from the many letters received on the subject of THE SUFFRAGETTE, showing as they do, how much the paper is appreciated by readers, should encourage new sellers to come forward.

"LIGHT IN DARKNESS."

Miss Ellen Beck, in the course of a letter from herself and her sister, says:—"We can't be thankful enough for THE SUFFRAGETTE, situated as we are among the unbelievers. It seems on its arrival to bring 'light in darkness, comfort in despair.'"

"I wonder at it more and more. The amount of information it contains week by week, the moderation of its tone, and the extraordinary insight shown in the leading articles dealing with the political situation make it invaluable to us all. The very sight of it, coming

as it does with the morning tea on Fridays, makes us awake and alive at once."

A girl Suffragette at school in France writes to her mother as follows:—"I shall be awfully pleased to have another Suffragette paper. We are converting everybody here (except Miss X of course). I have a little crowd in my bedroom when the paper arrives, all standing round with their mouths open waiting for news."

Another letter, addressed from an isolated village, runs:—"I cannot do much, I am only a working-man's wife, but I intend taking THE SUFFRAGETTE. When I first made inquiries for a copy of the paper our local newsagent pretended to be found difficulty in getting it for me. I got it from seven miles away. I would not be beaten."

EVERY COPY SOLD OUT.

Miss J. C. Methven writes from the W.S.P.U. headquarters at Edinburgh:—"Every copy of THE SUFFRAGETTE in Edinburgh was sold out last week and we had to send to London for more. I went to the wholesale newsagents, but they had sent us every copy they had, and when I said, 'You will be getting it returns,' they answered, 'We have very few returns of THE SUFFRAGETTE.'"

"In a shop I went to I saw on the counter all the Suffrage papers except ours, and when I asked why they did not stock THE SUFFRAGETTE I was told: 'We do, but they are all sold out.' At the railway bookstalls it was the same. You can imagine how cheered we are."

The last extract that space permits comes from the Malay States:—"I am at present serving on the above vessel as a seaman, but having lived most of my life in Australia, New South Wales and Western Australia, I have seen the good results of women's enfranchisement. I buy the paper whenever I see it on sale in Liverpool, where I stay between voyages. In fact, I am so keen on the question of Women's Suffrage that I buy two or three copies and give them to friends."

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

In the House of Commons on Monday, April 7, Mr. Keir Hardie asked the Home Secretary whether he can state the total number of persons, distinguishing between men and women, who have been imprisoned since January 1, 1910, for offences connected with the movement for the enfranchisement of women; what number of these have refused to take food and have been forcibly fed; and the number who have had to be released for reasons of health connected with forcible feeding?

Mr. McKenna: The number of persons imprisoned for offences connected with the Suffragist agitation since January 1, 1910, is as follows:—

Table with 3 columns: Year, Females, Males. Rows for 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913.

These figures relate to persons received into prison on conviction and do not include cases received on remand or while awaiting trial. As I have already stated, on March 25, 1913, out of the 240 imprisoned in 1912, fifty-seven were forcibly fed, and of these twenty-three were released for reasons of health. Since the beginning of this year, out of the seventy imprisoned ten have been forcibly fed, and three of these have been released for reasons of health. Similar information with regard to the years 1910 and 1911 could not be furnished without a great expenditure of labour and time, and in some cases the particulars might not now be available.

Mr. Wedgwood, on Tuesday night, asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether Miss Emerson, who is serving a sentence of two months' imprisonment for breaking a window in an American cinema, had been forcibly fed; and, if so, what report do the doctors give of the present state of her health?

The Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Ellis Griffith): The answer to the first two questions is in the affirmative. The doctors report that the condition of her health is quite satisfactory.

Mr. Wedgwood: Is she being forcibly fed? Mr. Ellis Griffith: I have said that the answer to the first two questions is in the affirmative. The second question is whether she is being forcibly fed; therefore she is being forcibly fed.

Mr. Wedgwood: There are two forms of forcible feeding. Is she being forcibly fed and resisting, or is she being forcibly fed without resisting? Mr. Ellis Griffith: I am afraid I cannot differentiate.

CONSERVATIVE PARTY AND FORCIBLE FEEDING.

SUBSCRIPTION REFUSED.

The following letter has been sent to the Conservative agent for the Bridgewater division of Somerset by the Hon. H. B. T. Strangways, formerly Attorney-General and Premier of South Australia:—

"In reply to your letter of yesterday, asking for a renewal of my subscription to the Bridgewater Division Conservative and Unionist Association, I have to say that I shall not continue to contribute to the support of a political party that appears to support the, in my opinion, utterly unlawful action of the Government in cruelly torturing by forcible feeding in goal a large number of women. My view that forcible feeding of these women in goal is unlawful is now, it appears from the report in THE TIMES, to be admitted by Mr. McKenna, but it seems nevertheless to be approved by a large portion of the Conservative Party whose reasons for such approval I have not as yet seen in print."

WOMEN VOTERS AND BRITISH MILITANTS.

The following report has been received from a correspondent in New Zealand:—

On February 21, in the Hall of Commerce, Auckland, N.Z., Miss Margaret Hedge and Miss Newcomb addressed a large and enthusiastic assembly of men and women on "The Present Situation of the Suffrage Question in Great Britain." The New Zealand Press, in the World-Movement for Woman Suffrage, Miss Hedge explained the meaning of militant tactics, and did much to dispel the extraordinary false impression created by the cables to the Press. All the most important societies in Auckland, social and political, were represented, and the close of the meeting was followed by a resolution which was carried: "That the enfranchised citizens of Auckland, assembled in this meeting, desire to express their deepest sympathy with their sisters in Great Britain who are fighting for the vote."

MR. DICKINSON'S BILL.

The text of the Suffrage Bill, introduced by Mr. Dickinson on April 4 is as follows:—

"Be it enacted, etc. (1) Every woman who (a) if she were a man would be entitled to be registered as a Parliamentary elector in respect of a household qualification within the meaning of the Representation of the People Act, 1884, or (b) is the wife of a man entitled to be registered in respect of a household qualification, and has resided in the qualifying premises during the time requisite for law to treat a person as so registered, shall be entitled to be registered, and when registered to vote as a Parliamentary elector in the constituency by their own willful act, if the premises are situate; (2) a woman shall not be entitled to be registered unless she has attained the age of 25 years; (3) a woman shall not be disqualified by reason of marriage from being registered and voting; (4) this Act may be cited as the Representation of the People (Women) Act, 1913."

"SPOILT DARLINGS" OF THE LAW.

In view of the savage sentences regularly meted out to Suffragettes, it is significant to note the treatment accorded to the five men arrested after the suffragist meeting on Wimbledon Common on Sunday.

The only punishment—that imposed on a man who had struck a constable—was "a nominal fine of 10s." The four other men, charged with having called on the crowd to "rush the police," were bound over, the Chairman saying that the Bench wanted to make a strong protest. This was not, however, against the organised rowdism of the men, but the perfectly peaceful and constitutional meetings of the women.

The magistrates hoped that something would be done to prevent further meetings of this description.

MISS WARD'S DETENTION AT BOSTON.

Appeal Successful.

A communication has been received from Miss Florence Ward, written from Boston during the time of her enforced detention as an "undesirable alien."

Miss Ward, it will be remembered, was summoned to the United States to nurse a sick relative, but on her arrival was detained by the Immigration Service on the grounds that she, by having taken part in the window-breaking protest of last March, had committed a crime involving moral turpitude.

Miss Ward writes that very great indignation was expressed by Americans at this decision, and she had already appealed against it.

This appeal was successful, and in a short time Miss Ward was released and allowed to continue her journey.

BRITISH STATESMANSHIP A BYWORD.

Cable from Miss Goldstein.

The following special cablegram has been sent to THE SUFFRAGETTE by Miss Vida Goldstein:—

"Courage, comrades! Mrs. Pankhurst in prison is freer than the men of Great Britain who allow Cabinet to make British statesmanship a byword in other countries through not removing cause of social disorder."

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENTS.

PAPER-SELLING.

Members are reminded that it is absolutely essential that THE SUFFRAGETTE should be bought and read by everyone. In order that this may be accomplished, volunteers must come forward in increased numbers and give regular help on the London pitches. Will volunteers kindly communicate with Miss Rogers at Lincoln's Inn House?

POSTER PARADES.

Members are asked to bear in mind that these parades now take place twice weekly, one on Thursday afternoon at 2.30 p.m., and the other on Saturday morning at 10.30 a.m. More helpers are needed for this most useful work of advertising THE SUFFRAGETTE. Will all paraders please turn up at the Central Hall at the time named?

LONDON MEETINGS.

Mrs. Drummond, Miss Naylor, and others will address the meeting at the London Pavilion on Monday next, April 14, at 3.15 p.m. The meeting at the Essex Hall, Essex-street, Strand, on Thursday, April 17, at 8 p.m., will be addressed by Miss Rachel Barrett, B.Sc., Miss Barbara Wylie, and others.

THE HON. SECRETARY.

During Mrs. Tuke's absence abroad all communications should be addressed to Miss Kerr, Secretary (pro tem), W.S.P.U., Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

CHANGES OF ADDRESS.

Members of the W.S.P.U. are reminded that all changes of address should at once be notified to Miss Kerr, W.S.P.U., Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, otherwise much expense and extra work are entailed.

IMPORTANT DEMONSTRATION.

A great procession and demonstration to protest against forcible feeding is being arranged for to-morrow (Saturday) at 5.30 p.m. All local unions are especially urged to attend and to bring their black banners and flags. Further particulars are being announced at the Albert Hall meeting on Thursday, April 10.

FORCIBLE FEEDING TO BE RETAINED.

The other alternative of forcible feeding is one which, if I had the power to release without remitting the sentence, I should be most reluctant to adopt. In ordinary cases I should abandon the practice of forcible feeding. There are circumstances in which forcible feeding will still have to be resorted to. Take the case of a prisoner whose offence is of such a kind or whose determination to repeat the offence at every opportunity is so pronounced and declared that it is really unsafe in the sentence by law to treat a person as so registered, and I should have no alternative except to resort to forcible feeding. Take, as an illustration, the case of a murderer, who, after conviction and sentence, appeals, so that the sentence cannot be carried out quickly, and during the interval between sentence and the hearing of the appeal stays himself. What should I have to do? Unless I had the power to feed such a prisoner forcibly I should have to release him. One hon. Member says, "Let him die." But the prisoner still has the right of appeal. He may be innocent, and I have to consider that. It is all very well for those who have no responsibility to say, "Let him die," but I should have the responsibility of saying that a prisoner was to die who might be innocent. Although it is through his misconduct that he would die, still the misconduct would not be

it is most undesirable that prisoners convicted by due process of law and sentenced to prison for terms of one month, two months, six months, or a year or longer, should, at the expiration of a few days, say that the Bench wanted to make a strong protest. This was not, however, against the organised rowdism of the men, but the perfectly peaceful and constitutional meetings of the women.

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THE TRUE STORY OF MILDENHALL.

Mr. McCurdy: The object of this Bill is to restrict the liberty of the subject and to give the Secretary of State

THE "CAT AND MOUSE" BILL.

SECOND READING PASSED.

The Home Secretary Asks for Increased Powers to Deal with Women.

The second reading of the Prisoners (Temporary Discharge for Ill-Health) Bill took place on Wednesday, April 2, and is fully reported below.

Mr. McKenna (the Secretary of State for the Home Department): I rise for the purpose of moving the second reading of this Bill.

MR. MCKENNA.

I HAVE NOT THE NECESSARY POWERS.

We have to-day to deal with an unprecedented set of circumstances. Our former laws have found quite adequate in dealing with ordinary prisoners in the course of their imprisonment. But a new set of prisoners have come into prison who have taken up as a policy the practice of hunger striking. Publicity is the keynote of these propaganda, and as part of publicity the prisoners who have been sent to prison for committing various offences, such as window breaking, attempted arson, and other offences, have adopted the hunger strike in the hopes of eliciting the sympathy of the outside public. Alternately they shock us by the violence of their outrages and attempt to enlist our sympathy by the tales of their sufferings. I mention this perhaps only by the way in order to warn hon. Members against attaching too much credence to the accounts which are being given as to the terrible tortures which are endured in prison under the system of forcible feeding. But it is undeniably true that forcible feeding, whether for those who suffer or those who administer it, is a most objectionable practice.

The present fact that I desire in all these cases to exhibit is that the defence put forward by the women in these cases has never been reported in the Press of this country or in any other. I am able to verify it by a reference to THE TIMES newspaper. The Home Secretary's speech rests upon the whole basis of the fact that I desire to exhibit with ordinary criminals, or rather with worse than ordinary criminals. I am going to ask the House to be patient with me for a while, and to hear in my own language what was the defence of the women in each of these cases. I first take the case of Mrs. Leigh, who is a criminal, and to her I refer in my speech on August 6, 1912. Mrs. Leigh, in her speech, said:—

"The one thing that I want to bring forth is that we are not given, and I mean justice of our claim, a really constitutional way of bringing forth some of those points which we have to bring forward to the public, and through the public to their masters, and through their masters to the Government—the powers that be; and we have not been granted, in making our claim, the constitutional means which is within the grasp of every individual if he belongs to the male sex—it is even given to a criminal, and to a lunatic, and to a pauper, and to an alien if he becomes naturalised. But I, because I am born a woman, which is no fault of mine, and it is no credit to those who constitute the male sex to be born men, but because I am born a woman, that very fact, from my birth to my grave, if we have not won constitutional means, will be a stigma which I have to fight against, and that stigma has been upon the name of all women since they were disfranchised through a legal quibble. My lord, you said that motives were not taken into consideration, but nothing in this world can be done without motive. Your very presence here to-day has a motive behind it—that justice may be done. I want to say as quickly as possible, because I do not want to insult the intelligence of the jury, and I want to say that many people do not research upon these matters, but I do want to say that nearly half a century, fifty years—a long time—women have tried by every means in their power to win their way to get within the pale of the Constitution. And they have tried the usual form of petitions, education, propaganda, and all the means of peaceful means. They have tried by demonstrating, by holding immense meetings, and I might say to some of those people

power to extend the term of imprisonment imposed upon certain prisoners under his care by the judge who tried them for the offence for which they were sent to prison, and to do so upon any terms or conditions which he in his discretion may think fit, without reference to judge or jury. There is no limit whatever in the Bill to the number of times the Home Secretary may grant these so-called licences. Each of these licences is a fresh imprisonment, subject to conditions which have never been disclosed to Parliament or the country at large, but which are left to the discretion of the Home Secretary.

I would point out incidentally one very curious thing. Do not at present quite understand. I thought that this Bill was introduced for the purpose of dealing with woman prisoners, and that it was unnecessary for the right hon. gentleman to continue to practise forcible feeding in the case of these women. The right hon. gentleman says there is a class of case in which forcible feeding will still apply. His defence of this is that these prisoners are determined to repeat the offence unless they are given a licence. If that be so, it is perfectly idle to suggest to this House that this Bill is going to render it unnecessary to apply forcible feeding. Because there is no doubt whatever, if there are any women in this country to whom the right hon. gentleman's definition applies, and who are determined to repeat their offence on every possible occasion, it is this very class of women among the Suffragists. To hear something of the case for the women before deciding on a measure of this kind.

MRS. LEIGH'S DEFENCE.

I am going to lay before the House in the first place some information in regard to two or three of the most recent cases that have come before the country. The pertinent fact that I desire to exhibit in all these cases to exhibit is that the defence put forward by the women in these cases has never been reported in the Press of this country or in any other. I am able to verify it by a reference to THE TIMES newspaper. The Home Secretary's speech rests upon the whole basis of the fact that I desire to exhibit with ordinary criminals, or rather with worse than ordinary criminals. I am going to ask the House to be patient with me for a while, and to hear in my own language what was the defence of the women in each of these cases. I first take the case of Mrs. Leigh, who is a criminal, and to her I refer in my speech on August 6, 1912. Mrs. Leigh, in her speech, said:—

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Mr. McCurdy: The object of this Bill is to restrict the liberty of the subject and to give the Secretary of State

power to extend the term of imprisonment imposed upon certain prisoners under his care by the judge who tried them for the offence for which they were sent to prison, and to do so upon any terms or conditions which he in his discretion may think fit, without reference to judge or jury. There is no limit whatever in the Bill to the number of times the Home Secretary may grant these so-called licences. Each of these licences is a fresh imprisonment, subject to conditions which have never been disclosed to Parliament or the country at large, but which are left to the discretion of the Home Secretary.

I would point out incidentally one very curious thing. Do not at present quite understand. I thought that this Bill was introduced for the purpose of dealing with woman prisoners, and that it was unnecessary for the right hon. gentleman to continue to practise forcible feeding in the case of these women. The right hon. gentleman says there is a class of case in which forcible feeding will still apply. His defence of this is that these prisoners are determined to repeat the offence unless they are given a licence. If that be so, it is perfectly idle to suggest to this House that this Bill is going to render it unnecessary to apply forcible feeding. Because there is no doubt whatever, if there are any women in this country to whom the right hon. gentleman's definition applies, and who are determined to repeat their offence on every possible occasion, it is this very class of women among the Suffragists. To hear something of the case for the women before deciding on a measure of this kind.

MRS. LEIGH'S DEFENCE.

I am going to lay before the House in the first place some information in regard to two or three of the most recent cases that have come before the country. The pertinent fact that I desire to exhibit in all these cases to exhibit is that the defence put forward by the women in these cases has never been reported in the Press of this country or in any other. I am able to verify it by a reference to THE TIMES newspaper. The Home Secretary's speech rests upon the whole basis of the fact that I desire to exhibit with ordinary criminals, or rather with worse than ordinary criminals. I am going to ask the House to be patient with me for a while, and to hear in my own language what was the defence of the women in each of these cases. I first take the case of Mrs. Leigh, who is a criminal, and to her I refer in my speech on August 6, 1912. Mrs. Leigh, in her speech, said:—

"The one thing that I want to bring forth is that we are not given, and I mean justice of our claim, a really constitutional way of bringing forth some of those points which we have to bring forward to the public, and through the public to their masters, and through their masters to the Government—the powers that be; and we have not been granted, in making our claim, the constitutional means which is within the grasp of every individual if he belongs to the male sex—it is even given to a criminal, and to a lunatic, and to a pauper, and to an alien if he becomes naturalised. But I, because I am born a woman, which is no fault of mine, and it is no credit to those who constitute the male sex to be born men, but because I am born a woman, that very fact, from my birth to my grave, if we have not won constitutional means, will be a stigma which I have to fight against, and that stigma has been upon the name of all women since they were disfranchised through a legal quibble. My lord, you said that motives were not taken into consideration, but nothing in this world can be done without motive. Your very presence here to-day has a motive behind it—that justice may be done. I want to say as quickly as possible, because I do not want to insult the intelligence of the jury, and I want to say that many people do not research upon these matters, but I do want to say that nearly half a century, fifty years—a long time—women have tried by every means in their power to win their way to get within the pale of the Constitution. And they have tried the usual form of petitions, education, propaganda, and all the means of peaceful means. They have tried by demonstrating, by holding immense meetings, and I might say to some of those people

power to extend the term of imprisonment imposed upon certain prisoners under his care by the judge who tried them for the offence for which they were sent to prison, and to do so upon any terms or conditions which he in his discretion may think fit, without reference to judge or jury. There is no limit whatever in the Bill to the number of times the Home Secretary may grant these so-called licences. Each of these licences is a fresh imprisonment, subject to conditions which have never been disclosed to Parliament or the country at large, but which are left to the discretion of the Home Secretary.

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Edinburgh's collection for Albert Hall meeting has far surpassed expectations...

Glasgow.

The visit of Miss Kathleen Jarvis was greatly enjoyed. On Monday, March 31, she spoke at Milngavie...

Clerks' W.S.P.U.

Paper-sellers are urged to keep flag flying as vigorously as possible during next few weeks...

Speakers' Class.

Hon. Education Mistress, Miss Rosa Leo, 45, Ashworth Mansions, Elgin-avenue, W.;

REPORTS FROM OTHER SOCIETIES.

Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement.

Very successful meetings were held in Shepherd's Bush on Friday (speaker, Mr. Shephard's Bush) on Sunday...

The Church League for W.S.

Monday, April 14—Brighton and Hove Branch, lantern lecture, Institute, Livingstone-road...

Women Writers' Suffrage League.

The usual monthly meeting was held at Suffrage Club, 3, York-street, St. James's, on Wednesday, April 3, at 3.30 p.m.

Mackenzie acted as hostess. Dr. Stanton Goss and Miss M. I. Ingram spoke.

Irish League for Women's Suffrage.

Usual meeting will take place on Tuesday, April 15, 8 p.m. Speaker, Dr. Miller Maguire, M.A., LL.D.

Women's Tax Resistance League.

On Thursday, April 3, a members' meeting was held at the offices. Mrs. Colleen Sanderson presided...

The New Constitutional Society for W.S.

At the next office "At Home," on Tuesday, April 15, at 3 p.m., Mrs. Kingsley Tarpey will speak on "Flogging the Responsibility of Women."

The Catholic Women's Suffrage Society.

The office is now open, and it is hoped to arrange some meetings for April and May.

Irish Women's Franchise League.

The Suffrage campaign is being carried on with increased vigour. Meetings will be held in six new towns next week.

Men's Federation for W.S.

The Federation has this week mainly directed its energies to the upholding of the right of free speech...

Civil Service Woman Suffrage Society.

A largely-attended meeting was held in the Essex Hall, Strand, on April 2, Miss P. B. Mills, of the Savings Bank Department...

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BOOKS THAT SHOULD BE READ BY ALL READERS OF "THE SUFFRAGETTE"

Table listing books and their prices, including 'Articles of Faith in the Freedom of Women', 'For and Against', 'The Englishwoman's Year Book', etc.

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MISS ADELINA FERIAS' CONCERT, May 30, Reichstein Hall, 3 o'clock. Tickets, 7s. 6d., 5s. 6d., and 2s. 6d., to be obtained at the Hall. -Miss HAMILTON, 90 Park Mansions, Knightsbridge.

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