VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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FRIDAY, MARCH 29, 1912.

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BRER RABBIT NOT CAUGHT THIS TIME!



- "'Now, Brer Rabbit, which sauce would you like to be eaten with?' Brer Fox, he says.
- 'I don't mean to be eaten at all!' says Brer Rabbit, says she.
- 'Now, you're getting away from the point,' Brer Fox, says he."

CONTENTS



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

THE OUTLOOK.

It is a remarkable sign of the progress made in the last few years that nowadays, when the Government, owing to the exigencies of other business, take a day originally allotted to the discussion of Woman Suffrage, their first idea, and that of everybody else, is the provision of another day in its stead. This is indeed an innovation. Time was when to take the women's day was a favourite method of preventing debate on the Suffrage question. The Suffragists,

though their hearts were filled with bitterness and grief, used to submit to this as to a decree of fate itself. How things have changed!

The Conciliation Bill.

The second reading division on the Conciliation Bill takes place after we go to press. We therefore reserve further comment on the matter until next week, and content ourselves for the moment with saying that the result of the division, whether it be favourable or unfavourable to the Bill, will not in the slightest degree affect the agitation by the Women's Social and Political Union for the enactment of a Government measure for Woman Suffrage.

"Celestials."

News of the growing movement comes from all the world. In Rome the Parliamentary Commission has approved a Bill to give the franchise to all women of twenty-five possessing certain qualifications of education and property. Last week the first meeting for Women's Suffrage held in Vienna was a splendid success. In Bohemia the Czech women are demanding equal rights of citizenship. But the most remarkable news comes from Nankin. We have shown what a magnificent part Chinese women have all along taken in the present uprising for freedom.

TO LONDON READERS.

ROYAL ALBERT HALL MEETING,
Thursday, March 28, at 8 p.m.
Chair: Miss ANNIE KENNEY.
Speakers: Miss. ANNIE BESANT, Miss ELIZABETH ROBINS,
Miss EVELYN SHARP, Mr. ISKAEL ZANGWILL. Full Reports of Speeches next week.

They assisted in the very beginning of the movement, and some of them were executed in consequence. They then formed a battalion of "Amazons," and fought as regular soldiers, armed and in uniform, as we proved by a recent photograph on our front page. Now we read in a telegram from Nankin of March 99: March 22:

forced into reopening the unsuassistic question.

According to another message, the Nankin Assembly finally granted the suffrage to all Chinese women on the same terms as men.

11b. militancy there! And no talk

same terms as men.

Something like militancy there! And no talk about "setting back the clock." Yet these were the women who, till the other day, were encouraged to bind up their feet to the size of castors as the noblest of feminine distinctions. Is even China going to

Our Critics.

It will be exceedingly interesting to know what are the views upon Suffragist militancy in China held by those who, while sympathising with Sun Yat Sen and the recent Chinese Revolution, condemn the women's revolution here at home. Will they applaud the Chinese women's militancy because it occurs so far away as China, or will they condemn it because it is the militancy of women and not of men? One of the critics in question, Mr. Crawshay Williams (who in this matter seems to be quite Sir William Syles's right-hand man), has again publicly made the announcement that the militants are to receive crushing proof of the futility of their tactics. In the course of a letter to the Times he says: "I desire

to see the folly of the militant tactics so thoroughly | exposed and demonstrated that in future no one but a lunatic or a traitor to the cause of Woman Suffrage will sympathise with such futile rowdyism, support it will sympathise with such tutile rowdyism, support it financially, or remain a member of a society which practises it. . . ." This end Mr. Crawshay Williams proposes to achieve by voting against the second reading of the Conciliation Bill. Considering that the militants place not the smallest reliance on the passage of this or any unofficial measure, Mr. Crawshay Williams's little scheme is inept and feeble in the extreme. We would inform him once again that the the Considera Pill passage the second read. in the extreme. We would inform nim once again that whether the Conciliation Bill passes the second reading or not, the W.S.P.U. will pursue their undeviating course towards securing the passage of a Government measure. Mr. Crawshay Williams has unfortunately delayed the execution of his educational project a little too long. The way to have taught us that militancy is unnecessary was to carry a Woman Suffrage Bill in the days when militancy did not prevail. The neglect to do this pointed to the conclusion that peaceful methods do not avail to win this reform

Mr. Crawshay Williams is evidently hard hit by the charge of inconsistency which we bring against those who applaud the militancy of men and de-nounce that of women, because he says that "the comparison of these outrages (the women's protests) with the outbursts of deep, popular feeling in connection with the Corn Laws and the Reform Bill of 1832, is ridiculous, and could not be made anything but ridiculous by the wildest acts of the small and unrepresentative band who are to-day disgracing their cause." This, he thinks, settles the matter. Bu ly that the upholders of the Corn Laws and ti-Reformers of 1832 spoke of the revolts of the Anti-Reformers of 1832 spoke of the revoits of their day in precisely the same offensive and dis-respectful fashion as that affected by Mr. Crawshay Williams in speaking of the Suffragist protests. They would fiercely and contemptuously have ridiculed his use of the term "outbursts of deep, popular feeling." Time shows all things in their due proportion, and the "wildest acts" of the moment become the good deeds and the brave deeds noment become the good deeds and the brave deeds that irradiate human history. The Suffragettes need not despair when they reflect that Hampden himself was told by the judges that for his vindication of constitutional liberty he ought to be whipped!

Sir Edward Carson as Lawbreaker.

mong the Nationalists of Ireland lawful behavior is not, we understand, altogether the rule. Perhaps we shall shortly hear what punitive measures the Government intend to apply. It is with much interest that we notice the Government are in no way deterred by the lawless conduct of Home Rulers from pressing forward their measure of Home Rule. Under the heading, "Preparing for Home Rule," a leading Unionist newspaper published the statement that in Belfast the members of the Unionist Clubs and Orangemen are drilling in view of the possible passage of a Home Rule Bill. How is it that the passage of a Home Rule Bill. How is it that the Government permit these preparations for Civil War? It may be that in spite of their wish to prevent them they are for the moment stopped short by a wily device of Sir Edward Carson. For we learn that "acting on Sir Edward Carson's advice each man signs a declaration before a magistrate that their objects are recreation and physical training so as to keep themselves within the law." To have so cute a lawyer as Sir Edward Carson as leader of a

"Xere Bombast."

But though his followers may for the moment be within the law, it is impossible for the Government to deny that Sir Edward Carson's incitements to violence and Civil War are illegal. We live in hourly expectation of the issue of a warrant for the arrest of Sir Edward Carson and his friend and ally, Mr. F. E. Smith. It is true that the Government has pleaded that the inflammatory utterances of these two Privy Councillors are "rece herebeat." of these two Privy Councillors are "mere bombast," but that is a totally insufficient excuse for their neglect to bring them to book in a Court of Law. It was the "mere bombast" of Lord Randolph It was the "mere bombast" of Lord Randolph Churchill during the Home Rule struggle of the eighties that produced savage rioting and bloodshed in Ulster. How do the Government dare to assume that the "mere bombast" of Sir Edward Carson and Mr. F. E. Smith will not have the same result? It other people, including Suffragists, are to be held accountable for the probable effect of their words, so must these two gentlemen. It is a monstrous thing that they should be immune from criminal prosecution, while the leaders of the Women's Social and Political Union are put in the dock

Prejudged.

Referring to the trial of the "Syndicalists" for incitement to mutiny, the Nation of this week writes: Incidentally, the Attorney-General (in the House of Commons) rebuked the Recorder of London for an abusive reference to syndicalism in his charge to the grand jury at the Old Bailey. We confess (the Nation continues) that we regard such prosecutions with suspicion, espe-cially when, in a state of great public heat, members of one class are virtually tried by members of another.

The Recorder, in addressing the Grand Jury at the opening of the March Sessions at the Central Criminal Court yesterday, referred to the case of Ellen Pitfield, who is charged with attempting to set fire to the General Post Office, and said that the charge arose out of the misguided conduct of hysterical women in connection with the Votes for Women agitation, of which they had had very painful experience during the last few weeks. The antics of these women were scarcely consistent with sanity, but at the same time the law must be respected and the property of His Majesty's subjects must be protected.

hearing of any case unless male members of the public are excluded at the same time. He adds that any woman so excluded can bring the matter before the Court of Appeal, which is bound to consider her case at once, because it affects the liberty of the subject. This throws an interesting, though not to us a new, light upon the casual procedure of the police court; and we could wish that our correspondent had also been able to tell us that it is illegal for a magistrate to decide what case it is "decent" for a "respectable" woman to hear. Only the other day Mr. Ford-

What kind of rebuke has the Attorney-General What kind of rebuke has the Attorney-General administered to the Recorder for this shameless attempt to create prejudice in the case against an untried prisoner? May not we also say that we regard such attempts with suspicion, especially when, in a state of great public heat, members of one sex are actually tried by members of another?

"Contempt" Again.

We have before referred to the shameless Contempt of Court of which the Times was guilty in a leading article of March 6. Referring to the leaders of the Union by name on the morning following their arrest, the Times wrote :-

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

No Contempt of Court could be more flagrant than that; yet the Times almost equals it, from a legal point of view, when in a leading article of March 22 it writes as follows:— We reply that no distinction has ever yet been drawn between the militants and the W.S.P.U., which directs their actions and provides their funds.

And again:—
Such, as Mrs. Moberly. Bell has pointed out, appears to have been the case with ladies like Mrs. D. A. Thomas, who gave £157, Lady Meyer, who gave £11, and Lady Willoughby de Broke, who gave £08, 6d., and then signed a letter of sympathy to the tradesmen who had suffered at the hands of women sent out by the very union to whose funds these eminent ladies had contributed.

In both these passages (the italics are ours) it is evident that one of the main points at issue in law is openly assumed as established. This seems to be the sort of lawlessness and defiance of authority that our opponents favour. And again :-

our opponents favour.

Bail.

We further protest most seriously against the magistrate's repeated refusal of bail to Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. In cases of this kind, it is unjust to refuse bail unless there is a fear that the accused will fail to put in an appearance at the next day of proceedings. To suppose that Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence would escheat their bail is ridiculous. No prisoner in the movement has ever done such a thing, and no conceivable sum of money could be so strong a surety as the simple word of the leaders of the Union or of Mr. Lawrence himself. Three weeks' confinement in prison inevitably acts upon the mind and body. As Mr. Lawrence protested in Court, such treatment renders the accused less fit for their defence. Nevertheless, against all justice or reason, the application was curtly refused on Tuesday and the application on Wednesday.

A Warning Disregarded.

There is just now a great outcry from men because they believe that there has been arbitrary and unfair dealing in connection with the Syndicalist prosecu-tions. Women charged with political offences have been making a similar complaint for the last five or six years, but with little effect. No doubt the men who ought to have insisted upon absolute and scrupulous fairness in connection with all political prosecutions, whatever the sex of those concerned, are now regretting that for their own protection they did not intervene in the interest of the Suffragettes. We warned them that unless they did so, the authorities would behave in similar fashion to men political offenders, but they paid no heed to that warning. Now they are beginning to realise that they have given too much rope to the Government, who will use it to hang them.

Not a Very Small Fraction.

The Times will not hear of the Women's Social and Political Union being described as "a very small fraction" of the Suffrage Movement. In proof of fraction of the Sulrage Movement. In proof of the Union's importance it points to the large list of subscribers who in 1910 numbered 5,000, and in 1911 numbered 6,000. "Five, six, or seven thousand," says the *Times*, "is not a very small fraction." Seven thousand is the number of subscribers which it estimates will appear in the report for the present year. The issue of that report will naturally be delayed for a time in consequence of the seizure by the authorities of the officials of the Women's Social and Political Union, but we are in a position fully to confirm the Times's anticipation of increased strength financial and otherwise. strength, financial and otherwise.

Can Women be Excluded from Police Courts?

We have received an interesting communication from a solicitor, which we deal with more fully else-where, pointing out that a magistrate has no real We turn to the Times of March 20, and we read: right to exclude women from a police court during the

been able to tell us that it is illegal for a magistrate to decide what case it is "decent" for a "respectable" woman to hear. Only the other day Mr. Fordham ordered a lady to leave his court, in spite of her serious protest, because he was about to hear a charge against "women of a certain class." The whole spirit of the militant movement is against this maintenance of false standards and false definitions, and it is time nate sisters to face men accusers and judges from the dock without the support of a single member of their own sex. Let us have done with sentimental hypocrisy!

"Oh, Where, and Oh, Where?"

"Oh, Where, and Oh, Where?"

We are happy to be able to inform our readers that Miss Christabel Pankhurst continues to urge her wild career. Towards the end of last week she was sighted in America; we think in Massachusetts, but it may have been Brazil. On Sunday it became known that she had taken to the water in the more homely locality of Margate. Special detectives have been sent to the strike districts, and last Monday they crowded the last row of the stalls and the Press box at the Pavilion meeting, looking as unconscious of their special training in detection as ever detectives can. The domestic servants of members of the Union are becoming tired of hearing painfully disguised and heavily-built gentlemen inquiring whether anyone of the name of Pankhurst is staying there. "The answer is in the negative," they wearily reply, for the movement, is making us all Ministerial. But for openhearted simplicity even detectives are beaten by a young man of an illustrated halfpenny newspaper, who wrote confidingly to a suffragette:—
You will see by my card that I am a newspaper man has it environs the knew if Win

You will see by my card that I am a newspaper man who is anxious to know if you happen to know if Miss Christabel Pankhurst is staying at your house, or in this neighbourhood. My Editor wired me stating she is in the county, and I have been through it all, but find no trace of her up to now.

And up to now he has no trace of her either! It is most extraordinary.



A POLICE COURT IMPRESSION.

By Frederick Ryan.

One day recently I happened to pay a visit to
a West End Police Court. It was the day the
"raid" had occurred in the early morning, and
windows were broken in Oxford Circus, Regent
Sirect, and elsewhere. Two of those who had taken
the in it ware absomble before the relief. part in it were brought before the magistrate. To spend a morning in a City Police Court is to get a lasting and frightful sense of the injustice, the disorder, the futility of much of our present civilisation. You see a stream of unhappy people pass through the dock, victims most of them, of some congenital malady or defect, or products of the bad environment with which society has surrounded them. You see police constables giving evidence which, whether true or false, is certain to be believed, for there is no one to contradict it. And even if there were any one to contradict, the chances are that, unless he were very well-to-do and a person of social standing, he would not be believed. I heard the magistrate, for instance, solemnly ask a youth accused of begging, on whose person twopence-halfpenny had been found, whether he had any witnesses to call! It is all intensely depressing, hopelessly bewildering. One understands the mood in which Mr. Galsworthy

MARCH 29, 1912.

After a number of such cases, however, there came the two Suffrage prisoners. They entered the dock, and at once we were in a new atmosphere. The thing most notable was that the prisoners towered, morally and spiritually, over everyone in the Court. They made the poor magistrate look small, they dwarfed made the poor magistrate look small, they dwarted the pert little clerk. There was no escaping this impression. Moral stature is as clear and unmistakable as physical stature. Do what he would the magistrate could not work up a pose of moral indignation or superiority towards the prisoners, and after a little time he frankly gave up the attempt. All the futile nonsense in the newspapers or the insulting cartoons like that of Punch, in which is the contract of the contract o insulting cartoons like that of *Punch*, in which Suffragettes are drawn as hysterical hooligans, all were shrivelled in a moment. There was nothing hysterical, nothing undignified here. On the contrary, the most striking feature in the whole episode was the great dignity of the prisoners. They indulged in neither bravado nor whining. They neither boasted nor appealed for mercy. They had done what they did out of a belief that it advanced their cause, and they were perfectly prepared to suffer the penalty. All the pleasures of vindictiveness—and despite all the reforms some of those pleasures still taint our prison methods—all those pleasures disappear when the victim accepts the punishment as a privilege and an honour.

pleasures disappear when the victim accepts the punishment as a privilege and an honour.

Had the women in this instance chosen to plead on mere technicalities they might have found it not very difficult to escape. The thing had occurred very early in the morning, no constable had actually seen them break the windows, the civilian witnesses might asily have been shaken by a skilled cross-examine But the prisoners stood on no such defence. They admitted the charge. They didn't want to avoid prison, they were quite prepared to go there. It was a Tolstoyan situation, and had all the force of the

together, whatever one might think of the tactics Altogether, whatever one might think of the tactics of the recent raid, or its immediate political reactions, one could not come away from such a scene without feeling its immense moral significance. It is here that the real importance of all this militancy lies. It is not the violence that is important, it is the moral facts that the violence reveals. The violence, as a matter of truth, is trifling; the damage to property is comparatively very small. On the other hand the impulse that leads hundreds of women voluntarily to go to prison is a very great and very

THE SENTENCED SUFFRAGISTS.

Up to the moment of going to press, one hundred and fifty-six women have been sentenced in connection with the recent suffragist disturbances. Of these, one hundred and seven were dealt till number? In the police courts and are now? In Holoway? Is dood, twenty-two being sentenced to one months and the sentenced to one months and the sentenced to one months. Seven more who received shorter sentences, were released last weeks, among them being Mrs. Tuke, who, having served her convicted term of three weeks, is now out on bail to answer a graver charge. Of those in Holloway, eighty-three have been given hard labour, sentences, an carried the sentences and Up to the moment of going to press, one hundred and fifty-six women have been sentenced in connection with

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

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

The W.S.P.U. Offices, 4, Clement's Inn, will be closed for the Easter Holidays from Thursday, April 4, at 1.30 p.m., until Wednesday, April 10, at 10 a.m.

Prisoners' Secretary.

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

Take This Opportunity.

Those of our readers who heard the magnificent speech made by Mrs. Morgan Dockrell at the Opera House on March 7 will be glad to know that she will speak at the London Pavilion, Piccadilly Circus, W., on Monday next, April 1, at 3.15 p.m. Mr. Baillie Weaver will speak on the esoteric meaning of the Women's Movement. Mrs. Massey and Miss Evelyn Sharp will also speak. This will be the last Monday afternoon meeting before the Easter Holidays. Meetings will be resumed on Monday, April 15. There will be no meeting at the Steinway Hall next Thursday.

SAVING UP FOR THE ALBERT HALL.

she here that the real importance of all this militancy lies. It is not the violence hat is important, it is the moral facts that the violence reveals. The violence, as a matter of truth, is trifling; the damage to property is comparatively very small. On the other hand the impulse that leads hundreds of women voluntarily to go to prison is a very great and very impressive thing. As usual, the newspapers invert the importance of the facts. They see the smashed windows, but the moral and spiritual realities escape through the broken glass. A couple of thousand pounds' worth of smashed window-panes seems to them a more serious consideration than a couple of hundred disinterested and devoted women in gad, with a couple of thousand ready to follow them there. In this article I do not wish to discuss whether the recent militant action was wise or unwise from a political point of view. I merely set out to record the impression made upon me by one police-court trial of Suffrage prisoners. And I left the Court wondering what reports these magistrates carry to the Home Office when they go to receive instructions or concert measures for dealing with these cases. It would be interesting to know how many of them frankly tell the Home Office authorities the facts as they see them. No doubt magistrates are not very enlightened men, or likely to be very wise men in such matters. Their training and their daily occupation probably induce the notion that the sores of society are to be cured by pounding and beating them. Theirs not to reason why, theirs but to punish and pass by. I have often thought that a

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PEN PORTRAITS

MRS. PANKHURST. By the Rev. Hugh B. Chapman,

Chaplain of the Royal Chapel of the Savoy.

To write a monograph on a living person who is ther in prison or on a throne is no easy matter, but when the subject, to the mind of the writer, morally occupies the latter place through literal presence in the former, the difficulty is enhanced. The danger which accrues is in the direction either of fear or flattery, both of which should be rigorously avoided. I wish, therefore, to state my simple impressions of the Founder of the W.S.P.U. so far as I am able, after an acquaintance of some two years standing with Mrs. Pankhurst in her public capacity

I may be pardoned at the outset in observing that I earnestly wish such a character had been better understood by the Church as a whole, for, when I hear on all sides the absence of men from places of worship being deplored, I am filled with grave fears leat the studied silence or contempt of the majority of the clergy regarding this Movement should result milar complaints on the score of the other sex. out entering into the field of politics from which I am barred, I would respectfully urge that, unless the Church takes her place in the van of progress instead of resisting the laws of evolution, which are surely nothing less than divine, she will find herself in a parlous condition. Many thinkers, who are none the less pious on that account, hold that if she is not to disappear she will have completely to change her attitude, or to be re-formed almost beyond recognition, though I do not doubt that, after the event, she will be the first to patronise a force with which at present she is altogether out of harmony. Be that as it may, though saddened by the reflection, history prevents me being surprised, and I refer to it merely as an example of the fact that we constantly kill our prophets and afterwards erect their sepulchres.

Mrs. Pankhurst has been for me, from the first time I met her, the prophetess of a new and better time, and has voiced the English expression of that wave of Feminism which is rising throughout the world, and promises to sweep away many of the temptations and abuses incidental to sex relation ships. Compared to the glory of this advance, the question of the Vote would appear almost a detail, save as an opportunity for its furtherance, but no one can understand the magical influence of this frail woman until he realises that she incarnates the passionate desire of the best of her sisters to break these bonds and be free. Not their domestic bonds, in the sense in which her enemies would infer, for her deepest yearning may be said to be the salva-tion and restoration of the home, but those bonds on the moral plane, whether women be the slaves or the enslavers, for the abolition of which I fancy she deems it a trifle to undergo the penalty of a gaol. It is within the strict truth to say that Mrs. Pankhurst is out for purity, and is pitilessly opposed to the accepted theory of the harem and all that goes with it, either as a public institution or a personal inclining. Small marvel, then, if she finds arrayed against her the terrific force of the flesh, none the less deadly for specious terms or refined disguise.

The second strong conviction which she has left with me is her intentness, amounting to an enthusiasm, on the mental development of women. I imagine that Mrs. Pankhurst would regard sin and stupidity as closely allied, her whole atmosphere suggesting that to look on the body as woman's main, and, in many cases, almost sole asset, is a disgrace and a danger to the community, let alone to the individual. Let those who pity her pause to ask themselves how far they have contributed to this gospel which she has so bravely preached up and down the country asselled the transfer of the country as a let the second the second the second that the country as a let the second the second that the country as a let the second the second that t gospel which she has so bravely preached up and down the country, namely, that women as well as men should learn to think, that they have brains of their own, and that the day is coming when, as sentient beings, they shall acquire an entirely new dignity and independence. This is why the prisoner at Holloway can afford to smile when she remembers that there are thousands of girls, even in this early stage of the Movement, who can trace to her a growth in self respect, an enlargement of their borrier, and in self-respect, an enlargement of their horizon, and a great eagerness for knowledge which shall make them not only better citizens, but better wives, better mothers, better friends, and, as I would humbly add, far better Christians. She spells for me a hope such as I never had before that through the example of her as a liever had before that through the example of her sacrifice women shall become helps more meet for man than conventional dolls, being filled with the longing to share his existence in every particular, in place of merely pleasing him, bringing him an unearned fortune, or satisfying his desires. Again, it is not astonishing that Mrs. Pankhurst has evoked a fierce heatility on the next of the sacrification. hostility on the part of those who prefer the old régime, though in this instance I am surprised that men and women of all parties who can see the enormous advantage to the State of this virtual revolution. should not, in spite of any disagreements however grave as to methods, or even accusations of lawlessness, bless these pioneers of such a mighty good.

Pankhurst's personality has been the democratic ideal which she, more than any person I can recall, has brought home to me. She has, as it were, turned as earchlight on her own sex, dispelling every social difference and those falsitudes in which romance delighted, exceeding even the province of poetry, but which were wholly inconsistent with fact. She has made us feel for the first time that every woman is sacred, and therefore equal, that to the State, at all events, the duchess should be on a par with the washer woman and that event expenters calls for an expense. washerwoman, and that sweet seventeen calls for no greater reverence than old age clothed in rags. She has girded against discrepancies which for women are even more plentiful and fuller of pain than those existing among men. She has made her world understand that the great mass of women are not made to be butterflies or jewelled favourites, but that they have to work, to drudge, to suffer, and often

Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, née Goulden, was born in Manchester on the anniversary of the storming of the Bastille, her father being a great Radical politician, and ther grandfather hard program arrowly escaped with his life at the great Franchise Raots at Peterloo in 1819. She was educated in Paris, and there met the daughter of Henri Rochefort and became an ardent Republican. In 1879 she met Dr. Pankhurst, who had been a member of the first Woman Suffrage Society, founded by John Stuart Mill, and was married to him in the same year. A little later she was placed on the Executive Committee of the only existing Woman Suffrage Society, and was also on the Committee for pushing the Married Woman's Property Bill, which was originally drafted by Dr. Pankhurst and herself, and subsequently became law. In 1833 she assisted her husband as Independent Radical candidate for Rotherhithe. In 1896 Mrs. Pankhurst came to London, joined the Fabian Society and the Holborn Women's Liberal Association. She remained a Liberal until 1892, when she joined the Independent Labour Party, and returned to Manchester. In the same year she stood as the Independent Labour candidate for the Manchester School Board, and was first of the defeated candidates. The following year she was elected head of the poll for the Poor Law Guardians for Manchester, and served in that capacity for five years. In 1899, on the death of her husband, she was appointed Registrar of births and deaths, and the following year was elected as Trades Council nominee of the School Board, twice served on the National Administrative Council of the Independent Labour Party, and is immensely popular in the Union. In 1903, together with her daughter Christabel, she formed the Women's Social and Political Union, was arrested on February 13, 1908, for heading a deputation of thirteen women to the House of Commons and served a term of six weeks' imprisonment, but was released a few weeks before the expiration of her sentence. Mrs. Pankhurst has taken part in nearly every by-elec

OUR CHRISTABEL. By Yoshio Markino

(The Well-known Japanese Artist, and Author of "My Idealed John Bullesses").

Where is Christabel? Everybody (friend and enemy both) is asking, and I, too, have that question secretly, though anxiously, in my heart. For Miss Christabel Pankhurst is my very esteemed personal friend. Perhaps she is potentialising her energy at the present moment, but surely she will come out when she feels it necessary.

The last, and perhaps most striking effect of Mrs. At the meantime, let me write my impression upon

At the meantime, let me write my impression upon her quite frankly.

"Now, you see!" someone shouted to me, almost losing his own head. "I suppose you have given up Christabel by this time. Are you not repenting your friendship with her now?" What an absurd argument it was! I am not a weathercock as some M.P.'s are! Perhaps I am thinking of her more seriously, than ever. than ever.

than ever.

About her motive. It is almost needless to repeat my opinion now. I thoroughly agree with her. When I was writing my last book, "My Idealed John Bullesses," eight months ago, I have prophesied what would happen if the reaping of the harvest were neglected. For John Bullesses are quite ripe. It was not a surprising thing for me, therefore, to observe the late incident of the Militant Suffragettes. I am grieving rather than to get angry.

Alas! about the policy of Miss Christabel Pankhurst, I have been only looking upon it as a sadly, unavoidable result, the cause of which was far more brutal—I mean that brutal suppression by the Anti-

they have to work, to drudge, to suffer, and often enough to starve, if they are to preserve their honour. She has boldly maintained that apart from necessity itself, women, as men, can never reach their true maturity unless through labour of some kind, whether mental or physical, they can with head erect give a 500d account of themselves before they pass. This is what Mrs. Pankhurst has done, and as a result it is not to be wondered at if the indolent and worldly affect to hate her, though I am absolutely certain that there is not a single woman among them who does not, in her heart of hearts, feel a profound respect, and even admiration, for her daring in the cause of truth.

Such is my retrospect of the figure which I have respect, and even admiration, for her daring in the cause of truth.

Such is my retrospect of the figure which I have barely outlined, and the strangest part of it all is that the source of these impressions is a most womanly woman, a fragile, tender-hearted, patient person, who, whether rightly or wrongly, is at present behind the bars, though she being in prison yet could do! But when she fixes her focus upon us, she can be the strangest water than the surface our opinions! But as a personal friend, she has shown me enough her generosial that the source of these impressions is a most talent, so shall I never forget her! To-day, when she is downcasting else, she is far away and quite third person. Her lively ware directly second negron. womanly woman, a fragile, tender-hearted, patient person, who, whether rightly or wrongly, is at present behind the bars, though she being in prison yet speaketh with a voice which, if I am not mistaken, will long survive as a bugle call to the liberators of bright eyes, and her happy and sweet smiles en-

ourage everyone.

It was just a few days before last Christmas. I felt rather depressed. I met with her at a luncheon party. "What! you feel depressed? Come to see me—see how we are working! You shall soon feel more energetic!" Indeed, whenever I see her, I feel she is a whip for my lazy bones! And when she makes traced hefore a leave public she makes traced hefore a leave public she makes traced. a whip for my lazy bones! And when she makes speech before a large public, she makes every one of them as her very second person. I have written my imprecsion on her speech at the Vagabond dinner in my last book (see the Suffragette chapter). At the table I vhispered to my John Bulless friend, "If a judge had Christabel's ability, the criminals would make confession quite soon!" And my friend



One of Mr. Markino's Memory Sketches of Miss Christabel Pankhurst. By kind permission of Messrs Constable.

nodded her head. She is one of the most wonderful nodded her head. She is one of the most wonderful John Bullesses I have ever met. I am much flattered to be befriended by her. Friendship is always friendship. If my friend does something nice, I fee perfectly happy; if she does something wrong (in my own opinion), I grieve myself; but all the same our friendship is growing more and more every day in the same proportion of our age. And I am heartily wishing our Christabel shall put her foot on the direct road to her real destination—The Equality of Men and Women!

Miss Christabel Pankhurst, LLB, is the eldest daughter of Mrs. Pankhurst. Until the age of thirteen she was educated at home. She then went to the Manchester High School, and at sixteen she was sent to a school at Switzerland. Her father died when she was seventeen; she was then obliged

LEADERS & EDITORS.

as deputy registrar of births and deaths. She became a member of the Independent Labour Party, and began work for Woman Suffrage when she was about eighteen by sending resolutions to the Conference and assisting in getting them carried. In 1901 she was made a member of the Encutive Committee of the North of England Society for Women's Suffrage, and was also on the Committee of the Women's Manchester Trade Union Council. In October, 1903, she formed the Women's Social and Political Union together with her mother, and carried woman suffrage resolutions on Trades Councils all over the country. The following year she applied to be admitted as a student at Lancoln's Inn, of which her father was a member. On being refused, she spoke at the Union Society of London (the well-known legal debating society) on the question of the admission of women to the Bar, and carried the Society with her when it came to votang. She continued her law studies at Owen's College, Victoria University, Manchester, and in 1905 obtained a prize for international law. In October of the same year she initiated the present militant tactics of the W.S.P.U. by protesting against the persistent refusal of Sir Edward Grey (whom it was thought exceedingly probable would be in the Liberal Cabinet which was about to be formed) to answer a question on Woman Suffrage, and as a consequence of her protest was sent, together with Miss Annie Kenney, to prison. The following year she obtained her LLB. degree, obtaining honours, and being placed at the head of the list with one man. Since that date the story of her life has been one with that of the union of which she is the organising secretary. She has since been arrested—once in February, 1907, when she served a term of a fortnight's imprisonment, and once in October, 1908, together with her Rohncellor of the Exchequer, and her masterly examination of these won the admiration of foes and friends alike. She was sentenced to ten weeks' imprisonment.

MARCH 29, 1912.

MRS. TUKE.

By Miss Beatrice Harraden.

The other day, at Bow Street Police Court, when The other day, at Bow Street Poice Court, when I saw Mrs. Tuke in the dock, my thoughts wandered back to the evening, six years ago now, when I first made her acquaintance, together with that of Mrs. Pankhurst, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Christabel and Sylvia Pankhurst, Annie Kenney, and others. I had been invited by Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence to come and dine with them, and hear the state of details direct from them about the meaning of, and motives for, the new agitation on behalf of the enfranchisement of women. I remember how reluc-tantly I left my study fireside that night, for it was a bitterly cold evening; but something impelled me to go, and when I got there, I knew what that something was: it was the response to an imperious summoning, never to be disregarded, never to be silenced until the cause is won and the long-delayed work of equal justice for women and men brought to

work of equal justice for women and their blought to a successful ending.

Mrs. Tuke, I remember well, seemed to me as some frail and lovely flower, born for fostering conditions and favouring circumstance; and when she sat down to the piano and touched the keys in that tender and intimate way only possible to one dowered with the true musician's heart and spirit, I knew her to have true musician's neart and spirit, takew her of have the artist's nature and temperament, and to belong by birthright to that world of dreams and imaginings, where the strife of politics is heard only dimly or else unheeded. Yet there she was, one of that gallant band of reformers bent on tasks and deeds of daring and determination, and it was to me of great chological interest to count her amongst them. psychological interest to could ner amongst them. She foreshadowed by her presence, that night, the coming into the Women's Social and Political Union, one by one, of that large and fair company of finely wrought women of the artist's fibre, who, as time has gone on, have been able to put their natural. inclinations for peace and serenity on one side, in response to the storm call which she did not hesitate to answer at once. To me, therefore, she has always stood, and will always stand out in this movement, as their particular representative, sharing their characteristics of quiet, though insistent courage, and their special form of whole-hearted sacrifice, And as I think of her, and use the word sacrifice, King Lear's words come to my remembrance:—

"Upon such sacrifices, my Cordelia, The gods themselves throw incense."

It is impossible to over-estimate Mrs. Tuke's contribution of service to the growth and development of the Women's Social and Political Union, equally in the early and difficult days of its career and in all in the early and difficult days of its career and in all the subsequent years of intermingled stress and strain and comparative screnity. In the early days, as many of us well remember, the meetings were of exceedingly small proportion, and women came, not in their scores and hundreds, but one by one, shyly, tentatively, some in doubt, some in scorn, some in curiosity, some in hope, to enquire for themselves into the nature of this new and surprising force which had suddenly made itself felt in the Suffrage world—yes, and in the outside world at last. Mrs. Tuke's personal charm, unconscious fact, kind ways. strain and comparative serenity. In the early days, as many of us well remember, the meetings were of exceedingly small proportion, and women came, not in their scores and hundreds, but one by one, shyly, tentatively, some in doubt, some in scorn, some in curiosity, some in hope, to enquire for themselves into the nature of this new and surprising force which had suddenly made itself felt in the Suffrage world—yes, and in the outside world at last. Mrs. Tuke's personal charm, unconscious tact, kind ways, and gentle bearing reassured and delighted the new comers, who were thus, from the outset, placed in sympathy with their surroundings, and all the more

others: until the small room changed by magic into a large room, and then into a hall, and then into a still larger hall, and so on until it became the Albert Hall itself.

Thus the weeks have worn into months, and the months into years. Mrs. Tuke, always and ever of fragile health, but unfailing devotion, has worked or the welfare of the Women's Social and Political Union unceasingly by pen and personality, and spread her charm over hundreds of its members, even and symbolic. as in the old days she spread it over the few.

As a girl in her father's house and after her marriage, Mrs. Tuke led the life of millions of other women—a life which, from her present point of view, is a selfish one. Her passion was music, and with her husband she used to paint for several hours a day. Although she had always followed the women's movement with great interest, it was not until she met Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence on her return voyage from South Africa and again in London that her interest became something more than an academic one. Since that time all her thought and energies have been given to the burning question of the day—the enfranchisement of women.

MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE. By Mrs. J. E. M. Brailsford.

Wise people are careful to remind us that in the span of the world's life some revolts have failed. Revolts that have failed have commonly been led either by individuals who had hardly come into contact with life, but who emerged vaguely and vainly from nowhere to lead a movement tending no-whither, or otherwise by those who came, already forlorn, from futile experiences, already worn, tired, and sick of life. The strength of the movement which is expressed by the activities of the Women's Social and Political Union lies in this-that it has been initiated, fostered, vitalised, and led by women of rich experience, who have had at all times a hold on affairs that

was practical and living.

In my mind as I write I have the personality, the face, and the force of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence has to me an existence apart from the Suffrage movement. I knew her in days before 'militancy' had been thought of; knew her as a woman of intense vitality, poetic magnetism, and ungrudging power of work. She seemed to me then, as she does now, the very figure of enthusiastic energy. She was the founder of the Espérance Club for working girls, the organiser of a co-operative dressmaking company; she started a girls' holiday hostel, and, not least of all, added to the gaiety of nations by her work in reviving old English folkdances and songs. From such activities she has not turned aside; but in common with every sincere and keen worker amongst women, she has found that "the longest way round is the shortest way home," and longest way round is the shortest way home, and that to carry through reforms in the interests of women and girls the one essential (if only to save time) is that women should have political power. And to gain this end she has devoted the power and resource of that wonderful eloquence of hers which can rouse the stoniest audience into enthusiasm, and

can rouse the stomest annehee into enhanciasm, and draw from every suffragist the utmost tribute of work and unstinted sacrifice.

Mrs. Lawrence is a practical idealist. She knows that in this world of one-sided politics the enemies of women are the materialists of the age, and her strength lies in her power of combining the material with the spiritual. As writer and speaker she shows with the spiritual. As writer and speaker she shows a fine generosity in passing over the more sordid side of life; as honorary treasurer of the W.S.P.U. she is an idealised financial genius. There is no financial conception too wide or too fine for her brain; there is no detail too trivial to command her attention. She is at one and the same time the alert man of she is at one and the same time the alert man of usiness and the woman of the kindly heart. Her sympathy knows not any limit; her love of heauty, of flowers, of all gracious things, is part of the background from which her fighting strength comes, just as a sense of religion, rare in this country, enables her to be at once sensitively conscious of the pain and misery of many lives, and yet to maintain that infections optimism and tolerance which are so inspiring and illuminating to those who are privileged to come within reach of her personality. In brief, she is the sort of woman a Liberal Government thinks well to

willingly remained to hear and heed the splendid rallying call of the militant leaders. Forth they went, then, to bear the message to others, and yet to poor children. As treasurer of the Women's's Political Union, she has raised during the past a fund of over £115,000. Mrs. Lawrence was first London members of the W.S.P.U. to go in 1906, and has since served two terms of imp

MR. F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE. By Miss Mary Neal.

The first occasion upon which I met Mr. Lawrence remains a vivid picture in my memory, and in view

I was waiting in the Common Room of the Mansfield House Settlement when Mr. Lawrence came in, and, without any introduction, we began to talk about economics and about the question of women's wages. I suppose he knew who I was and that that was one of my special interests, for I remember he told me about his recently completed book on "Local Variations in Wages." Before long we were interrupted by news that there was some hitch in the arrangements for giving tea to a party of working girls whom Miss Pethick (Mrs. Pethick Lawrence) and I had brought to give an entertainment at the Settlement, and at once Mr. Lawrence dropped academic talk and was here, there, and everywhere, commandeering bread and butter and cake, and sending messengers for extra supplies, so that before long a happy and well-fed band of girls was dancing and singing for the amusement of the working folks attached to the Settlement. It so happened that Mr. Lawrence and Miss Pethick were on the stage, one drawing aside the curtain on one side, and one on the other. This was the first time they met, and this drawing aside of a curtain on a joyful group of girls was the first work they did together.

A little more than a year after, Miss Pethick and

Mr. Lawrence were married at Canning Town in the presence of a wide circle of friends, and I think everyone present felt that the vows then made were not only pledges of personal devotion and loyalty but symbols of a pledge which for ever should bind them to each other and to the needs of humanity in whatever form that pledge should afterwards call for

That those vows have been royally fulfilled no one who knows of the joint work done by Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence or the Votes for Women cause alone can doubt; those with whom they are more intimate know that the capacity to see clearly, the strength to act strongly and consistently, has been won by a complete and selfless devotion to each call, as it came, to a harder and more strenuous task.

He has travelled much, and after leaving Cambridge went round the world. He was also a resident at the Mansfield House University Settlement, and for some time the Treasurer. In 1901 he obtained a controlling interest in the *Echo* newspaper, and edited it from 1902 to 1905. When it ceased he paid the staff and the creditors in full out of his own

To the children who year by year are the guests of Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence at the lovely cottage built especially for them at Holmwood, he is a veritable fairy godfather, and his appearance at the gate and the chance this offers of a walk and a game in the woods brings shouts of joy. The dancing feet of tiny mites are soon accompanying him on a Saturday afternoon expedition, perhaps to a magic well in the wood, one wash in which is firmly believed by the

children to make you beautiful for ever. And at Littlehampton, where there is a holiday hotel for working girls, for which we are largely in debted to Mr. Lawrence's generosity, he is to be seen every summer, on at least one day, making the most wonderful maze on the sands and offering a prize to the girl who is first able to discover the way out. Every reader of Votes for Women is confident that Mr. Pethick Lawrence will be equally successful in finding a way out of the legal maze in which the Government is now trying to entangle him.

THE CONSPIRACY CHARGE.

Further Hearing at Bow Street.-Witnesses for the Prosecution.-Mrs. Tuke Released on Bail.

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A SOCIAL DISEASE.

Destitution, Sidney and Beatrice Webb state, must in no way be confounded with poverty. Anyone may be poor and yet be a decent self-respecting member of society in any class. Not so with the victims of destitution. These latter are not only without the necessaries of life, so that health, strength, and vitality are imperilled, but, more fatal still, they exist in a state and amidst surroundings that inevitably entail a condition of mental, moral, and spiritual degradation that causes them to be a veritable canker at the heart of the nation. Destitution is, in fact, "a disease of society."

The extent to which our country to-day is suffering from this disease is seldom realised "The United Kingdom contains, at all times, between three and four millions of persons who are ... demonstrably suffering in body and mind, in physique and in character, from a lack of the necessaries of life."

The authors claim that in their book, "The Pre-

DELIGHTFUL STORIES.

DELIGHTFUL STORIES.

Anti-Suffragists and Suffragettes alike must agree in one thing, that they welcome a book by Miss Evelyn Sharp. No one can resist her humour, and in this latest volume from her pen they will find it in abundant measure. But lest some "Anti" who may be taking in Votes for Women as a Lenten penance should be led by the title to think that the whole book is concerned with the Victories of Olivia, the and should regretfully decide that such a theme is too unwomanly for a follower of Mrs. Humphrey Ward to pursue, let us hasten to say that Olivia's victories, delightful as they are, only occupy about one-sixth of the book, which is really a collection of stories. We must, however, find room for a fragment of dialogue between the mother and son concerning the new governess, Miss Dakin (Olivia):

"I think there is something odd about her," says the mother, uneasily.

"Odd?" queried her son. "She is unpleasantly modern, and—and far too free in her manner, and not quiet enough for my taste. But I should not have called her odd. On the contrary, I am afraid she is a type that is becoming distressingly common."

"Didn't you think it rather odd that she should know enough freek to be able to help you with your proofs that day when they had to go off in such a hurry?" asked his mother.

That will show yon how little Olivia knew her place, and you may be able to forecast her victories for any of the place, and you may be able to forecast her victories for any of the place, and you may be able to forecast her victories for any of the place, and you may be able to forecast her victories for any of the place, and you may be able to forecast her victories for a first place of the place of the place, and you may be able to forecast her victories for a first place of the place of t

and you may be able to forecast her victories for yourself.

Then there is "Peggy and the Engineer Man." After reading it we were consumed, and are still consumed, with an intense longing to know if, among the bundles of papers carried off by the detectives in the taxi—or was it two taxis?—on the night of the raid, there was possibly a copy of Miss Sharp's book. There might easily have been. Each of the leaders might have bought one, and, at the risk of giving another "clue" to Scotland Yard, we may say that Christabel might have been earrying one in her bag when she left Clement's Inn. Now, if the Government officials who are in charge of the case are reading the book, can we not imagine the anxious thought with which they will study "Peggy and the Engineer Man"? For it deals with trap doors and secret passages, which terminate in hollow oak trees, and which commence in desolate marshes. And are there not trees in Clement's Inn, and is not Westminster built on marshes? We say no more. We have helped Scotland Yard quite enough.

We have no space to mention separately the other sketches in this most delightful book. We must, how-

• "The Prevention of Destitution." By Beatrice Webb.

Longmans Green and Co.
"† The Victories of Olivia." By Evelyn Sharp, Macmillan. 6s.

The createst to which our country to-day is suffering from this disease is seldom realised. "The United Kingdom contains, at all times, between three and four millions of persons who are... demonstrably suffering in body and mind, in physique and in character, from a lack of the necessaries of life."

The authors claim that in their book, "The Prention of Destitution," they set forth a constructive policy by the adoption of which the nation could, in a very few years, get rid of the great bulk of involuntary destitution. They classify the various causes of destitution. They always the various causes of destitution and the prention of the present of the present of the present insurance still is epically storage and adverse. We commend it to Mr. Lloyd George's consideration.

The suggestion of balancing the fluctuations in the labour market by withholding all possible Government contracts at good times of trade, and giving them out whenever trade is slack, is another it me Cabinet Ministers would do well to ponder.

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The suggestion of balancing the fluctuations in the labour market by withholding all possible Government contracts at good times of trade, and giving them

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THE DRAMA OF LOYALTY.

Every Suffragette should do her utmost to see the beautiful performance of "Iphigenia" now being given at the Kingsway every Tuesday and Friday

It is a Suffragette drama, like every play of Euripides. No other poet has shown so deep a compassion for women, has sympathised so intimately with their aspect of life, or realised so well the irony of their hopes and disillusions. In the "Iphigenia" we are not overwhelmed by the sorrow as in the "Trojan Women," nor by the rage of womanhood as in the "Medea," nor by the farce of man's chivalry as in the "Alcestis," nor by inspired revolt as in the "Bacchae." The scene is more gentle, and of all the Greek dramas this almost alone may be said to have a happy ending, unless the return of Alcestis

the "Bacchae." The scene is more gentle, and of all the Greek dramas this almost alone may be said to have a happy ending, unless the return of Alcestis from the peace of death to renewed life with a typical husband can be called happy.

At the present moment the production of "Iphigenia." is particularly opportune. The high-hearted and sensitive Greek girl is living in loneliness among a savage horde of barbarians, who practise human sacrifice on principle, and remain blind to their own degradation, though capable of certain primitive virtues. The drama turns on the wit and courage with which she delivers from these hideous surroundings not only herself, but her shipwrecked brother with his friend, on the point of being offered up in sacrifice to custom. She even drives a ray of enlightenment into the dark mind of the barbaric king, and wins from him the release of the captive women who had served her.

But fine and unsentimental as is the whole conception of her character (she can hate and lie with a persistence far from "womanly"), it is the story of her flight and her appeal to the other women not to betray her that makes the drama specially appropriate now. She goes from each to each of the Greek prisoners who are with her, touching the hand of one, the cheek of another, the knees of a third, and calling on them by their common womanhood to be true. "Are we not women, you and I, A broken race, to one another true,

true. "Are we not women," she says:—

Are we not women, you and I,

A broken race, to one another true,

And strong in our shared secrets? Help me through

This strait; keep hid the secret of our flight,

And share our peril

Not in vain is the appeal. Though the prisoners

expect nothing but to be left to rot their lives away

in the gaol of that bloodstained land, their answer

comes at once:—

Be of good heart, sweet mistress. Only go

To happiness. No child of man shall know

From us thy secret. Hear me, Zeus on high!

So the great neet twenty-three centuries are de-

From us my secret. Hear me, Zeus on night So the great poet twenty-three centuries ago described the drama of woman's loyality played upon that cruel coast of the Euxine, far from Greece. And the journalists of Fleet Street call such loyalty "fanatical" when it is found in Suffragettes again to-day. Very well, then; let them call it so. Euripides was a better writer than most Fleet Street

journalists.

A Greek drama has seldom been more beautifully performed than this at the Kingsway. All the company is excellent, and whoever would know Miss Lillah McCarthy's power at its best should see her in this part.

H. W. N.

A NEW WOMAN PLAYWRIGHT.

"Rutherford and Son," by Miss K. G. Sowerby, was produced at the Little Theatre last week. It is a play that is intensely interesting and extraordi-

was produced at the Little Theatre last week. It is a play that is intensely interesting and extraordinarily arresting. The action "goes" with a completeness of construction and an almost uncanny insight into the psychological development of the character that is astounding in a first play.

The character of the old father, grim, implacable, wrapped up in business, gloritying "Rutherfords" and sacrificing everything to it, was admirably acted by Mr. Norman McKinnel. He showed the stern business man, just, without being merciful, with no thought beyond the business and its ultimate passing on from one generation to another in unbroken line. The two weak sons were made weaker than ever by the overpowering personality of their father, the foreman hypnotised by the power and grasp of the head of the firm, and the maiden aunt brought up in the family tradition and glorying in it.

The two younger women are the rebels made strong by love—the daughter by her secret passion for the foreman, which brings her, through shame and disgrace, to an ultimate realisation of the meaning of true freedom, and the daughter-in-law, who conquers in the end by her love for her baby son.

The whole action passes in the hideous unhomelike parlour of this North Country family, and it is acted throughout with such simplicity, naturalness, and real truth that one felt sometimes as if one had no right to be looking on at a scene so intimate.

All the acting was so good that it is difficult to particularise. Miss Edyth Olive, as the daughter, was, however, so extraordinarily true in her reading of the character that even when she was doing nothing one felt the force of her personality.

The play should have a long run, for it is seldom indeed that we have a play where the tragedy and comedy of life are intermingled so humanely and so naturally.

"THE NEXT RELIGION."

The production of Mr. Israel Zangwill's banned play, "The Next Religion," to be given by the New Players at the London Pavilion on April 18 and 19, is causing immense interest in all circles, and those lesiring to become members of this enterprising society should apply to the Hon. Sec., 19, Over Strand Mansions, Battersea Park, S.W.





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VOTES FOR WOMEN

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FRIDAY, MARCH 29, 1912.

INCITEMENT.

It is all very well to upbraid the militant Suffragists and to condemn their methods, but as a matter of fact it is the politicians who are to-day, as they have always been in the past, directly responsible for inciting both men and women in search of the Vote to the use of militant methods. Militancy has, where every extension of the franchise is concerned, been the only thing which both supporters and opponents of franchise reform have concurred in epting as evidence of a popular demand for such orm. The politicians have always in irresponsible ashion played with the great force of popular adignation, and then have been surprised at the sault. We will give one or two illustrations of this. It was, of course, not until there was riotous conduct to was, of course, not until there was rotons conduct in the part of the populace that the opponents of the Reform Bill of 1832 gave way. Everybody admits hat. Now, for some time prior to the extension of he franchise in 1867 the country was in a most peaceful state. In Spencer Walpole's "History of Twenty-ive Years" we read that "there was no doubt that he converge of rotate had covered for the country was a second to the country of the hve Years" we read that "there was no doubt that the opponents of reform had grounds for believing that they had secured more than an ephemeral victory. The Bill of the Government had excited none of the determination which had strengthened the hands of the Whig Ministry of 1832. Bill after Bill had been introduced, and Bill after Bill had been either defeated or withdrawn, and the people had made no sign of either disappointment or disappointment or disappointment or disappointment. had made no sign of either disappointment or dis-content." While the opponents of Franchise Reform were jubilant at the calmness of the public, and made great capital out of it, supporters of such Reform were proportionately depressed, and we find, in reading the Parliamentary debates of the sixties, that speaker after speaker is at great pains to answer the taunts of the anti-reformers; to explain away this calmness, and to urge that to anticipate turbulence and revolution and to legislate before they arise is the truly statesmanlike course. The Hyde Park railings episode, startling in itself, and as an indication of what might occur thereafter, silenced the gibes of anti-reformers, and gave a final impetus to the Electoral Reform Bill.

We come now to a more modern instance of the support which the politicing actits discords because in the support of the suppor

nanner in which the politicians excite disorder by couring scorn upon peaceful methods and demand-ing from the disfranchised a sterner testimony to their sire for freedom. The last extension of the Parliamentary franchise was made in 1884. What was the favourite argument against the Reform Bill of that day? That the men to whom the Bill applied did day? That the men to whom the Bill applied did not want the Vote. And how was that charge of indifference supported? By the assertion that there existed no turbulence and disorder. A study of the statements of the politicians of that day on the subject of methods is well worth while. Lord Randolph Churchill, who was the most active in resistance to the Reform Bill, said publicly that in connection with previous Reform Bills there had been intense political excitement all over the country, that there had been "considerable disturbances and dangerous riofs." and that "to have refused to that there had been "considerable disturbances and dangerous riots," and that "to have refused to enlarge the electoral rolls at these times would have brought about a revolution." He then proceeded to argue that because there were "no disturbances" and "no riots" in 1884, this was proof that the existing electoral arrangements "do not excite any very general or deep dissatisfaction." And he further

If I saw the agricultural labourers in a great state of excitement over this question; if I saw them holding mass meetings; collecting together from all parts, neglecting their work, contributing from their scarty funds, marching on London, tearing down the railings of Hyde Park, engaging the police and even the military, I should say to myself these men have great and bitter grievances which have not been represented by Parliament or have been neglected by Parliament. They know that if they

had the franchise those grievances would no longer be neglected, that they would be represented and remedied, and they have made up their minds to have the vote. The fact that they have made up their minds to have the vote shows pretty well that they will know how to use the vote, and that if we wish for peace, order and stability in the realm of Britain we had better give them the vote. And on those grounds, and on those grounds alone, would I consent to equalise the political position of the agricultural labourer and the town artisan, and to destroy a wise inequality which has been created by Nature and reiterated from time to time in our history by custom, precedent and law.

dent and law.

These words are strangely like those of Mr. Hobnuse, to which we shall again refer in a moment. Lord Randolph Churchill's challenge did not pass unnoticed, and was soon followed by the famous Aston Riots, a description of which, in the vivid language of Lord Randolph's son, appears on another page.

In consequence, Lord Randolph Churchill moved a vote of censure upon Mr. Chamberlain, in which he asked the House of Commons to declare that it regretted to find in the speeches and actions of one of Her Majesty's Ministers, holding the high office of President of the Board of Trade, an ineltement to interfere with the freedom of political discussion to interfere with the freedom of political discussion and a justification of riot and disorder." This charge against Mr. Chamberlain was supported by quota-tions from that Minister's decidedly militant orations. He laid especial stress upon the following words of Mr. Chamberlain:

Mr. Chamberlain: —

The opinion of the streets has had a mighty force in our political history. It has shaken monarchs on their thrones. (A voice: "And knocked them off.") (Laughter.) It has overturned Ministers. (Hear, hear.) In 1832; it carried a Reform Bill in the teeth of the House of Lorde—(a voice: "And will again")—more powerful than that with which we have to deal, after a conflict which had brought the country almost to the verge of revolution. We read that at that time there were 100,000 men in Birmingham and the surrounding districts who were sworn to march on London, if need were, in defence of their liberties. (Cries of, "We will again if required.") The peace was broken in many parts of the country, and there were at Derby, Nottingham, and Bristol ferce outbreaks of popular passion, accompanied by a great destruction of property. We had loped that we had left these days of disorder far behind. But there are still evil counsellors—(cheers)—provoking and slandering the people—(cheers)—who are straining their privileges to the utmost, and who obstinately resist the extension of the popular liberties. Let them take heed. If we are commencing this great conflict with temper and moderation, it would be a mistake to suppose that we are less earnest or resolute than our forefathers.

These gentlemen presume on your love of order and hatred of violence. Unless this generation has lest other qualities which have made the name of Englishmen respected throughout the world, they will show a courage and resolution, a love of liberty and hatred of injustice, which will sweep away those puny obstacles which now for a time are barring the advancing tide.

Mr. Chamberlain defended himself with cha-

for a time are barring the advancing tide.

Mr. Chamberlain defended himself with characteristic vigour, said (as militant Suffragists have said of Mr. Hobhouse and other Ministers who have gibed at the moderation of their campaign) that the real sedition mongers were Lord Randolph Churchill and his friends. He even went so far as to name Lord Salisbury in this connection.

Lord Salisbury in this connection.

It was on this occasion that Mr. Gladstone made his famous speech on methods, but before he came to a statement of first principles he, like Mr. Chamberlain, carried the war into the enemy's camp. He quoted Lord Salisbury as saying, "I only hope that if Mr. Chamberlain incites the people to riot he will head the riot himself. I only hope that if he is going, according to his threat, to march to London from Birmingham, we may see him at the head of the advancing column. My experience is that those who will have to receive him will be able to give a good account of him, and that Mr. Chamberlain will return from the adventure with a broken head if nothing from the adventure with a broken head if nothing more." Mr. Gladstone asked: since his colleague's more. Mr. Gladstone asked: since his colleague's actions were being made the subject of criticism, whether the words he had quoted were "wise language, prudent language, tolerable language, when used by a man in the position of the Marquess of Salisbury."

The one most memorable passage in Gladstone's speech was his impassioned declaration that "if no instructions had ever been issued in political crises to the people of this country except to remember to hate violence, to love order and to exercise patience, the liberties of this country would never have been

And now we come to the most calculated and wicked incitement to violence that any responsible man, and more especially any Minister of the Crown, has ever uttered. Mr. Hobhouse, who besides being a Cabinet Minister, is one of the leaders of the Anti-Suffrage movement, has deliberately and publicly expressed his contempt for all peaceful and constitutional agitation for women's enfranchisement, and has denied that a demand for this reform exists. hecause, as he expresses it, there has been no popular sentimental uprising such as accounted for the burning of Nottingham Castle and the destruction of Hyde Park railings. Politicians who hold this view, and there is nothing to prove that the Prime Minister himself does not share it, are not fit for public office, and are a danger to society. How disgraceful it is that women should be told that peaceful demands will not be listened to! What wonder that all good citizens, whether men or women, are determined to end or mend the present Government—to compel them to carry a Woman Suffrage Rills are thrust them to carry a Woman

THE HOME OFFICE AND THE HOME.

By Evelyn Sharp.

The sparkle suddenly died out of her eyes.

"I'm not playing," she said.

I am really rather sorry for John. He is a life-long Liberal, a brother to a Suffragette, and a con-armed Suffragist forced-to-reconsider-his-positionfirmed Suffragist forced-to-reconsider-his-position-owing-to-recent-regrettable, &c. No man who is all these things at once can fail to be an object of pity to the charitable in spirit. The situation would be simplified instantly, of course, if he were to quarrel with Phyllis Then he could be more lifelong and liberal and confirmed than ever, and all would be well. The great obstacle to family harmony is not, however, its quarrels—which rarely occur outside sensational fiction—but its avoidance of quarrels. John and Phyllis have been avoiding a quarrel ever since she became a militant Suffragist five years ago. Before that, she was just a confirmed Suffragist, like John (neither of them knew it, by the way, till Phyllis became a militant), so there was nothing to quarrel about.

MARCH 29, 1912.

Still, they have always avoided quarrelling rather more successfully than most people who live together because they happen to be more like friends than relatives usually are; and John has that peculiar kind of bigness in him that enables him to go on kind of bigness in him that enables him to go on being friends with a person, whatever happens. Phyllis has it, too; but in her it is tempered by a raging, remorseless sense of humour that would render any woman a totally unfit companion for a lifelong Liberal and confirmed Suffragist. On the whole, I feel John is a claimant for sympathy; or, rather, I used to feel all this until the episode of the

rather, I used to feel an this thril the episode of the Home Office occurred to clear the air almost as effectually as a quarrel would have done.

It began at breakfast time, when John was performing his daily feat of diving at his boots and lacing them up in the intervals of snatching mouthfuls of bacon and eggs—like the seals at the Zoo, Phyllis always says, only that the seals get their mouthfuls when they dive and not on their return to the surface. John had just dived again with his mouthful when Phyllis threw down the newspaper

Is it because man's place is the Home Office that "Is it because man's place is the Home Unice that he can't give a plain answer to a plain question when he's asked one in the House of Commons?" she demanded in a heated tone. John showed a purple face above the edge of the table, and wanted to know what she meant. "That's what I want to know of the Home Secretary," retorted Phyllis. "Listen to this: 'The sentence to be passed on a convicted offender is entirely a matter for the discretion of the Court within the limits of the Section words which Court within the limits of the Statute under which the conviction takes place. I have no reason to doubt that, in the cases referred to, discretion has been

that, in the cases referred to, discretion has been exercised properly and with due regard to, and with full consideration for . . .'—oh! why can't he say 'yes' or 'no,' and have done with it?''

"Look here!" said the lifelong Liberal. "We agreed not to mention the beastly thing at breakfast time. Do take the lid off the teapot; I've only got three minutes, and the coal strike and the trains—"'

The rest want into the tablecide as he divided the The rest went into the tablecloth as he dived at the

Darling, you ought to be Home Secretary. He Darling, you ought to be Home Secretary. He answers questions just as plainly as that," observed Phyllis, transferring the uncovered teapor to the window-sill and then returning to her newspaper. "Listen how he goes on: 'No sufficient cause has been shown for interference on my part, but I should, in ordinary course, consider on its merits any reasonable, or what I should consider a reasonable representation on the next of

able, or what I should consider a reasonable representation, on the part of ... ' Do you think they talk like that all day in the Home Office? No wonder they never get anything done!"
"It seems quite clear to me," said John. By a miracle he had a whole minute to spare, and spent it in being elder-brotherly. "Compared with some of your answers to some of my questions, relating to the spring-cleaning of my tie-drawer, for instance, which I may mention has never been properly explained—"

'That clock's a minute slow," mentioned Phyllis. * * * * * *

night, "you'd remember not to put my slippers in the fender. You know I always like them in the waste-paper basket."

"Admitting."

waste-paper basket."

"Admitting," said Phyllis, "that the waste-paper basket is in the ordinary course the right depository for a man's slippers, I am at the same time open to representations from the proper quarter, and, having due regard to all the circumstances of the case, Ing the regard to all the circumstances of the case, I am prepared to consider on its merits any proof submitted to me by any individual possessor of slippers, as to the desirability or the contrary of placing slippers in any other situation than that mentioned on the paper. At the same time—"

It was a pity that the door banged just as she was getting into her stride. She made up for it, however, at dinner time, which proceeded peacefully enough on the usual method of avoiding all subjects that really mattered, until John delivered himself into heal that the control of the contro into her hands by turning sarcastic over the pudding.

"I always like to meet an old friend," he observed, regarding it affectionately. "It is an old friend, isn't it? And is it hot or cold? I mean, shall I give you some on the hot plate that has just been washed world . . and when decent men—there are "I always like to meet an old friend," he observed, regarding it affectionately. "It is an old friend, isn't it? And is it hot or cold? I mean, shall I give you some on the hot plate that has just been washed in hot water? Or would you prefer—?" The sparkle in Phyllis's eye should have warned him; but he saw it too late.

"The answer to the first part of the question is in the negative," she told him glibly. "With regard to the second, I am informed that there has been no desire shown to discriminate between hot and cold in the department referred to, though I have no doubt that had an application been made to the right quarter on the matter in question, every effort would have been made to discuss it on its merits. With regard to the third point, I must ask for notice——"

"Look here!" thundered John. "What are you playing at?"

The sparkle suddenly died out of her eyes.

quarrelled now.

When the maid, who was a relic of another home in the past, came in to clear away, she asked if the pudding was overboiled, or was it that Master John There was a silence that lasted only about five seconds, but was so intense as to seem like minutes. They sat staring dumbly at one another across the had not liked it?

They sat staring dumbly at one another across the little round table; and they both felt that for the first time in five years they really saw one another.

"If—if it irritates you," she went on presently, in a voice that shook with nervousness, "to be answered in that non-committal way when I do it for fun, what do you suppose it means to us to be answered like that when it's a matter of women's lives?" He crumbled his bread into fragments, and she blundered along,



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VIEWS OF PROMINENT MEN AND WOMEN.

LORD WILLOUGHBY DE BROKE.

In the course of an article headed "Justice!" in the Throne for March 20, Lord Willoughby de Broke

says:
If it be right that acts of violence, and paragraphs
the part of and speeches inciting to violence on the part of women, should be dealt with by the Executive, the Executive must deal with all other sedition, privy conspiracy, and rebellion in the same spirit. Tonypandyism was just as great a menace to the com munity as the doings of the Women's Social and Political Union. Not long ago the trades unions exercised the grossest intimidation towards a woman who would not join a union, and we heard not one word of protest from any Cabinet Minister. These reflections bring us face to face with the question of equality before the law, which has such an over whelming relation to the Coal Strike.

MRS. COBDEN-SANDERSON.

In a letter published in the Times Mrs. Cobden-

Sanderson writes:

Will you allow me an opportunity of placing before those Liberal members of Parliament headed by Sir William Byles, who on account of the breaking of a few panes of glass are now prepared to sacrifice principle on the altar of property, how similar sentiments on the part of weak-kneed Liberals seventy-four years ago were viewed by a man who never sought office or accepted a title, and yet called himself, and was, a Liberal? When in 1838 the country was alarmed by the destruction of property which followed the holding of some midnight meetwhich followed the holding of some midnight meetings by the Chartists, Cobden thus expressed his views in a letter to a friend:

news in a jetter to a friend:

As regards general politics, I see nothing in the present adical outbreak to cause alarm or make one dread the tet of Liberaism. On the contrary, it is preferable to eapathy of the three years when prosperity (or seemigly so) made Tories of all. Nor do I feel at all inclined

History will probably forget the broken windows and remember only that on a critical occasion cer-tain Liberal members, headed by Sir William Byles, deserted their Liberal principles and voted against the political enfranchisement of women.

MISS ETTIE SAYER, M.D., B.S.

In the course of a letter published in the Times on March 26, Dr. Ettie Sayer writes:—

on March 26, Dr. Ettie Sayer writes:—
I beg leave to refute the statements made in your leading article on hysteria. So far from militancy affording evidence of the presence of this disease, it affords strong proof of its absence. I know personally a very large number of militants, but not one whom any reputable neurologist, after an adequate examination, would certify as suffering from hysteria. Especially is this true of "windowsmashers." In order to maintain secrecy, most of those who were chosen to carry out this plan had already had their reliability tested by having been to gaol. Having visited prisons for both sexes, I can assure you that gaol means a very different thing for a man and for a woman. I have friends who went to prison strong, healthy, young Englishwomen, and so far removed from hysteria that they possessed sufficient will power and self-control to endure three solid months of this forcible feeding! Several came out with their physical constitutions shattered not temporarily but permanently; but with their spirits unbroken and with a grim resolution to fight to the death for their cause, which state of mind is as far removed from hysteria as anything which can very well be imagined. I beg leave to refute the statements made in your

LADY SYBIL SMITH.

In the course of a letter to the Daily Mail, headed "A Movement that Cannot be Stopped," Lady Sybil

To its champions woman suffrage stands for the to its champions woman sunrage stands for the cause of justice and liberty, of the outcast and the sweated worker. To serve this cause, as they believe, these women do not shrink from the utmost personal searifice. For the most part cultivated, refined, and sensitive, they, nevertheless, deliberately face popular execuation, the rigours and solitudes of long terms of impresences the winching of lead labour. erms of imprisonment, the miseries of hard labour, and in some cases, heaviest of all, the destruction of

Neither is it sufficiently realised what an incentive to violence was provided by the Right Hon. C. Hob-house in his speech at Bristol on February 16. Making little of the agitation for the vote for women, he said: "We have not had, in the case of woman suffrage demands, the kind of popular sentimental that is to be accounted for Nottingham Castle in is another matter.

1 1832 or Hyde Park railings in 1867." Now, Nottinglass or Hyde Park railings in 1801. Now, Noteing-ham Castle was burned to the ground in the great agitation for the Reform Bill, also Colwick Castle, and, in addition to other outrages, private and public property to the value of £100,000 was in Bristol destroyed in a single night. It is not suggested that two blacks make a white, the intention is merely to point out that such words from a Cabinet Minister

the flank of the crowd, and, as far as I could see, the foremost of the band were striking at their victim with sticks and rolled-up newspapers. Some elderly, respectable-looking men looked on with amusement. The insults shouted were of the foulest description. I uttered some cries of protest, and rushed into the crowd. I was instantly struck in the back, and knocked forward on to my knees. When I recovered myself, the crowd had passed on, pursuing their quarry down Kingsway. Similar scenes have been reported from various parts of London. I have just heard with satisfaction that an elderly "gentleman," attacking a suffragette with his silver-mounted cane, had it taken from him, and broken over his head by a young man. Now, let me say at once that I utterly

DR. HERBERT CARRE-SMITH.

In the course of a letter published in the Times of March 21, under the title "Insurgent Hysteria," Dr. Herbert Carre-Smith writes:—

To attribute this outbreak to mere hysteria is to inflame them more and more. No, there is something much stronger behind this movement. Gently nurtured women, and women who earn their own living in professions, &c., do not leave their comfortable homes for the miseries and hardships of prison life unless they have some much more powerful cause at work. Now. I am an anti-Suffragist, and I am absolutely against them in their methods, so it cannot be said that I am agreeing with them, and I know that to admit this is to make many enemies; but let us at least be just and admit that it requires some considerable courage for ladies to participate in acts which will certainly result in their being sent to prison. It is not the slightest use trying to evade the points the Suffragists have at issue. They are that they consider women have wrongs which should be redressed. Whether one is of opinion that is to be accomplished by giving them the vote is another matter.

MRS. PANKHURST.

MARCH 29, 1912.

There was a disgraceful scene in the Bow Street Police Court last Tuesday at the end of the hearing. The magistrate announced that Mrs. Pankhurst had made an altogether inaccurate statement in saying that full facilities for the preparation of her defence had not been granted her. Mrs. Pankhurst rose in the dock to protest the truth of what she had said, but the magistrate (Mr. Curtis Bennett) refused to listen and shouted her down with a discourted. destroyed in a single night. It is not suggested that two blacks make a white, the intention is merely to point out that such words from a Cabinet Minister as those quoted are nicely calculated still further to inflame women already dangerously exasperated by the many delays and uncertainties imposed upon them by the Government.

The present state of things, involving, as it does, loss and inconvenience to the general public, must be put an end to. But how is this to be done?

Dam back a river, and it inundates the land; the longer the dam holds the greater the damage. Are the waters to blame for this or is the dam? It depends upon the point of view.

For good or for evil nothing can now stay the force of the woman's movement—repression of extremists depends upon the point of view.

For good or for evil nothing can now stay the force of the woman's movement—repression of extremists but adds to its impetus. Opposition is bound to give way sooner or later; for the good of the whole community it is to be hoped it may be sooner.

As the leader of the militant Suffragists said a few days ago in her speech from the dock, "the individual will disappear, but the cause is going on."

Does the public as represented by our present legislators sufficiently realise what this means?

MR. EDMUND B. D'AUVERGNE.

In the course of a letter published in the Nation Mr. Edmund B. D'Auvergne said:—

After the meeting at the London Opera House on Thursday last, I came upon a crowd of men and girls, among whom were several young men with the appearance of students, pursuing a single girl who had the courage to wear her W.S.P.U. badge. I was not the flank of the crowd, and, as far as I could see, the foremost of the band were striking at their victim with sticks and rolled-up newspapers. Some elderly, respectable-looking men looked on with amusement. The insults shouted were of the foulest description. I uttered some cries of protest, and rushed into the crowd. I was instantly struck in the back, and knocked forward on to my knees. When I recovered myself, the crowd had passed on, pursuing their quarry down Kingsway. Similar scenes have been the contract of the print of the prison and since the proposed within hearing, but a member of the prison clerical staff has been sent with notebook and pencil to take down what she says. It is do though that under such circumstances no defence can be prepared. Even when her solicitor came, a member of the clerical staff insite on obliging stated on being present, so that the solicitor actually withdrew from the prison. He was afterwards recalled owing to a telephone message from the Home Office; but this disregard of the common regulations was but an instance of the petty, persecution to which Mrs. Pankhurst is exposed. For even a convicted pr

MILITANT SUFFRAGISTS IN CHINA.

militant Suffragists in China. The uprising of the women of these Islands against young man. Now, let me say at once that I utterly condemn these window-breaking tactics as stupid and wrong; but I have sufficient sense of proportion to perceive that it is, after all, one of the least forms of violence, injuring, in fact, only wealthy insurance companies. By no sane person can it be magnified into a heinous or contemptible crime. For many years past it has been the custom for these very students, who are now so strong on the stronger side as champions of law and order, to smash everything that is smashable at Earl's Court on the last night of the Exhibition. Yet I never heard it suggested that these young hooligans should be lynched or sent to prison with hard labour. What they do in a spirit of imbecile mischief is regarded as a joke; when a gril does it in disinterested devotion to a cause, it becomes an enormous crime. I remember that in May, 1906, at the Guildhall, the alderman, Sir Walter Wilkin, severely reprimanded the manager of an hotel for having blackened the eye of an alien thief whom he had caught in the act of stealing an overcoat, and the prisoner's sentence was reduced accordingly. But the indulgence extended to the rowdies of Earl's Court and to the Syrian pickpocket is denied, by common consent, to the high-minded and courageous English girl, who, out of zeal for the cause of her sex, commits the enormous crime of breaking a shopwindow.

DR. HERBERT CARRE-SMITH.

In the course of a letter published in the Times of March 21, under the title "Insurgent Hysteria," A further word as to the effect produced by the China even do not be effect produced by the China even do not be effect produced by the China even do not be effect produced by the Chinaes were a grillency when we first read in the Chinese women's militant woven of their fight for equal political rights with men, makes the militant suffragists in this country feet worth what are we to say of the appearance of a militant movement for t

NEWINGTON SESSIONS.

March 26th, 1912.

When the winds organal at the fundamental control of the process of a large relative variety of the va

NEW READERS WANTED!

The First Milestone Passed; Let Us Go On!

Congratulations to all those who have helped to secure this grand total of over 1,000 new subscribers to Votes for Women! It will sput us on to new efforts, for it is imperative that during the imprisonment of our splendid leaders and editors the circulation of the paper should be higher than ever before. Every week letters reach us which show the spirit of our workers. "You may perhaps like to know that I take three dozen copies of Votes for Women weekly. I obtain them from a local bookseller, and sell some and give away the others. I am keeping the money I get by the sale of Votes for Women workers week I sold mearly all my copies the first day, and so I ordered another dozen. I previously acknowledged 623 (6. Sandars Jacobs, Eq. 1 | New readers who obtain their power to your elbow!"

Previously acknowledged 624 (6. Sandars Jacobs, Eq. 1 | New readers who obtain their power to your elbow!"

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THE NEW "FEATHERWEIGHT TYPEWRITER.



a Featherweight "Blick"

it is simply perfect.

To Naval and Military officers the "Featherweight Blick" specially appeals. There is no room on the modern destroyer

FREE TRIAL IN YOUR OWN HOME.

The we ordered several for friends ountries, and am taking six a tribution. The paper is worth n gold to those who love freeriplay." A Kensington memman of the paper is worth had six times his usual thought this might prove rethose timorous souls who fear it tactics may harm the Cause, rather see millions of women than one unladylike. More ure lobw!"

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A sentence of six months was also passed on Miss Evelyn Huddleston for doing £36 worth of damage at Messrs, Robinson and Cleaver's, Regent Street. She had been

A sentence of six months was also passed on Miss Evelyn Huddlestons for doing £36 worth of damage at Messrs. Robinson and Cleaver's, Regent Street. She had been already convicted.

Miss Norah Kathleen Lackey, convicted of doing damage in Regent Street, was sentenced to four months. Similar sentences were passed on Miss Charlotte Downing, a nurse, for damage at Messrs. Tiffany's, Regent Street, on Miss Violet Aitken and Miss Clara Giveen, tutor, for damaging trelve windows, worth £100, at Messrs. Jay's (Limited), Regent Street, and on Miss Emily Fern for breaking two windows worth £18.

Miss Aleie Allie Durham was found Not guilty of having damaged three windows, worth £265, belonging to Messrs. B. Burnett and Co. Miss Olive Wharry and Miss Sabella Potbury, Kitch Marion, to damage the Messrs. Beart Messrs. Lacked three windows, worth £195, belonging to Messrs. B. Burnett and Co. Miss Olive Wharry and Miss Sabella Potbury students, were each ordered six months for breaking ten windows, worth £195, belonging to Messrs. B. Burnett and Co. Miss Olive Wharry and Miss Sabella Potbury had undergone two such terms.

Miss Potbury had undergone two such Street. Miss Wharry had been once previously sent to prison for two months and Miss Potbury had undergone two such terms.

Miss Bertha Ryland, who had been pre-

arranged for the purpose.

An Eloquent Defence.

In defending Mrs. Hicks, Mr. Elliott made a vigorous and moving speech.

"For thirty years," he said, "I have addressed this court, but never have I felt such a sonse of embarrassment as on this occasion. I have seen every description of accused person in this dock, but never before occupants of the class and degree of culture we are witnessing to-day, and I am quite sure, whether in the jury box or on the bench, or at the bar which I represent, there can be but one feeling so far as those ladies are concerned, apart, of course, from the actual act committed, a feeling of admiration for their exanest pur-

attention.

"The acts themselves I am bound to condemn as breaches of law, for which there is no mitigation, but I venture to say that every word said by these women must go deep into the heart of every thinking and sentient man to-day. How many of us would endure what they are enduring for our principles?"

SUMMARY OF THE SENTENCES.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

THE COMPLETE RIOTER.

- VOTES FOR WOMEN. -WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE. PUBLIC MEETING. LARGE ESSEX HALL, ESSEX STREET, STRAND,

Friday, March 29, 8 p.m. To Discuss Result of Second Reading of the Conciliation Bill.

Speakers: Mrs. DESPARD,
Mrs. MAY WRIGHT SEWALL,
Miss ALISON NIELANS.

Dr. G. B. CLARK (ex-M.P. for Caithness),
Miss ANNA MUNRO,
Chair: Miss NINA BOYLE.

Reserved Seats, is. and 6d.

Against of the metha was also good several efforts. The second of the control of

Admission Free to Women.

WELCOME AND AU REVOIR.

Monday afternoon's meeting at the London Pavilion was of exceptional interest.

It took the form of a welcome to Mrs.

Descending an August 1 was anyone else, and he realised and understood something of what the vote understood something of what the vote understand a little of the difficulties of the women's fight. Monday afternoon's meeting at the London Pavilion was of exceptional interest. It took the form of a welcome to Mrs. Brackenbury and Miss Georgina Brackenbury, who were released from Holloway on Friday last, and was also a meeting of farewell to the women committed for trial at the sessions. Mrs. Brailsford was in

NURSE PITFIELD.

In last week's issue we had space to report very briefly the case of Nurse Pitfield, which came before the Central Criminal Court on Wednesday. Nurse Pitfield's many friends will be grieved to read the account given by Mr. Blanco White of Nurse Pitfield's illness and its origin.

origin.

Nurse Pitfield was charged with setting

busik wonderful genius they had found it out. Women had been "jawing" to politicans for over forty years, but they were tired of talking: they meant to have their grierances redressed.

Mrs. Seaman writes from Berlin, "Having seen from our paper that you are good enough to take subscriptions for provisions for our brave prisoners who are doing so much for us, I am sending 18s. collected from friends here with "sail token of gravinio" at the Steinway Hall was precided over by the Hon. Airs. Haverfield, upported by Mrs. Mansel. The hall was again crowded, and a large number of strangers were present.

Mrs. Haverfield, in showing how women ended protection, took for which women ended protection, took for her points the sweating of women and children, the White Slaver Traffic and kiss Elizabeth Thompson.

Mrs. Haverfield, in showing how women ended protection, took for white points the sweating of women and children, the White Slaver Traffic and kiss Mrs. Estitletion and subscriptions from "Ens. St.; Miss Mrs. Estitletion for an dispersion of the role of the way in which women engaged in the former of the read several extracts from "The Soi," Miss A. Newton, the role way in which women engaged in the former of the role and worked. This was one of the role of the way in which women engaged in the former trade and worked. This was one of the role of the way in which women engaged in the former of the way in which women engaged in the former of the way in which women engaged in the former of the way in which women engaged in the former of the way in which women engaged in the former of the way in which women engaged in the former of the way in which women engaged in the former of the way in which women engaged in the former of the way in which women engaged in the former of the way in which women engaged in the former of the way in which women engaged in the former of the way in which women engaged in the former of the way in which women engaged in the former of the way in which women engaged in the former of the way

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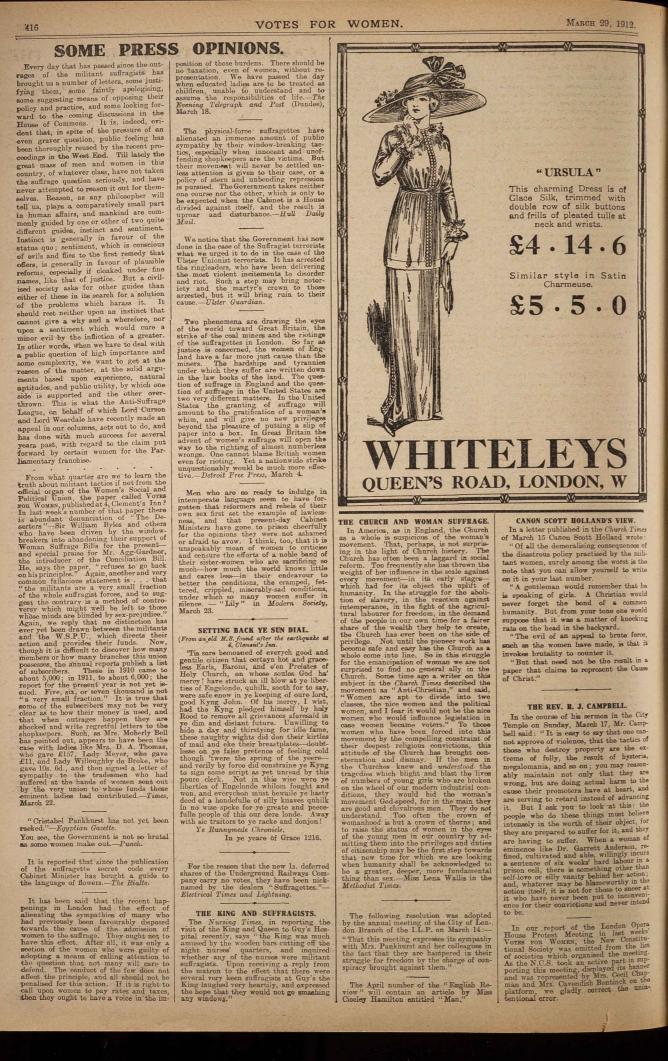


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SOME PRESS OPINIONS.



MARCH 29, 1912.

A PRINCIPAL MESSAGE

From the District of the programmed feature in company of the property of

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—Perhaps the readers of Votes for Women may be interested in the following anecdote from life. I was talking the other day to a working woman of seventy-eight years of age, who keeps a little sweet shop, and, as usual, she started on the Suffrage question and this is what she said:

It is quite impossible to find room for more than a very small proportion of the letters and telegrams which continue to pour in. The following is a typical cable-gram message: "Encouraging sympathy public meeting Orange Massachussetts.—Everett Coleman, Chairman."

And another:—"Wish speedy victory mass meeting, Brockton, Mass.—Edward keiner and times the Government have made them promises, and then broken them; now suppose I was to promise you a new dress, and when you come an' asked me for it, I put you off to another time; and you came again, and every time you come. I put you off to another time; and you came again, and every time you come. I, put you off to another time; and you came again, and every time you come. I, put you off to another time; and you came again, and every time you come. I put you off to another ime; and you came again, and every time you come. I put you off to another ime; and you came again, and every time you come. I put you off to another time; and you came again, and every time you come. I put you off to another ime in the promise you have to the promise you a new dress, and when you come and amade alternation of the letters and telegrams which continue to focus in the letters and telegrams which continue to four in the letters and telegrams which continue to four in the letters and telegrams which continue to four in the letters and telegrams which continue to four in the letters and telegrams which continue to four in the letters and telegrams which continue to four in the letters and telegrams which continue to four in the letters and telegrams which continue to four in the letters and telegrams which continue to feature and extending proposition of th

The Happy Warrior sirkes a great feminin cosmo-folite de Paris je tiene à vous envoyer mon énergique protestation pour l'unique et inqualifiable condamnation par l'quelle de inqualifiable condamnation par l'quelle de inqualifiable condamnation par l'quelle de president du great de paralyser vos généreux A correspondent writes to say that Wordsworth's "Happy Warrior" sirkes a great worth's "Happy Warrior" sirkes a great the great continue and propietable sinn, Strand, W.C. BARNET. Hon. Sec.—Miss Bue Watt, 13, Stratford Mrs. Drummond special to brought Mrs. Drummond special to work finchley with Barnet. Mrs. Drummond special to work finchley with Barnet and open air meetings will be held there in April and open air meetings will be and the brought. The April and the April CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE

LONDO	N	MEETINGS FOR	THE FORTHCOMING	WEEK
March.				THE REAL PROPERTY.
Friday, 29		Harrow Road, Prince of Wales	Miss Elsa Myers, Mrs. Robson	8 p.m.
n /n .		Harringay, corner of Burgoyne Road	Miss Darton	8 p.m.
11, 11	***	Inns of Court Hotel, Helborn, W.C.	M.P.U. At Home, Mrs. Pertwee, Miss	
			Eva Moore, Lieut. Cather, R.N.	
			Hostess: Mrs. Hepburn	8 p.m.
	***	Kensington, 137A, The Mansions,	Miss Margaret Cullum, Miss Prior,	
		High Street	and others	8 p.m.
Saturday, 30	***	Clapham Junction, Aliwal Road	Miss Heatley	8 p.m.
11 11		High Barnet, Market Place	Miss Bonwick, B.A.	8 p.m.
н н		Ilford, Balfour Road	Mrs. Kinkead	8 p.m.
H H -	***	Islington, Jones Bros., Holloway Rd.	Miss Hopkins. Chair: Miss Randell	8 p.m.
11 11		Islington, Corner of Hornsey and		
		Seven Sisters Road	Miss Shoultz	8 p.m.
. 11	***	Kingston, Market Place		11.30 a.m.
11 11		Lewisham, 9a, Loampit Vale		3 to 8 p.m.
H H	***	Palmer's Green, Alderman's Hill	Miss Wright	7 p.m.
19 11		Walthamstow, Church Hill	Miss Glover	
		Wimbledon Broadway	Miss Gwen Richard	7.30 p.m.
Sunday, 31	***	Hampstead Heath, Flagstaff	Miss Isabel Seymour	11.30 a.m.
11 11	***	Hyde Park, W.	Miss Dugdale. Chair: V. Prout, Esq.	3 p.m.
	***	Wimbledon Common	Mrs. Lamartine Yates	3 p.m.
April			Control of the second second second	
Monday, 1		London Pavilion, Piccadilly	Mrs. Morgan Deckrell, Mrs. Massey,	
		Circus, W.	Miss Evelyn Sharp, - Baillie	THE PARTY OF
ES DANS SON		Dir. District the second	Weaver Esq.	3.15 p.m.
Tuesday, 2		Edgware Road, Nutford Place, W	Mrs. Brindley, Miss Smythe	8 p.m.
11	***	Hammersmith, 95, The Grove	Members' Meeting	8 p.m.
11 11	***	Hampstead, 178, Finchley Road	Working Party	3-5 p.m.
H II	***	Hornsey, The Fountain, High Street	Miss Dearn, Miss Bonwick, B.A	8 p.m.
11 11	***	Palmer's Green, 6. Stonard Road	Member's Meeting	7.30 p.m.
	***	Southfields Station	Mrs. Dacre-Fox, Mrs. G. T. Heard	8 p.m.
Wednesday, 3.		Barking, Ripple Road	300	8 p.m.
	***	Islington, Highbury Cerner	Miss Hopkins. Chair: Miss Randell	8 p.m.
Thursday, 4	***	Paddington, 52, Praed Street, W	Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, The Hon.	0.15
		The state of the s	Mrs. Haverfield	8.15 p.m.
N N	-	Radlett, "Black Warren"	Reading Party	4.15 to 6 p.m.

BOURNEMOUTH.

Office-221, Old Christchurch Road. Hon. Sec.-Miss B. Berry.

tone.

Organiser begs to thank very heartily all friends who have so kindly given her At the and drawing-room meetings, or arranged for os speak in connection with other societies. She immediately after Easter, and will be glad ar from those who can help in this valuable EASTBOURNE.

The Hon. Mr. Haverfield, 339 p.m.

The Hon. Mr. Haverfield, 339 p.m.

HASTINGS AND ST. LEONARDS.

Shop—8, Trinity Street, Hastings.

Organiser—Miss Mr. S. Allen.

The weekly "At Homes at the the principal local, and good diff. Thanks to all members who helped you will with the sale held in aid of Self-Denial Fund. Owing to the untiring individual efforts of members more than 220 seling self-denial fund. More than 20 self-denial fund. More than 20 self-denial fund. More than 20 seling self-denial fund. More than 20 self-denial fund.

PORTSMOUTH AND SOUTHAMPTON. Hon. Sec. Miss L. H. Peacock, 4, Pelham Road, Portsmouth.

PELIXSTOWE. mampton.—Fri., Mar. 29.—Elecution class at Messrs. Hodges, Above Bar, 6.45 p.m.

READING AND NEWBURY.

Shop and Office 49, Market Place.

Hon. Sec. (pro tem.)—Miss O. L. Cobb

Promised amount to about 220.

REDHILL

Ron. Sec.—Mrs. Cather, The Red Cottage,
Gavendish Road.

Fri., Mar. 23.—Catton Room. Members' meeting.
Fig. Mar. 30.—Dorking, Poster Parade, 3 p.m.5 p.m.
Dorking, High Street, Openair meeting.
Licut, Cather, R.N. Char: Mass Ford,
7 p.m. Wed., April 3.-Carlton Room. Members' meeting.

The Midlands. BIRMINGHAM AND DISTRICT. ce-97, John Bright Street. Tel., 1443 Midland.

NOTTINGHAM.
Office—6, Cariton Street. Tel., 4511.
canisers—Miss Roberts and Miss Crocke

., Mar. 29.—Leek Town Hall. The Lady Isabel Hampden Margesson, Mrs. Drummond. 8 p.m.

West of England.

BRISTOL.
Office—37, Queen's Road, Clifton.
Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Dove Willox.
Hon. Treas.—Mrs. Young.
c organiser would be glad if helpers would be

15s.; Miss Jessio Smith, 4s. 1d.; collection, Victoria Rooms, 10s. 1d.; Mrs. D. E. Watkins, 10s. Mon., April 1,—Clifton, Victoria Rooms, Rev. Geoffrey Startup, At Home, 5.30 p.m.

PALMOUTH AND PENRYN.

Hon. Organiser—Mrs. Vans Agnew Corbett
The Bungalow, Falmouth. Hon. Secs.—
Mrs. Pascoe and Mrs. English.

HEREFORDSHIRE. Organiser—Miss Flatman, Lauriston House, Hereford.

The long-delayed campaign in Hereford has been started. Members having friends in the district are asked to communicate with the Organizer at once. All Gloucestershire members are seked to send in Self-Denial cards without delay. Many thanks for those already sent.

Organiser Miss Rachel Barrett, B.Sc., 93, Ninian Road, Cardiff.

MONTHOOL AND DISTRICT.

HON. Sec.—Miss Wilton, Trefloyd, Pontypool, A very well attended members' meeting was held at Nanieg House on Friday attenson, March 22, by couriesy of Mns. Butler. It was decided to form a Local Union to carry on the work in North Monmouthshire. A committee was appointed, with Moss Wilton as Secretary and an at Homewer month in Pontypool and Orifithstown alternately, and to hold a public meeting in the Town Hall, Pontypool, at which Mns. Brainford will be the speaker. The proceeds of the Jumble Sale recently held were anneumoed as £3 lbs.

CLACTON-ON-SEA.

CLACTON-SIA.

Shop—47, Rosemary Road.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Lilley, Holland House.

fuen., April 2.—47, Rosemary Road. All memband friends invited. 8 p.m.

Organiser-Miss Grace Roe. Hon. Sec.-Miss Ethel Lowy, Woodcroft, Bath Road.

IPSWICH AND DISTRICT.
Shop-Dial Lane, Ipswich. Organiser-Miss
Grace Roe, 18, Silent Street, Ipswich.
Shop Sec.-Miss King.

Shop Sec.—Miss King.

Help of every kind has been forthcoming during the past weeks—new members have been made, the paper has had a record sale, and members when the sale and the sale and

NORWICH AND DISTRICT.

NORWICH AND DISTRICT.

Organiser-Miss Margaret West, 6, Essex Street. Office-52, London Street, Norwich.

Members are reminded that the new offices will be opened on Monday, April 1; office hours, 111 and 2,30-6. It is hoped that Norwich members will make a point of cailing at the offices at least once a week, and that country members will call whenever they are in the city. It is proposed to hold a public meeting in Norwich towards the did her Self-Denial contributions kindly do so as soon as possible?

North-Eastern Counties.

BRADFORD.
Otley. Hon. Treas.—Mrs. Hardy Behrins.
Hon. Sec.—Miss Millar Wilson, Belmont,
Otley. Hon. Treas.—Mrs. Hardy Behrins.

HALIFAX AND HUDDERSFIELD.

meeting at Elland on March 12. Who will r to sell the paper for an hour on Satur-

days?

Mon., April 1.—Huddersfield, 1, Fitzwilliam Street
West. Organiser's At Home, 24 p.m.
Tues., April 2.—Halifax, Mechanics' Institute, 8 p.m.
Wed., April 3.—Huddersfield, Parochiai Hall, 8 p.m.

HULL.
Office-105, Coltman Street.
Hon. Sec.-Miss B. Trill.

LEEDS AND DISTRICT.

Office 3, Cooleridge Street.

Organiser-Miss Mary Phillips.

Orea innoads have been made on the 9-Broken Window 1 leafest, but several the will remain to be distributed.

canine sandwichman.
es., April 2.—Leeds, 3, Cookridge Street. Afternoon tea. 3.30-5.30 p.m. NEWCASTLE AND DISTRICT.
Office-77, Blackett Street. Tel. No. 4591
Central.

Organiser—Miss Laura Ainsworth.

Mrs. Atkinson will hold a surprise tea at
Blacket Street, to-morrow (Saturday) attennen Organises—aniss later almostose at 77.
Blackett Streek, to-morrow (Salverise teamon, at 17.
Blackett Streek, to-morrow (Salverise), and to 3d.
Admission, bring with them goods to the amount of 3d., and buy a ticket at 3d., which entitles them to a prize. Tea will be provided free.
Sat., Mar. 30.—Newcastle, Haymarket, 7.30 p.m.
Sunn, Mar. 31.—Stockton, Li.P. Miss Laura Ainsworth 7.30 p.m.
Mon., April 1.—Jarrow, Union Streek, 7.30 p.m.
Tues., April 2.—Cohee Debaing Society, Miss Laura Members' meeting and speakers' class. 7.30 p.m.
Wed. April 3.—Newcastle, 77. Blackett Street.
Members' meeting and speakers' class. 7.30 p.m.

Pri., April 5.—South Shields, Market Place. 7.30 p.m.

p.m.

ROTHERHAM.

Hon Sec.—Mrs. Slack, 3, Highlields,
Doncaster Road.

An attentive and interested audience listened to
Mrs. Scurfield and Mrs. Mary Philips last Monday,
and the resolution calling upon the Government to
enfranchiase women this session was carried unanmously. Copies were forwarded to the PrincMinister and the Minister for Education, who is
member for Rotherham.

SHEFFIELD AND DISTRICT.

SHEFFIELD AND DISTRICT.

Shop-26, Chappl Walk, Sheffield.

Ino. Sec.—Miss F. E. Coxhill.

At Hon. Sec. Miss F. E. Coxhill.

Berpleas call at the shop as come a bey would like invited? Members are saked to Skeward at both At Hones. Many thanks to unknown friend for gift of jewelery, which has been forwarded to headquarters. Woincastay, April 3, important members meeting. 7 pm.

Office—Colby Chambers. Telephone, 692

Coppergate.

Organiser—Miss V. Key-Jones.

Grateful thanks to Miss Alice Suffield for successful Office Coke Sale. Members and aympathisers

North-Western Counties. MANCHESTER.

MANCHESTER.
Office-32, King Street West.
Hon. Sec.-Miss L. Williamson, B.A.
Transurer-Mrs. Ratoliffe.
Several new members have joined since March 4 till all come to the weekly meeting and offer to de definite piece of work! Any tickets bought for postponed Free Trade Hall Meeting will admit

SOUTHPORT.

1, Post Office Avenue, Lord Street.
Hon. Sec.—Miss Gertrude Duxfield.
Wed., April 3.—Members' Meeting. 7.30 p.m.



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Land Bracelet (basket pattern) 2 2 2 0 0 2 description of the distribution of the dist

for any of the above would be considered.—
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Eon. Sec. Miss G. O'Connell Hayes, 19, Buckingham Street, Strand.

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