

VOTES FOR WOMEN

VOL. V. (New Series), No. 222.

FRIDAY, JUNE 7, 1912.

Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free.)



PASSENGERS (Leaders of the W.S.P.U.): "But ours are 1st class tickets! Is not this a 2nd class compartment?"
GUARD (Mr. McKenna): "The answer is in the affirmative. But under the Company's by-law 243a it has been greatly improved, and—"
PASSENGERS: "We don't want an improved 2nd class carriage. We want what is ours by right. We have paid for it—at the risk of our lives."
GUARD (losing his temper): "It is impossible to enter into the minds of these passengers!"

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

THE OUTLOOK.

With the reassembling of Parliament after the Whitsuntide holiday, the W.S.P.U. campaign for votes this Session begins anew. It has to be remembered that in consequence of the passing of the Parliament Act the first two Sessions of a Parliament are the only effective Sessions, and that if women are to vote at the next General Election a measure for their enfranchisement must pass through the House of Commons this year. It is now generally recognised that only a Government measure can be successfully carried, not because the majority of the House of Commons is Anti-Suffragist, but because only the Government can apply the necessary driving force and provide the necessary discipline. The Government have already to make themselves responsible for

carrying a measure for Woman Suffrage, but the fulfilment of the promise was made conditional upon an impossibility—conditional, that is to say, upon the passage of an unofficial Woman Suffrage amendment to a Reform Bill for men.

Mr. Lloyd George's Prophecy.

Since the impossibility of carrying such an amendment is entirely due to political considerations, having no direct connection with the principle of Votes for Women, the demand of the W.S.P.U. is that they waive this impossible condition and themselves initiate the Votes for Women measure. In this way alone can they keep faith with those to whom they solemnly promised that they would, as a Government, fight for Woman Suffrage in the House of Commons, in the House of Lords, and in the country. In this connection we would remind our readers of Mr. Lloyd George's prophecy made in November last that those who were sceptical of the prospect then held out by the Government, would, on finding that millions of women were enfranchised in the Session of 1912, look very foolish. We can assure Mr. Lloyd George that we are anxiously waiting to look very foolish. At present it is he who is in danger of looking very dishonest. It should be noticed that the *Daily News*, referring in a leading article on June 4 to the legislative work of the Session, says nothing of "the great Reform Bill," but mentions a "Plural Voting Bill." Mr. Hobhouse at a public meeting recently spoke to the same effect. We look forward to the elucidation of this mystery.

The Home Rule Bill.

The question of Votes for Women will also arise in connection with the Home Rule Bill, and indeed it is time that the Government declared their attitude towards the proposed amendment to give women the right to vote for the proposed

Irish Parliament. Are they as a Government for or against this proposal? No doubt our Suffragist friends in Ireland, who have lately held a large meeting representative of all sections of the movement to demand equal rights for women under the Home Rule Bill, will shortly be demanding an answer to this question. Two Irishmen of influence who support the women's demand for Votes under the Home Rule Bill are the Rev. J. O. Hannay (George Birmingham) and Mr. George W. Russell (A.E.).

What will the Irish Party do?

Mr. Redmond has not yet made any public statement concerning the action which he and his followers will take when the Woman Suffrage amendment to the Home Rule Bill comes before the House of Commons. Will they vote for or against the amendment? Mr. Dillon, in a recent speech on Home Rule, declared that one of the blessings which Ireland will bring to the British Empire will be that its people will endeavour to make that Empire what it ought to be, a messenger of freedom for the whole world. That is indeed good news, Mr. Dillon! Of course, you will begin this great work for the Empire by seeing to it that freedom is given as part of the Home Rule Bill to your own countrywomen in Ireland. If you refuse to do that, we shall not believe that you are likely to be of much assistance in the larger task of making the Empire a missionary of freedom to the whole world. So far your efforts of the Irish Party in that direction have consisted in smashing the Conciliation Bill, and declaring war upon the Woman Suffrage cause in general.

The Imprisoned Leaders.

Mr. McKenna has up to the moment of going to press declined to place the imprisoned Leaders in the first division, although never in the history of the law's administration has so strong a case for first

division treatment been established. The jury's testimony to the purity of the motives underlying their acts and the claim for utmost leniency and clemency are in themselves sufficient to entitle these prisoners to a place in the first division. For what purpose, we ask, does the first division exist, if not for the reception of people like these? Or is it Mr. McKenna's wish to reserve the honour of first division treatment exclusively for vicious and disreputable members of his own sex—men of the type referred to by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence in her address to the judge? A more enlightened predecessor of Mr. McKenna's transferred the Jameson raiders, who, like the Suffragists, were political offenders, to the first division. Mr. McKenna would presumably have refused to do this. He does not, however, confess as much, but simply says that the reason the Jameson raiders were placed in the first division was unconnected with their status as political offenders. Assuming this contention to be sound, then, we demand to know on what ground they were so treated, because on that same ground we shall claim first division treatment for our prisoners. Mr. McKenna will find that his obstinacy is all in vain, neither those outside nor the prisoners inside will give way on this point.

Witnesses for the Defence.

The review of the Conspiracy Trial which we gave last week would not be complete without a reference to the powerful testimony given by the witnesses for the defence. First and foremost, we will draw attention to the evidence given in the speeches read out by Mr. Healy of those who had broken windows and been imprisoned for it. Every one of these speeches was in itself a perfect and eloquent vindication of militancy. Dr. Ethel Smyth's evidence, and particularly her reference to Mr. Lewis Harcourt, will long be remembered. Miss Eva Moore entered the witness-box and paid her tribute to the militant movement and its Leaders. Dr. Jessie Murray came to testify to the provocation to mere window-breaking afforded by the brutal assaults suffered by women on Black Friday; but the judge cut short these unwelcome revelations. The duel of argument between Sir Edward Busk and the Attorney-General was magnificent, and the Attorney-General was severely damaged in the encounter. In the course of cross-examination Sir Edward Busk was asked by the Attorney-General whether he had heard and understood the significance of Mrs. Pankhurst's adjuration to use the argument of stones. "Yes," was his reply, "and you and I have gained our votes by the same argument." Did he suggest that if he could not get anything he should break harmless people's windows, was the next question? "No," came the answer, "but I suggest that I, who have possessed the franchise all my life, cannot judge these women who do not possess it, and I refuse to judge them."

The Prosecution Silenced.

Was it his view, again enquired the Attorney-General, that upon the failure of constitutional methods, window-breaking might properly be resorted to? "No; but my knowledge is that all reforms have been gained in that way." It is not surprising that the Attorney-General soon extricated himself from the situation by saying, "We will not discuss that question further with you." Mrs. Morgan Dockrell was another witness who succeeded in bringing confusion into the ranks of the enemy. She described how in November, 1910, she saw women "so disgracefully handled, so ill-used and ill-treated." She stated that this and other things—the failure of peaceful methods, the utter futility of depending upon the Government's promises, and the reiteration by men that women could not get the Vote without making themselves a nuisance—had caused her to become a militant. Her purpose had been to take a petition to the House of Commons. "Why would that make you a nuisance?" was the question of the Attorney-General; and "But no one is sent to prison for trying to get to the House of Commons, you know," said the judge. On both these points Mrs. Morgan Dockrell had some facts of importance to give to the jury. Another witness for the defence was the Rev. Dr. William Cobb. Many other ladies and gentlemen were in readiness to enter the witness-box, but owing to objections raised by the judge, they were not called upon to give their evidence.

Seven Years' Penal Servitude.

We repeat our protest against the sentence of nine months' imprisonment inflicted upon the Leaders, and we renew our demand for their release. It really is becoming impossible for the Government to keep window-breakers and inciters to window-breaking in prison while the Ulster men are left at liberty. The opponents of Home Rule are becoming more and more violent and lawless both in word and deed. At a meeting recently held in Ireland, Mr. William Moore, K.C., M.P., declared that he and his associates are deep in a conspiracy to resist Home Rule by every means in their power. It is, he continued, in pursuance and in furtherance of this conspiracy that their clubs are still drilling openly under the eyes of the police, practising route marching and perfecting themselves in strength against the evil day when they will be summoned to place their necks under the Nationalist heel. It is in pursuance

of this conspiracy that rifle clubs are springing up all over Ulster, and their women folk are being taught in first aid classes. Why do the Government remain inactive in face of the illegalities thus described by Mr. Moore? Mr. Moore believes it is because they dare not prosecute Sir Edward Carson and himself and others, lest Ulstermen rise up and take violent revenge for the capture of their leaders. Mr. Birrell's excuse for the Government's inertia is that the law has not yet been broken. That is not true. The law has been broken, for the Unlawful Drilling Act of 1819 makes it a misdemeanour, punishable by seven years' penal servitude, to train and drill men to the use of arms without lawful authority! We call upon the Government to release the Suffragist prisoners, or to send Sir Edward Carson, Mr. Moore, and the rest to gaol.

The By-Elections.

The two by-elections in South Hackney and in North-West Norfolk have resulted in greatly reduced Liberal majorities. In both elections the W.S.P.U. took an active part in opposition to the Government, and the Union can claim to have detached many votes from the Liberal candidates. The effect of this opposition to the Government is both direct and indirect. It rouses the electors to a sympathetic desire to help the women's cause by casting their votes against an Anti-Suffragist Government. The indirect effect is to make the Liberal electors generally distrustful of the Government and all their works. The women have found them out, say the electors, and we had better not trust them either, even in matters which immediately concern us as men. In each of these elections the majorities to be attacked were very large, and the Government nominee has therefore in each case been able to hold the seat. Given a few by-elections in constituencies in which the majority is a small one, the W.S.P.U. will be able to do great execution and to give the Government and their allies good reason to fear the women's agitation. A succession of by-election defeats at this critical time could be ill-sustained by the Government, and would seriously threaten the safety of the Home Rule Bill.

The Policy of the Labour Party.

The I.L.P., a component part of the larger Labour Party, has lately held its Annual Conference. Woman Suffrage was one of the subjects discussed, and the Conference decided by a very large majority to endorse the decision of their executive committee to oppose any extension of the franchise which does not confer citizenship upon women. This is certainly a most just and wise decision, so far as it goes. Unfortunately it does not, as a Parliamentary policy, go far enough. For Labour M.P.'s merely to vote against a Reform Bill at all or any of its stages (there is an impression abroad that they intend to do so at the third reading stage) may kill the Reform Bill, but will not necessarily compel the Government to grant votes to women. The policy is in short not sufficiently constructive in its effect. What is needed is to compel the Government to bring a measure of Woman Suffrage before Parliament. The right course for the Labour Members to adopt is to go into opposition unless and until, in response to this anti-Government action on their part, the Government introduce a Bill giving votes to women. Sleepless, relentless, and continuous opposition to the Government and to its various proposals will be needed.

What It Ought to Be.

To stake everything upon the third reading division on the Reform Bill is a policy too weak to achieve the great end in view. The Government on that one special occasion could and would beat up every available supporter in order to counteract Labour opposition. Before and after this division, Labour support is, we understand, to be accorded to the Government whatever may happen to the women's cause. Naturally, women demand something more practical than that. They demand in short, that the Labour Party shall be at war with the Government until women are enfranchised. The Government would, as a result of the Labour Party's opposition, suffer a real and permanent loss of prestige and of power. In the country the Labour electors, following the lead given by Labour M.P.'s in the country, would vote against the Government at the by-elections, and in the House of Commons the chances are that before long the Government would find themselves on some unexpected occasion in a minority. Faced by such a prospect, there is little doubt that the Government would surrender as soon as the Labour Party's intention to oppose them was announced.

A Mistaken Alliance.

We are surprised to find a very strong tendency on the part of many Labour M.P.'s to regard the mere existence of the present Liberal Government as being in itself a definite advantage. It is not that the Labour Members approve the policy and conduct of the Government; on the contrary, they dislike the Government's foreign policy, their Labour policy, their high expenditure on armaments, their franchise policy. Indeed, the difficulty is to find one single particular on which the Labour Members find themselves in agreement with the Government. Not one point in the Labour programme would be jeopardised by the adoption of an anti-Government policy, unless it be Home Rule; and considering that the Home

Rule Bill applies only to men, and is, therefore, not in accordance with Labour principles, and considering that Mr. Redmond is bent on wrecking the cause of Votes for Women, for which the Labour Party stands, the Labour Members are fully entitled to leave Mr. Redmond and the Home Rule Bill to their fate. If they do so, they will very soon find that the Government and the Nationalists come pleading for their aid on any terms they like to name. As things are at present, the Labour Party has much less than its share of influence. The Welsh Liberal group, numbering only thirty-one as against the forty Labour Members, have made an excellent bargain, and have secured for their Bill a powerful place in the Government's programme for the Session. This fact disposes of the argument that the Labour Members, not being numerous enough entirely to wipe out the Government's majority, cannot profitably adopt an anti-Government policy. They might not by this means attain their object, though we think they would attain it, but they would at least keep their hands clean and would bear no responsibility for the Government's misdeeds towards women.

To Answer the Government!

The Government, who thought to stamp out the militant Suffrage movement by imprisoning its Leaders, have made the common mistake of all reactionaries. They have received their answer not only in the world-wide expressions of indignation recorded on page 850, but also in the enormously increased activities of the W.S.P.U., in the magnificent open-air demonstrations of last Saturday and Sunday, described in another part of the paper, in the great open-air campaign that is now being organised, in the long list of meetings now being held all over the country. They will receive it again at the mass meeting in the Albert Hall on June 15, when, with Mrs. Tuke in the chair, Mr. Healy, K.C., Mrs. Mansell-Moulin, Miss Elizabeth Robins, and Miss Annie Kenney will each in individual manner demonstrate the invulnerability of the Union—the Government pretend they have crushed. The lower orchestra will be occupied by those Suffragists who have been released from prison up to date; and everyone will rejoice in the opportunity of welcoming these brave prisoners of war. The success of this important meeting, held at a critical moment, depends now only upon the members of the Union, who alone can procure tickets for it; and we take this opportunity to urge them to arouse public interest in the demonstration by bringing their friends in large numbers to hear the answer the women have to give the Government.

READY-TO-WEAR FROCKS.



DAINTY GOWN (as sketch) in French Marquisette, finely tucked, trimmed with buttons and ruchings of own material, finished at waist with rosette of satin and patent belt.

49/6

BLACK FEATHER BOAS & RUFFLES will be in great demand for smart occasions. We have now in stock a wonderful variety at all prices. Also smart parasols for the races.

Debenham & Freebody

Wigmore Street (Cavendish Sq.), London, W.

A MESSAGE FROM ?

To the Women's Social and Political Union.

After the stress and strain and varied emotions of the past weeks, members of the Union will be glad indeed to come together at the GREAT ALBERT HALL MEETING ON SATURDAY, JUNE 15.

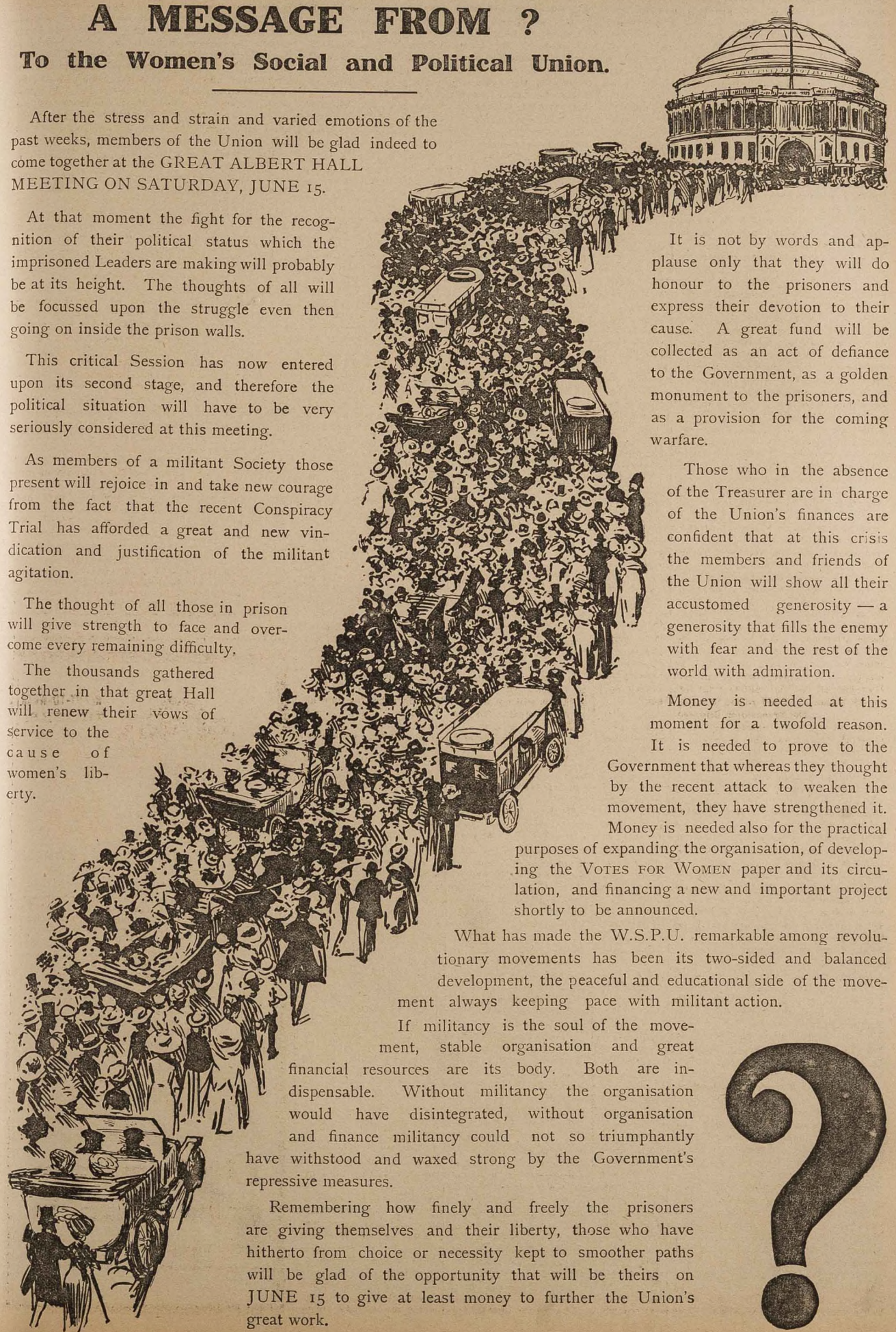
At that moment the fight for the recognition of their political status which the imprisoned Leaders are making will probably be at its height. The thoughts of all will be focussed upon the struggle even then going on inside the prison walls.

This critical Session has now entered upon its second stage, and therefore the political situation will have to be very seriously considered at this meeting.

As members of a militant Society those present will rejoice in and take new courage from the fact that the recent Conspiracy Trial has afforded a great and new vindication and justification of the militant agitation.

The thought of all those in prison will give strength to face and overcome every remaining difficulty.

The thousands gathered together in that great Hall will renew their vows of service to the cause of women's liberty.



It is not by words and applause only that they will do honour to the prisoners and express their devotion to their cause. A great fund will be collected as an act of defiance to the Government, as a golden monument to the prisoners, and as a provision for the coming warfare.

Those who in the absence of the Treasurer are in charge of the Union's finances are confident that at this crisis the members and friends of the Union will show all their accustomed generosity—a generosity that fills the enemy with fear and the rest of the world with admiration.

Money is needed at this moment for a twofold reason.

It is needed to prove to the Government that whereas they thought by the recent attack to weaken the movement, they have strengthened it. Money is needed also for the practical purposes of expanding the organisation, of developing the VOTES FOR WOMEN paper and its circulation, and financing a new and important project shortly to be announced.

What has made the W.S.P.U. remarkable among revolutionary movements has been its two-sided and balanced development, the peaceful and educational side of the movement always keeping pace with militant action.

If militancy is the soul of the movement, stable organisation and great financial resources are its body. Both are indispensable. Without militancy the organisation would have disintegrated, without organisation and finance militancy could not so triumphantly have withstood and waxed strong by the Government's repressive measures.

Remembering how finely and freely the prisoners are giving themselves and their liberty, those who have hitherto from choice or necessity kept to smoother paths will be glad of the opportunity that will be theirs on JUNE 15 to give at least money to further the Union's great work.



THE IMPRISONED LEADERS. Universal Protests.

"I will put a girdle round about the earth."—A Midsummer Night's Dream.

The sentence passed on the leaders of the Women's Social and Political Union has roused universal indignation and astonishment.

AN IMPORTANT MEMORIAL.

More active proofs of the feeling aroused among all fair-minded people are to be found in the memorials addressed to the Home Secretary, asking for political treatment for the Leaders.

To the Right Honourable Reginald McKenna, Secretary of State for Home Affairs. We, the undersigned, while recognising that damage to private property cannot be allowed to pass unpunished, feel that that principle has been sufficiently vindicated, and that the treatment of offenders, admittedly actuated by the highest motives, as if they were common criminals, may tend to lower law and government in the public estimation.

- SIDNEY BAILL, Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Oxford. A. J. CHARLEY, D.Litt., Lecturer and Chaplain of University College, Oxford. J. ESTLIN CARPENTER, D.Litt., Principal, Manchester College, Oxford. II. A. L. F. B.A., Fellow and Tutor of New College and Chichele Lecturer in Foreign History, Oxford. W. H. FEFE, Fellow and Tutor of Merton College, Oxford. H. W. GARNON, Fellow and Tutor of Merton College, Oxford. W. M. GELBERT, Viridian Professor of English Law and Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. G. S. GORDON, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. GERALD GOULD, Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. H. L. HENDERSON, Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford. A. J. HERRBERTSON, Professor of Geography, Oxford. HENRY SCOTT HOLLAND, Regius Professor of Divinity, D.D., Christchurch, Oxford. J. LESLIE JOHNSON, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. R. A. KNOX, Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. A. D. LINDSAY, Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, Oxford. JONES RHYE, Principal of Jesus College, Oxford. ARTHUR SIDGWICK, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. J. I. SPOONER, Fellow and Lecturer of St. John's College, Oxford. P. A. WRIGHT HENDERSON, Warden of Wadham College, Oxford.

OTHER MEMORIALS.

We understand that a similar memorial is being prepared at Cambridge; also that in a few days an International petition to the same effect will be forwarded to the Home Office, signed by men and women of world-wide reputation and of numerous nationalities.

Under the auspices of the National Political Reform League, the following memorial has been prepared, and is to be presented immediately in the House of Commons for signature:—

To the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Home Department. We, the undersigned Members of Parliament most earnestly appeal to you as representing His Majesty's Government to place in the first division those prisoners who are now undergoing sentences of imprisonment for offences committed during the present political agitation for woman's suffrage.

We would respectfully urge that the rider to the verdict of the jury in the recent trial of Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence has made it clear that in the minds of these men who followed closely the whole proceedings, the aims and motives of the offenders are not such as to warrant their being placed among the criminal class of prisoners.

The annexed copy of letter is sufficient proof of the desire of the jury that these offenders should receive the privileges of first division treatment. It would seem to us, therefore, that in recommending His Majesty's clemency you would be acting

in accordance with the express desire of the jury. In the cases of other prisoners now serving sentences which we submit are disproportionate to the political offences committed, our appeal is for the like clemency of treatment in the first division during the remaining period of their detention in His Majesty's prisons.

A SIGNIFICANT LETTER.

A significant letter appeared in the Standard ("Woman's Platform") on June 3. We give it herewith:—

THE SUFFRAGIST TRIAL.

Sir,—I am exceedingly anxious to get into immediate touch with as many as possible of my fellow jurors in the above case, and therefore ask that you will be so good as to insert this letter in your widely-read paper.

I shall be much obliged if a postcard giving me this letter will kindly send me a particular giving my name and address. C. C. WARREN.

11, Aberdeen Court, Aberdeen Park, Highbury, N. This was followed the next day by a paragraph running thus:—

Mr. C. C. Warden, of 11, Aberdeen Court, Aberdeen Park, Highbury, N., one of the members of the jury in the suffragist trial, is organising a petition from the jury for a remission or reduction of the sentences passed upon Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Pankhurst. Mr. Warden informed a representative of the Standard that at least one-half of the members of the jury expressed their dissatisfaction at no notice being taken of their recommendation for leniency, which recommendation every jurymen without exception issued.

In view of the widespread condemnation of the Judge for ignoring the recommendations of the jury in the recent Trial, this action on the part of Mr. Warden is very significant, and we are to be congratulated with the keenest interest, merely commencing afresh here on the profound mistake made by the Government in giving the W.S.P.U. a chance of stating their case to twelve free jurymen. Magistrates, judges, and police can be controlled by the Government—but not yet a British jury!

A CAMBRIDGE OPINION.

In a letter published in the Cambridge Review for May 30 Mr. E. W. Barnes writes from Trinity College, Cambridge:—"Although you have closed your columns to correspondence dealing with the suffragette movement, I trust that you will allow me to write on a question in which I have a personal interest. Mr. F. W. Pethick Lawrence came up to Trinity from Eton in 1891, and was entered on Mr. Bosley's side. In 1894 he was bracketed fourth Wrangler; in 1895 he obtained a First Class in Part I. of the Natural Sciences Tripos. In the next year he was resident of the Union. Mr. Masterman, the present Secretary to the Treasury, had occupied the same office two terms before, and about the same time the present Solicitor-General and Mr. F. E. Smith were students of the Oxford Union. In 1896 Mr. Lawrence obtained a Smith's Prize; in the next year he obtained the Adam Smith Prize for an essay on Local Variations in Rates of Wages, which showed his early interest in economic and social conditions. In 1897 this work and a most interesting investigation of the factorisation of large numbers secured his election to a Fellowship at Trinity. Immediately after his election he put himself on the super-naturalist list, and this voluntarily gave up the pecuniary emoluments attached to his Fellowship. Younger members of the University may be interested to know that Mr. Lawrence showed no mean skill at billiards and lawn tennis. Last Wednesday Mr. Lawrence was convicted of conspiracy; the jury expressed a wish for 'the utmost clemency and leniency' in view of the 'undoubtedly pure motives which underlie the agitation which led to this trouble.' The trial was, I think, scrupulously fair, though the account of it reads more like English ladies and gentlemen arguing in favour of political reform than criminals brought up for punishment in the High Court. In the end, Mr. Lawrence was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment in the second division. Imprisonment in the first division is still imprisonment, a heavy punishment to an enthusiast, who at forty feels that nine months is an appreciable portion of his remaining life; and I ask that those in Cambridge who agree with me will send me a postcard to be attached to a petition to the Home Secretary, asking that Mr. Pethick Lawrence may be imprisoned in the first division. Any signature that may thus reach me shall be forwarded through a suitable channel."

BONNIE DUNDEE!

The Committee of Dundee Electors have sent to the Home Secretary the following letter:—

Sir,—We regret to observe that the Leaders of the Women's Social and Political Union—Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence—committed to prison for conspiracy in connection with the recent suffragette disturbances, have not been placed in the First Division, as is customary in the case of political offenders. No one can fail to recognise the vast difference that exists between such offenders

and the common law-breaker. Actuated by the highest of motives, they have been treated as if they were the worst of criminals. To confine persons of this type in the Second Division, although certain relaxation of the ordinary prison discipline is allowed, is to fall away from the traditions of the past. Men such as Mr. Parnell, Mr. Ginnell, Mr. Wm. O'Brien, Dr. Jameson, and Mr. W. T. Stead were all placed in the First Division because of the political nature and pure motive of their offences. As a committee of electors endeavouring to secure for suffragettes the recognition of their status as political prisoners, we call upon you to order the immediate transfer to the First Division of all those now in prison in connection with the movement for the enfranchisement of women.—We are, sir, yours faithfully, Charles M. Grant, D.D., Robert Sturrock, Leslie Ower, A. W. Paton, J. Percy Sturrock.

INTERNATIONAL COMMENTS.

FROM FRANCE.

From the editor of the Cosmopolitan Herald, Paris, to the editor of Votes for Women:—

[C'est avec indignation que nous venons d'apprendre le jugement qui inflige à Mrs. Pankhurst et à Mr. et Mrs. Pethick Lawrence un emprisonnement de neuf mois. Une condamnation paraît à tous et de just titre, tout à fait injuste et arbitraire; nous avons peine à comprendre en France qu'un delict d'aussi majeure importance que la réclamation de nos droits puisse motiver une semblable sévérité de la part des magistrats.]

Une première fois déjà, la Présidente de notre section féminine, Madame de Moritas avait émis un énergique protesté contre de tels verdicts. Croyez bien qu'en cette pénible occasion encore, nous associons pleinement nos protestations aux vôtres et souhaitons vivement le jour prochain du succès qui vous dédomagera de ces tristesses. Nous vous prions de vouloir bien agréer, Monsieur l'éditeur, de notre considération la plus distinguée.

FROM GERMANY.

When the jury in the Trial of the suffragettes gave their verdict of guilty they unanimously recommended, in view of the purity of the motives which inspired the agitation of the suffragettes, that the judge should give the lightest possible sentence. In spite of this recommendation the judge sentenced the three defendants to nine months' imprisonment, and most emphatically refused to order their first-class treatment. It is to be regretted that the sentence given to Parnell during the bitter fight with the Irish in 1881, and Stead in 1885, and to Jameson and his companions in connection with the Transvaal raid in 1896 cannot be denied to the suffragettes. Public opinion will demand that all the more on account of the fact that if a promise to abandon the agitation had been given the charge would have been dropped. —Gene Free Press (translated).

FROM ITALY.

Mrs. Annie Besant sends from Italy "hearty congratulations to the W.S.P.U. on your brave leaders."

FROM INDIA.

From a medical woman in India: "My sympathies are with you all at home, and my blood boils at the treatment which the noble women in prison are receiving. I only wish I was at home to help in the window smashing. I have seen much of the subjugation of women in the East, but nothing here equals civilised England's methods of breaking a woman's spirit."

FROM THE UNITED STATES.

From Chicago comes the cable: "Sympathy. Indignation at vindictive sentence. The first division is still imprisonment, a heavy punishment to an enthusiast, who at forty feels that nine months is an appreciable portion of his remaining life; and I ask that those in Cambridge who agree with me will send me a postcard to be attached to a petition to the Home Secretary, asking that Mr. Pethick Lawrence may be imprisoned in the first division. Any signature that may thus reach me shall be forwarded through a suitable channel."

RESOLUTIONS.

THE I.L.P.

The Hammersmith branch of the I.L.P. have expressed their feelings in a resolution protesting against the sentences on Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, whereby they are not only condemned to imprisonment for the alleged crime, but have also to pay

the costs of the trial, and considers this a miscarriage of English justice. The following resolution was carried at four open-air meetings held in Nottingham under the auspices of the I.L.P.:—

UNION OF ETHICAL SOCIETIES.

The Council of the Union of Ethical Societies at its last meeting passed the following resolution:—

[That having regard to the high personal character and long public services of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and of Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, and also of the motive which prompted them to offend against the law, the Council of the Union of Ethical Societies hereby protests against the severity of the sentence of nine months' imprisonment in the second division to which they have been condemned, and appeals to His Majesty's Secretary of State to place the prisoners as political offenders in the first division so long as they are in prison.]

SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

The Birmingham Woman Suffrage Society have passed the following resolution and sent it to Mr. McKenna:—

The executive committee of Birmingham Women's Suffrage Society, composed of members holding various political opinions, who have always distinguished themselves by their high character and violence in political agitation, strongly protested against the sentence of nine months' imprisonment and six years' banishment which was passed on Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Pankhurst of prison treatment in first division, such as was accorded to Dr. Amson and Sir J. Wilton, and others guilty of more serious political offences.

The Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association and the Irish Women's Franchise League, Dublin, have also passed resolutions protesting against the sentences and demanding proper treatment for political prisoners. These were sent to Mr. Asquith and Mr. McKenna.

IN THE HOUSE.

In the House of Commons on Tuesday, Mr. King asked whether a warrant is still out for the arrest of Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and whether, having regard to the punishment passed on others charged with the offence for which she is sought, all proceedings against Miss Christabel Pankhurst will be dropped?

Mr. McKenna: The answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative, and to the second in the negative.

Mr. King asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he has considered the sentence passed on May 22 on Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence; and whether he is prepared to recommend a mitigation of the punishment imposed?

Mr. McKenna: In consequence of a communication made to me yesterday by the prisoners' solicitor, I am consulting the judge in this matter.

A PRESS COMMENT.

Considerable interest is centred in the questions which have been put down for to-day by Mr. Keir Hardie and Mr. King dealing with the woman suffrage prisoners. There is a widespread feeling that the sentences passed upon the women concerned in the window-smashing raid, and the House would hear with relief that the Home Secretary had decided, by exercise of the prerogative of mercy, to release, not merely the persons sentenced for conspiracy, viz. Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, but also the humbler women who are in prison for wilful damage to property.

Whenever the Reform Bill is brought forward, whether in the present or in the 1913 Session, it will bring with it the certainty of the Parliamentary vote for women. I do not believe that a Reform Bill without provision for the enfranchisement of women would ever pass through the present House of Commons.—H. J. in the Daily Chronicle June 5.

A GREAT POPULAR CAMPAIGN OF DEMONSTRATIONS.

Ealing and Wimbledon Lead the Way.

The London Local Women's Social and Political Unions have risen nobly to the urgency of the political situation. They have organised a great series of weekly demonstrations to prove the popular demand for votes for women in 1912.

Several local unions are sharing the responsibility of each of the demonstrations, and are working together to secure success, as Suffragettes so well know how to. In advertising the demonstrations help has been enlisted from at least one entirely new quarter. The management of the underground railways and of several of the tram and omnibus companies have generally agreed to display free advertisements, and in some cases, to grant cheap fares also, for the whole series of demonstrations. These business firms recognise that the suffrage cause and the suffrage speakers are immensely popular



MRS. LAMARTINE YATES.

nowadays, and that, as well as so kindly helping us to make our meetings known, they will themselves benefit through the increase in passenger traffic. Besides the companies who are doing us this great service, we have to thank Miss Gladys Sheldon, who, by tact and perseverance, has so successfully carried through these arrangements.

As I have said, the general plan is that several unions shall co-operate in each demonstration, but as Ealing was somewhat isolated from any other, that gallant little union bravely assayed to organise its demonstration single-handed, and it decided not merely to shoulder the whole responsibility of its effort, but to lead the way for others. So Ealing began the series on Saturday, June 1.

All the way there in the train on Saturday I kept catching glimpses of the posters announcing the Ealing and Wimbledon



A Poster Parade at Ealing.

meetings, and I knew that even those who could not be present would realise by those signs that the suffragettes were busily at work. There was quite a crowd on the Ealing platform, and as I stepped out of the train I heard people say: "There's another—a Suffragette!"

Outside the station I found a band of our Ealing comrades wearing purple white and green sandwich posters announcing the afternoon demonstration. They had been zealously parading their neighbourhood for weeks past, and proudly told me that last week their Ealing parades had numbered nearly twice as many women as those in the city.

But, alas! the sky, which had been overcast all day, was now lowering heavily, and all at once the rain came pouring down. There was yet nearly half an hour before the meeting was to begin, and we took shelter in the station, hoping against hope. Our party kept growing as each train came in, and at twenty minutes past five—we were to begin at half-past—the rain almost stopped. At once the poster-bedecked ladies started marching off in line along the road towards the common, and the rest of us followed on the pavement.

From afar off we saw the purple white and green flags flying and a number of ladies with umbrellas in the colours walking about. The people were waiting in crowds for us under the chestnut trees that fringe the common.

It was raining again by now—it was to be an afternoon of showers—but as this

shower was not a very heavy one, and as the people seemed willing, we began to speak.

Mr. J. Y. Kennedy and Mr. G. A. Chambers (both well-known local speakers) and I mounted the nearest platform. The people at once flocked round us—a splendid crowd, in spite of the rain. It took all and more than all one's voice to reach them, and before long there was an equally large gathering round the platform where Mrs. Drummond, Miss Agnes Kelley, and Mr. Tom Norris were the speakers. The organisers of the demonstration had intended to have four platforms, but owing to the weather they decided only to send out two. It is quite certain that had the afternoon been fine, the crowds would have been at least four times the size. As it was, the people stood through the showers for an hour and three-quarters, and all the while were absolutely good humoured and sympathetic. All but a very small sprinkling of individuals were thoroughgoing in their own demand. One man at my platform tried to be tiresome, but the great body of the crowd refused to respond to his sallies.

From Mrs. Drummond's platform we could hear the sound of laughter wafted across to us. It turned out that a man, who was wearily and unsuccessfully trying to sell copies of the Anti-Suffrage Review, had put into her hand a leaflet by Lord Cromer, giving fifteen Anti-Suffrage reasons why women should not vote. Mrs. Drummond was replying to these in her own humorous way, and the crowd was responding with roars of merriment. She carried the votes for women resolution at her platform without a single dissentient. The rest of us were not quite so fortunate, for though we also carried the resolution, some four or five hands were raised against it.

We came away wishing that Ealing had had better luck in the matter of weather, but feeling that they had done themselves and the W.S.P.U. very good credit all the same. Mrs. Finlay and her helpers are to be highly congratulated on their work.

At Wimbledon.

My hopes were running very high for "Women's Sunday" in Wimbledon next day, because I knew that the Wimbledon, South Wimbledon, Kingston, Fulham and Putney local unions were all responsible for its success, and that Clapham and Streatham were also lending their aid.

As for the temper of the multitude, it was all that could be desired. There were some interruptions, it is true, but they were neither unduly persistent nor annoying in any way. The main body of each crowd was seriously attentive and sympathetic, and the resolution calling for first division treatment for the suffragette prisoners, demanding votes for women in 1912, and repudiating any proposal to extend the franchise unless it should include political equality for men and women, was carried by a large majority at every platform.

As we drove away at eight o'clock the demonstration began at six great masses of people lined up to see us go. Women cheered us and waved their handkerchiefs, men cheered us, and though a few youths preferred to groan, they only added a touch of typical London humour and variety, and we knew by their smiling faces, that even they bore us no ill-will.

All the workers, including Mrs. Lamartine Yates, Mrs. Scarborough, Mrs. Dacre Fox and our American sister, Miss Zelia Emerson, who worked so hard in the last days, may congratulate themselves on the triumphant success of the Wimbledon Common gathering.

So Ealing and Wimbledon have started the campaign. Regent's Park follows next Sunday, June 9, and other demonstrations are announced below. The great culminating point of the series will be a joint demonstration in Hyde Park on July 14, Mrs. Pankhurst's birthday, and the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille. This will be organised by all the London Local Unions. The New Con-

stitutional Society for Woman's Suffrage, the Women's Tax Resistance League, the Men's Political Union, the Independent Labour Party, and other societies have agreed to co-operate.

Owing to certain peculiar local conditions, our four platforms were not put up simultaneously, but they grew up, as it were, one by one. First Miss Elsa Myers began to speak from one platform, but already there were far too many people for her voice to reach more than a section, and when, two or three minutes afterwards, the next platform was occupied by Mrs. Dacre Fox, who took the chair for Mrs. Drummond, the majority were still beyond the hearing line. Even when the four platforms were occupied, as they were very shortly, there were still large numbers of people who could not hear, but we had no more platforms to fall back upon.

Miss Elsa Myers, after she had made her first speech, began again from a carriage which was standing on the narrow platform that interested the common. An immense crowd gathered round her, but the pathway was obstructed, and the police intervened.

As for the exact number of those who present I was, for my part, so happy to see them and to feel their sympathy for our cause that I never thought of trying to form an estimate. I know that the crowds were not so great as those at our two biggest Hyde Park demonstrations, but this Wimbledon meeting is easily the largest in size that I have seen in London. Some of our friends estimated the number of people at fifteen thousand; others, again, thought there were twenty thousand persons present. The very lowest estimate was 12,000, but it is difficult to say precisely, for crowds assembled on a great open common naturally tend to appear smaller than if packed into an enclosed park. The people were masses very tightly around the small platforms on which we stood, and they pressed so close to them, that as I sat on the edge of my platform, after I had finished speaking, I was quite unpleasantly crushed by the constant pressure. For this reason anyone not actually on the platforms would hardly realise how very large was the number of people that surrounded them.

Miss Lee, who, through too much chalking and eye parading, has broken a ligament in her thigh, and who, though the doctor had ordered her ten days' rest, sat in the Press cart at the edge of the common, because she could not bear to miss "Women's Sunday," tells us that for two whole hours a wide stream of people poured ceaselessly on to the ground.

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MRS. BESANT'S OPINION. on the Result of the Conspiracy Trial.

Mrs. Annie Besant ends us the following note, which will appear in a forthcoming issue of the Theosophist:

"Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence have been sentenced to nine months' imprisonment in the second division for conspiracy. Such an outrage is only inflicted on the supposedly helpless. Dr. Jameson, for his armed raid, was sent to the first division, and had every comfort during his detention. It is a pity that the W.S.P.U. cannot transform itself into a Trades Union, and then, under the lately passed Act, it might conspire at ease, and might also carry on 'peaceful picketing.' If Russia be at all clever, she might make an effective retort when Sir Edward Grey protests against the treatment of Miss Malecka, for, after all, Miss Malecka's friends were revolutionaries, and revolution in Russia does not confine itself to the breaking of windows. It is quite true that Miss Malecka is shamefully treated, but I doubt if they will feed her forcibly. Why should not Russians get up a signed protest, addressed to the Cabinet of which Sir Edward Grey is a part, remonstrating with it on the methods of torture used against women political offenders in England? England is very fond of lecturing Russia; why should not Russia take a turn at lecturing England? The present Cabinet might also take a lesson from India. There the Government is honestly trying to put down torture, while in England it sanctions it. Lady Constance Lytton was very nearly killed by the treatment to which she was subjected; others have had their health ruined for life. The testimony of the jury in the late Conspiracy Trial to the manifestly pure motives of the defendants had no weight with the judge; if women were tried by women, by their 'peers,' as they ought to be, the juries would acquit, as men have done in political trials, and the law would then break down. Even men juries, in the light of the treatment of the recommendation of this jury, may, in the future, refuse to convict, or might merely disagree. There are many legal ways of wearing tyranny out. However, in any case, the women's triumph is secure, and these three names will go down to posterity with those of other martyrs in Liberty's army."

TREASURER'S NOTE. THE GUILTY PRISONER.

Lines written by William Lloyd Garrison, Liberator of the Slave, on the walls of his cell: Prisoner! within these gloomy walls close pent, Guiltless of horrid crime or venal wrong— Bear nobly up against thy punishment, And in thy innocence be great and strong! Perchance thy fault was love to all mankind; Thou didst oppose some vile oppressive law; Or strive all human fetters to unbind; Or wouldst not bear the implements of war— A martyr's crown is richer than a king's! Think it an honour with thy Lord to bleed, And glory midst intensest sufferings! Though beat, imprisoned, put to open shame, Time shall embalm and magnify thy name!

AN UNBROKEN FRONT.

The Government have done their worst! What does it amount to? The panic-stricken imprisonment of three great Leaders whose spirit is so unquenchable and their influence so far-reaching that they have "put a girdle round about the earth" and inspired the women of every civilised country. Could anything be more complete than this latest failure of the Government to imprison what cannot be imprisoned, to break what cannot be broken?

Our natural instinct is to wonder what we can do to show that no action of the Government can crush the Women's Social and Political Union. Here is something that everyone can do. Bring a full purse to the Albert Hall on June 15 (see pp. 579 and 586) and take it away empty!

Never was there greater need for loyalty and co-operation on the part of the members of the Union. Important schemes are on foot: important developments of the work, of intense interest to us all, will be announced at this great Meeting. A huge fund will be raised in order to carry these into effect. The enemy must be confounded by our unbroken front; and nothing contributes so effectually to this result as a full War Chest. Every member who cares for the honour of the Union will help to fill it on June 15. In years to come she will be proud to feel that in helping to build up a record sum on this day in 1912 she helped to win the freedom of women and to hurl defiance at the Government that sought so vainly to withhold it.

Mabel Tuke.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £250,000 FUND.

April 17 to May 2.

Table listing names and contribution amounts to the £250,000 fund, including entries like 'Miss Gibson (per)... 0 10 0' and 'Total £123,873 15 7'.

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R.S. 153. 'Raglan' Sports Shirt in good white Japanese silk, fastening with pearl buttons, and fitted with pocket. Price 15/6 Superior quality. Price 15/6 Same style in cotton net shirting, 6/6; in linen, 7/6; in silk and wool orion, 11/9 Neck sizes: 15 to 14 1/2.



R.S. 162. Fitted Blouse, in figured washing net, trimmed with guipure lace which forms a yoke. In 3 sizes. Price 15/8



R.S. 156. Smart Tailor-made Shirt, in white cord check, with buttoned, tucked back and front and fastened with large pearl buttons. It is fitted with new shape detachable collar and link cuffs. Neck, 15 to 14 1/2. Price 10/6

PETER ROBINSON'S of REGENT STREET.

THE MORALITY OF "SPEAKING OUT."

By Christopher St. John.

The announcement that Mr. Bernard Shaw's "immoral" play, "Mrs. Warren's Profession," is to be performed by the Pioneer Players on Sunday evening, June 16, and on Tuesday afternoon, June 18, ought to be profoundly interesting to all Suffragists, for they have not had an opportunity during the years that have witnessed their tremendous growth as a corporate body of seeing a play that has dealt with anything like the same honesty with a question which is very near the hearts of all women fighting the battle for civic freedom.

"Are you sure you are right to tell us?" Vivie Warren is asked by the correct, conventional, gentlemanly Praed, when she mentions her mother's life, and reproaches him for not having been more frank with her about it. Listen to Vivie's answer: "I am sure that if I had the courage I should spend the rest of my life in telling it to everybody—in starting and branding it into them until they felt their share of its shame and horror as I feel mine. There is nothing I despise more than the wicked conventional morality that protests those things by forbidding a woman to mention them."

When "Mrs. Warren's Profession" was first produced in London, ten years ago, in a hole and corner way at the Lyric Club, after having been refused a licence by the Censor, the "wicked, conventional morality" referred to was far more tyrannous than now. I have no hesitation in saying that the Suffrage movement, and in particular the militant Suffrage movement which has bravely fought all wicked conventions about womanliness, is responsible for the clearer insight into true morality that now obtains among women who think at all.

Readers of Votes for Women may be interested to hear that when "Mrs. Warren's Profession" was produced in New York, in 1905, and was the object of municipal interference and a police prosecution, the hubbub of hostile voices was a hubbub of men's voices. Miss Mary Shaw, who was playing Mrs. Warren, was very much struck by this, and thought it would be reasonable to attempt to find out what women thought about it. "I decided," she said in recounting her experiences afterwards, "to lay the case before them, and to ask for their co-operation."

I wish it to be known, that to the great credit of women throughout the country, I was cordially welcomed by the best class of organised women in every community I visited. In spite of the insulting nature of the criticisms of the play in the Press, in spite of the scandalous misrepresentations of its moral aim that had appeared everywhere, in every case a vote was taken from these organised women to visit the theatre, see the play, and form an independent judgment of it. This was no mere sentimental example of the courage and fine judgment of American women. I always made it my duty to learn their verdict, and of the many hundreds of women I interviewed, I never talked with one who was shocked by "Mrs. Warren's Profession." On the other hand, it was most unusual to find a man who was not shocked by it.

How is this to be explained? Is it because women are less sensitive to indecency and immorality than men? Surely not! I think myself that the women were shocked, but in the right way; shocked not because the play had been written and acted, but because the awful fact in society, with which it deals, exists, unrebuked and unformed. They felt that the howl of indignation should have been raised against the fact, not against its true, unromantic presentation by Mr. Bernard Shaw.

Why all this fuss and commotion about this particular play? Why have some members of the Pioneer Players' Society resigned as a protest against its being performed? Is it because Mrs. Warren belongs to the "underworld," and frankly gives her reasons for having adopted her ghastly trade? There have been many plays before "Mrs. Warren's Profession" with heroines of her type, but they have always been treated romantically. Efforts have been made by dramatists to render them attractive and sympathetic. And from this point of view they may be counted far more subversive of morality than poor, truthful Mrs. Warren, accepting standards of society as they are, blurring out the awful knowledge of human nature at its worst that her life and position have enabled her to gain. Against Mrs. Warren, Mr. Shaw sets her daughter Vivie, a good type of modern girlhood, high-minded, finely educated, on fire with the conviction that social standards of morality are often at war with true virtue. But when the play was acted in America, Vivie's opinions were not quoted in the Press. They might have given away the fact that "Mrs. Warren's Profession" is a highly moral play!

"THE HITHERTOS."

Those of us who heard Mr. Israel Zangwill's speech at the Albert Hall on that historic occasion, March 28, 1912, will not easily forget the delightful moment when he invented the Hithertos and the Henceforwards: the one a lost race, "dead but not departed," the other—ourselves! The speech, so full of weighty argument, clothed as only Mr. Zangwill could clothe it with rarest humour, has now been printed. The words with which the pamphlet closes are as applicable to-day as they were two months ago:— "Your gold will not indeed serve to liberate her (Mrs. Pankhurst) in the body, but it will enlarge her spirit in the knowledge that the seed she sows is living, that the sap is rising, and the blossom preparing: the walls of her prison will melt away, and though her cell be dank and dark, she will see that in the great world outside it is Spring! "The Hithertos," price one penny, may be obtained from the "Woman's Press," 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C.

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TO SUFFRAGETTES.—Save time and temper. Buy a good fitting Smart Hat made to order, from 6/11. Ready to wear, 4/11. Box sent on approval. Orders by post receive prompt attention. CLARA STRONG, 84, ELSPETH ROAD, CLAPHAM JUNCTION, S.W.

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Mrs. Warren's Profession, BY G. BERNARD SHAW.

Will be performed at the King's Hall, Covent Garden, on Sunday evening, June 16, at 8, and on Tuesday afternoon, June 18, at 2.

CAST: GERTRUDE KINGSTON, ELLEN O'MALLEY, HALLIWELL HOBBS, CHARLES MAUDE and ARTHUR WHITEY. Tickets may be obtained through members.

London Society of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 58, Victoria Street, S.W. Non-Party.

PUBLIC RECEPTION, Tuesday, June 11.

EMPRESS ROOMS, KENSINGTON HIGH STREET, 3.30 to 6.15. Chair: The Hon. Mrs. Spencer Graves. SPEAKERS:—The Lady FRANCES BALFOUR, THE COUNTESS OF SELBORNE, Mrs. STANBURY, Miss FRANCES STERLING. Ducession invited. Sale of Oriental Oil and Antiques.

VOTES FOR WOMEN

4, CLEMENT'S INN, STRAND.

FRIDAY, JUNE 7, 1912

"METHODS OF VIOLENCE."

Women are essentially moral beings. In asking them to adopt a political policy, it is not enough to convince them that that policy is expedient and effective. They must also be convinced that it is morally right. Unless their conscience approves, women will not use militant methods, however likely they may think them to be successful. We are glad of this. The militancy done with moral fervour, out of a sense of supreme duty, is the militancy that triumphs. The questions that we now propose to consider are these. Can violence ever be right? If so, is it right when done in vindication of women's claim to the Vote?

In answering these questions we address ourselves not to Tolstoyans or Quakers, whose views on the subject of violence are exceptional, but to the average man and woman. We challenge them to deny that the use of violence is sometimes an imperative duty and is oftener still both justified and even worthy of praise. A woman in defence of her honour, a mother for the protection of her child, may certainly use violence, and only a coward would refrain from it.

Again, the mass of people believe that violence may be rightly used to repel an invading army, and no matter what theories we may hold, there are very few of us who would see our country overwhelmed and its independence taken away, without doing our share of violent physical resistance to the enemy.

We none of us really believe in peace at any price. If it merely covers up subjection, if it is maintained only by submitting to a despotism, we think peace loathsome.

We militants at any rate have a passionate admiration for the struggle for Italian freedom. Garibaldi and Mazzini we regard as heroes. Constitutional Suffragists, of course, believe that Mazzini and Garibaldi ought to have relied upon moral and not upon physical force for the liberation of their country. We say that if they had done so Italy would never have been free. We know with what bitter and contemptuous jibes Garibaldi would have rejected the advice to trust to "constitutional" methods; what Mazzini, saint and soldier, would have said, we also know. We have his words:—

"War is the eternal law that stands between the master and the slave who breaks his chains."

Not gentleness and reason, nor argument, nor persuasion, but war—that is the language that the master, or the oppressing nation, or, we would add, the Cabinet Minister understands. Again Mazzini said of war that it is "sacred as peace when the triumph of good is to be its issue."

Now Woman Suffrage is not an international matter; it is a civil matter. It is not a case of one nation being held in bondage by another nation. It is a case of one sex being held in bondage by the other sex. It is not the freeing of Italy that is in question; it is the freeing of women. Yet the principle at stake is the same. Just as Italy was kept down by the strong hand, so women are kept in subjection by the strong hand. Provided there is no active and effective challenge of the political

supremacy of the other sex, the fact is hidden, but let that challenge be offered, and at once the physical force measures at the disposal of the State are brought into play. In proof of this we point to the imprisonment of many hundreds of women petition-bearers on their way to the House of Commons.

We have said that whether the domination complained of be that of a nation by a nation, or a sex by a sex, the principle at stake is the same, and by that we mean that just as active resistance to that domination is needed in the one case, so it is needed in the other.

Constitutional Suffragists deny this. They say that gentleness and reason are supreme in the world to-day, and that moral force alone is enough to overthrow a despotism based on force. They declare it to be an amazing thing that at a time when civilised men are discarding the weapon of violence, women should be taking to its use. Their whole train of reasoning is based upon a prodigious fallacy. It is very true, and most happily true, that as between equals reason instead of force is holding even stronger sway—witness the disappearance of duelling—once equalise the position of men and women, and the very memory of domination based on force and resistance to that domination made by force will quickly fade away. But as long as there exists political enslavement either of men by men or of women by men, then no matter how old the world may be, and no matter how advanced civilisation has become, force will be the basis of that enslavement, and to reason or persuade it away will be about as feasible as melting the heart of a tiger!

Apply this policy of reason and persuasion to the touchstone of common sense! Does anybody really suppose that Mr. Asquith will ever give Votes to Women in response to any appeal to his moral sense or to his higher nature? As easily would the Israelites have softened Pharaoh's heart without the Plagues, as would Suffragists without militancy soften that of Mr. Asquith! As to the younger generation of politicians, destined in course of time to stand in Mr. Asquith's place, they are no more amenable than he is to the influences of gentleness and reason. The Winston Churchills, the Herbert Samuels, the C. F. G. Mastermans, are no improvement whatever upon Mr. Asquith. If any politicians exist upon whom gentleness and reason and appeals to moral force will produce an effect, they are still in the cradle! We rather hope that women, by dint of pestering and militancy, will have got the Vote before these infants reach maturity and occupy a seat in the Cabinet.

We shall be told that our appeal is not to the Government alone, and that we can enlist as allies the help of the electors, who, by their votes, can compel the Government to act. Unfortunately it has always been and remains true that "Who would be free himself must strike the blow." The male elector, richly endowed though he be with political power, is not (perhaps for want of the aid that women could supply) over skillful in getting his own wants fulfilled. Moreover, as we have often found, after we have by prodigious efforts roused him from his apathy, he can at the critical moment be detached from our army by some tempting and artful offer of another measure that he covets. But our most crushing reply to this particular argument is yet to come. It is this. Men are never so ready to help women as when they discover them to be ready and able to help themselves. The militant methods, the moral and physical daring shown by women in these last six years, have awakened in men impulses of real chivalry, and feelings of human sympathy and respect that were unknown to them before. It is since militant methods began that men have risked physical injury, have sacrificed their careers, have gone to prison for the sake of Votes for Women.

We claim that militant methods have been good for the souls of women, too. They have swept away the evils of "ladyism," of timid gentility, of early Victorian effeminacy as distinct from womanliness. Militant methods are an assertion of the principle that in the great affairs of life, when freedom is at stake, when honour is at stake, there is one common standard of conduct for men and women alike. What a man may do to defend his honour a woman may do to defend hers, and what a man may do to win his freedom a woman may do to win hers.

We call upon our critics to look the truth full in the face, and then to tell us what there is that offends them in the violence we have done. The use of force is in itself neither good nor bad, neither right nor wrong. Everything depends upon the reason and purpose of its use. Force, when it rivets oppression, is hideous, but if we are to wipe out as shameful all record of forcible resistance to unjust authority, history will become a much poorer thing.

EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

Nine months' imprisonment! By this sentence the powers that be have deprived the community of the personal presence of a noble woman, and the Women's Social and Political Union of one of its revered Leaders. But because you cannot imprison a spirit or crush an idea, the real object of the Government in taking this course has already failed, and the fact that the body of Emmeline Pethick Lawrence is shut up within prison walls carries with it the assurance that her spirit will continue to be reflected in the hearts of women and her ideas to be generated afresh in their lives. So far, therefore, as the Movement is concerned, a fresh impetus has been given to its progress. But the community suffers irreparable loss, for Emmeline Pethick Lawrence has much to give of what the world stands in dire need; and to deprive the world of the visible presence of this woman is to deprive it of that necessary sustenance which it derives from all great and good men and women.

It is not possible to plumb the whole depth of the nature of Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, still less to give to the world in words a full picture of her personality; but it is possible to tell something of her essential characteristics. Planted deep down in the soul of this woman is the spiritual consciousness of the direction of a Higher Power, guiding and controlling her destiny. This same consciousness has been felt and recognised in various forms by all the great reformers and teachers of the world. It came to the Hebrew Prophets of old, to the Eastern sages, to the early Christian Martyrs, to men like Socrates, Simon de Montfort, Abraham Lincoln, Cromwell, to women like Joan of Arc. Coupled with this spiritual consciousness of the direction of a Higher Power is an innate sense of right and wrong which judges, and refuses to be judged by, the conventional standards of conduct which have been set up by the world around. Mazzini, the great Italian Reformer, possessed such an innate sense; so did Savonarola; so did Elizabeth Fry, Josephine Butler, Florence Nightingale. Those who are brought into intimate contact with men and women possessing this innate sense can accept or reject the standard which they set up, but they cannot argue with it because its foundations are deeper and more elemental than the shafts of argument can reach.

Another of the fundamental characteristics of Emmeline Pethick Lawrence is her passionate recognition of the unity of the human race. This is with her no intellectual assertion, it is an integral part of her attitude towards life. When Christ said, "For as much as ye have done it unto these My brethren ye have done it unto Me," He was not merely setting up a standard by which actions of human beings could be evaluated, He was expressing His inmost feeling. And men and women who love their fellows share with their great Master this consciousness of human unity. It has been expressed in the words of Lowell:—

"True Freedom is to share All the chains our brothers wear."

All through her life Emmeline Pethick Lawrence has been deeply conscious of this feeling of human unity, not merely in those of her intimate circle (as is the case with most men and women), but also in those in different spheres of life, in different countries and in different classes. And this feeling has not been merely a sentimental emotion, but has expressed itself in the channel of action, as will be seen from the account of her life. Particularly has this consciousness of human unity been felt and practised where women are concerned. It is almost as though other women were not separate beings, but part of her own wider self. When they suffer, she suffers with them; when they are humiliated, she feels their humiliation in her own person. And when they secure, through sacrifice and conflict, their true heritage, she will be rich in their possession.

But in order to comprehend the personality and influence of Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, it is not enough to know the great spiritual and moral currents of her nature; it is necessary to realise that in addition to these, and acting in absolute harmony with them, she possesses a strong sense of proportion, whereby she is able unerringly to choose the greater as against the less, and to form on each practical question as it arises an essentially sane and wise judgment. Those who have been brought into frequent contact with her cannot fail to have noticed that often when a question has been discussed at length by other members of the company, she will enter the discussion to carry it on to a higher plane, and to show conclusively on more important grounds than had been hitherto considered what the ultimate decision should be. It is through lack of this sense of proportion or perspective that many men and women fail to take that place in the community which their other great and noble qualities would seem to indicate; and it is because Mrs. Lawrence

possesses this gift highly developed that she has become a leader of men and women.

In turning over the pages of Mrs. Lawrence's life one is struck by the fact that she has not reached her present standpoint through any theoretical arguments or a priori considerations. She has come to it through her passionate love of individuals and her desire to help them. From the richness of her personal and social experience she has learnt the value and the necessity of political freedom.

Though Emmeline Pethick was born in Bristol she comes in reality, like her husband, from Cornish stock, her grandfather having migrated from Launceston to Bristol in the forties of last century, some twenty years after Mr. Lawrence's grandfather had made the longer migration from S. Agnes to the Metropolis. The name of Thomas Pethick is still remembered with respect in Bristol, while the house in Weston-super-Mare, where she spent her childhood, is still the home of her mother. Among the recollections of her young days are the happy years spent at a school under the direction of a Quaker family, for whom she has always had since a very deep affection. Other less happy memories are associated with another school where she was "put into Coventry" for a whole week for breaking the barbarous rule that a girl was not allowed to speak to one of the servants.

After school-days were over she spent a happy year in her home, but gradually, as she learnt more and more of the world, it was borne in upon her that there were women less fortunate than herself who needed her help. She offered herself to the West London Mission, which was then controlled by the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes and the Rev. Mark Guy Pearse; she was accepted, and for five years was a



Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

"sister" there. Of her various work and experience as "Sister Emmeline" a whole book might be written if space allowed. We will confine ourselves to one story.

She had been entrusted by the Mission Authorities with the work of reaching those women who have passed "outside the pale," and the cases that were most difficult and seemed most hopeless were given to her. One day she was sent to a police court to see if anything could be done with a girl, charged with the offence of solicitation, who was so haughty that she would suffer no one to approach her. It was not long before Sister Emmeline, by her simple friendship, had broken down the barrier of reserve and had learnt the tragic story. There were a little boy and aged mother to keep; work had been tried, but the mere pittance obtained had not been enough to keep the home together; at last the fatal step had been taken; the new trade won good food for the mother and health for the little boy; but the burning shame and dread lest her soul should be contaminated by the tragedy of her body brought with it a desolation of spirit that made her instinctively throw up her pitiful barrier of pride and haughtiness. Sister Emmeline went to the magistrate and promised to make herself personally responsible for the life of the other, and bit by bit she was able to straighten out the path. Since then the boy has grown up to be an honourable citizen. The mother has become a happy woman, and in her happiness she holds sacred the name of Sister Emmeline, who once saved her life, and whom to-day she counts among her friends.

After five years' work in the West London Mission, Sister Emmeline and her friend, Miss Neal (Sister Mary), determined to strike out in a new direction; leaving the Mission, they founded the West London Social Guild, including a club for working girls, known as the Esperance Girls' Club. They themselves lived in a working girl's flat, and spent on themselves only a working girl's wages. They inaugurated for the club an annual holiday at a time when summer holidays in the country for working girls and women were almost unknown. Realising,

too, that all social reform rests ultimately on an economic basis, they founded a co-operative dress-making establishment, with a minimum wage for women of 15s., and shorter hours than were worked elsewhere. The Maison Esperance, as it was called, flourished for some years, till, its work having been accomplished, it was absorbed by another establishment. The girls' club is still in existence, and has between one and two hundred members. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence is now the president, and under the direction of Miss Neal the members of the club have been instrumental in bringing back the folk songs and dances of England to the town and country side.

In 1901 Sister Emmeline was married at Canning Town to Mr. Frederick Lawrence, who was then the principal proprietor of the Echo newspaper. Mrs. Lawrence, who had for some time past been coming more and more to realise that behind the social and economic needs of our civilisation lay political considerations, took a deep interest in the conduct of the paper. When the paper came to an end in 1905, she and her husband went together to South Africa, and it was while they were there that the first military tactics of the W.S.P.U. were adopted, when Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney refused to leave the Free Trade Hall at Manchester until their question to Sir Edward Grey had been answered.

Mrs. Lawrence had for many years been a member of a constitutional Suffrage society, but had felt the hope of success growing fainter with each succeeding year, because the driving force behind the movement was totally unequal to the task of carrying the reform. There were practically no meetings, and no agitation, and there was only a mere handful of members. Mrs. Lawrence determined to find out whether the new movement had in itself the germ of life. Shortly after her return to England she made the acquaintance of Mrs. Pankhurst, heard her story, and determined not merely to sympathise, but to act. She was under no illusion as to the magnitude of the task to which she had put her hand. She knew that it was not a question of giving her spare time and such of her energies as were not required for other occupations; she knew that it meant her whole time, her whole energy, her whole reputation. She decided to put all that she had at the back of the movement, to give herself completely to it. From that day forward the story of her life is intimately interwoven with the story of the Women's Social and Political Union. Her personality is one of the central pillars upon which the whole fabric has been built up. Every new departure in policy, in organisation, in personnel has been debated in advance by her in conjunction with the other leaders of the movement, and it is through the wisdom of their combined counsel that success has been attained. To the outer circle of the Union she is known in connection with the activities to which she has devoted her special attention—as Treasurer, as speaker, as co-editor of Votes for Women, as the leader of some of the deputations, and as fellow-prisoner. So well is Mrs. Lawrence known in these capacities that scarcely any words need be said. Her success as Treasurer has almost become a proverb, but even in this it is only on one side of the Treasurer's work that public attention has been centred; the spending side has been almost forgotten. Yet it is here, at least equally with the other, that Mrs. Lawrence's special genius has been exhibited. To prevent all waste, to check all extravagant or unprofitable expenditure while giving out with a free hand for everything which is really worth while is at all times a thankless task, and while it is difficult in an ordinary business enterprise, where departmental profit and loss form a servicable guide to action, it is far harder in a political enterprise, where no such means of gauging results are available. It is here that Mrs. Lawrence's wonderful sense of proportion has been of such incalculable value.

As a speaker she possesses the power of deeply moving and of completely convincing her audience. In particular her articles, "Does a Man Support His Wife?" and "Do ut Des," have profoundly affected the trend of modern thought. In all her speeches and writings, as well as in her personal intercourse, the essential characteristic of Mrs. Lawrence is the human side of her, balanced by that spiritual outlook upon life to which we have already referred.

Mrs. Lawrence has twice taken the lead of deputations; once in February, 1909, when, owing to the absence of Votes for Women from the King's speech, she went at the head of a body of women to Westminster; and again in November last, when Mr. Lloyd George "torpedoed" the Conciliation Bill. For three months, from October to December, 1908, during the imprisonment of Mrs. Pankhurst and Christabel Pankhurst, the direction of the Movement was under her sole control. She is now in prison for the fifth time; she went for the first time in November, 1906, when her health broke down; then again for two months in the spring of 1909; again in November last, when, after serving ten days, she was let out on bail owing to the irregularity of her trial; again in March of the present year, when she was arrested for conspiracy and was refused bail; and now finally, for the fifth time, after sentence has been passed.

Truly may we repeat the words of a great statesman who said: "A prison is becoming, under the rule of the present Government, a temple of honour."



Mrs. MANSELL-MOULLIN.

COME TO THE W.S.P.U. DEMONSTRATION

IN THE ROYAL ALBERT HALL

ON SATURDAY, JUNE 15, 1912 at 8 p.m.

Doors open at 7 p.m.

IMPORTANT NEW DEVELOPMENTS WILL BE ANNOUNCED.



Miss ELIZABETH ROBINS.

We make an urgent appeal to members to remember that tickets can only be obtained through them, and that it is important that the general public should be brought to the meeting.

Tickets to be obtained from Miss Cooke, Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, at the following prices:—

- Amphitheatre Stalls, 2s. 6d.
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Miss ANNIE KENNEY.

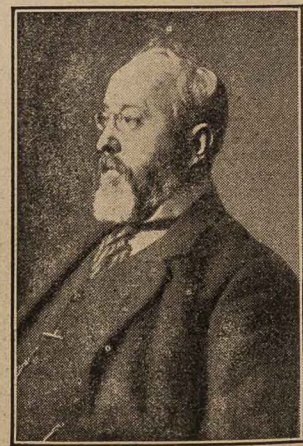
CHAIR: MRS. TUKE.



Mrs. TUKE.

SPEAKERS:

- TIM. Healy, Esq., K.C., M.P.
Miss Elizabeth Robins.
Miss Annie Kenney.
Mrs. Mansell-Moullin.



Mr. T. HEALY, K.C., M.P.

THE BY-ELECTIONS.

HYTHE (AND FOLKESTONE). Polling Day, Tuesday, June 11. CANDIDATES. Sir Phillip Sassoon (U.) Captain Moorhouse (L.)

Owing to the death of Sir Edward Sassoon a vacancy is created in the constituency of Hythe. The Liberals have decided to fight, and the by-election is in full swing.

ment, and by methods of repression and coercion to break the spirit of the agitators and stamp the movement out—a conspiracy which will not succeed, as it only strengthens the women in their determination to win political freedom for themselves and their sex.

Elector of Hythe, we ask you, at this Election, to let the Government know that you do not support them in their Anti-Suffrage policy—that you condemn their action in imprisoning and torturing British women in their courageous struggle for their just rights; that you, as well as the women, call upon the Government to reverse its policy on this question, and introduce and carry through the House of Commons this Session a measure giving votes to women on the same terms as men.

You can do this on polling day by recording your vote against the Liberal candidate.

Table with 2 columns: Candidate, Votes. Includes Mr. E. G. Hemmings (L.), Mr. N. P. Jodrell (C.), Lib. Maj., and results from Dec. 1910.

Another blow has been dealt to the Government by the reduction of the Liberal majority from 1,143 to 648. In this reduction the W.S.P.U. played an important part.



Miss Georgina Brackenbury in N.W. Norfolk.

had had an excellent reception. Hearty thanks to Lady Lumb, Miss Emerson, the Misses Bishop and others for their most valuable help.

Our correspondent writes:— The reception given to the W.S.P.U. speakers in Liberal strongholds like Gayton, Snettisham, Docking, and Creako (Labour), has been remarkable; and everywhere—in Liberal and Conservative villages alike—opinion seems almost unanimously in favour of Votes for Women.

The prosecution and imprisonment of the suffragist leaders as common criminals are a part of a conspiracy by the Government to wreck the woman suffrage movement.

The third resolution was proposed by Mrs. Heron Maxwell, and in supporting it Miss Balgarnie roused enthusiasm by saying that if the amendment to the Reform Bill were defeated no self-respecting woman could appear on a Liberal platform again, and that for her part she would immediately join the Labour Party.



W.S.P.U. Committee Rooms, at King's Lynn.

WOMEN LIBERALS AND THE VOTE

At the annual council meeting of the Women's Liberal Federation, which opened at the Queen's Hall last Tuesday, the question of Woman Suffrage was debated with considerable warmth.

A Curious Resolution. Mrs. Stewart Brown moved that it become a rule that all associations affiliated with the Federation should have as one of their objects the promotion of Woman Suffrage.

The Reform Bill. Three resolutions were put forward by the executive. The first, moved by Lady Bamford Slack, expressed confidence in the Prime Minister's pledge that he will not sanction the introduction of any Government Bill dealing with the Parliamentary franchise that does not allow of an amendment in favour of women's suffrage.

A Stronger Line. The third resolution was proposed by Mrs. Heron Maxwell, and in supporting it Miss Balgarnie roused enthusiasm by saying that if the amendment to the Reform Bill were defeated no self-respecting woman could appear on a Liberal platform again, and that for her part she would immediately join the Labour Party.

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN. June 5. Not for nothing have many Liberals played false and the Irish Nationalists struck a shrewd blow at women's suffrage.

It is uncertain whether Lord Haldane's recent visit to Germany was one of pleasure only, or had a deeper significance. In any case, as a member of the Cabinet, he is responsible for the treatment of the Woman Suffrage question, and it is fitting that he should be reminded of it.

It is a curious fact that the Women's Liberal Federation has not yet adopted a policy essentially Liberal, indeed, but not forming part of the official policy of the party.

with protesting motions, and the Executive wisely realised the necessity of themselves introducing a series of stringent resolutions to express, and at the same time limit, the general indignation. These resolutions were three. The first adopted women's suffrage as henceforth an integral part of the policy of the Federation.

to judge by the demonstrations of feeling in the meeting, was an extremely mild expression of an uncommonly energetic feeling. A significant feature of the meeting was the enthusiasm with which all references to the Labour Party and its action in regard to women's suffrage were received, and the ardour with which the thanks of the meeting were accorded to them. Now the declaration of intention of the Labour Party is that in case the promised Reform Bill should be carried through Committee without an amendment enfranchising some women, they will vote against its third reading. Obviously nothing less than this will suffice, and it would be well if Liberal suffragists were to make up their minds to the same effect.

It is a curious fact that the Women's Liberal Federation has not yet adopted a policy essentially Liberal, indeed, but not forming part of the official policy of the party. It asserts a life and line of action of its own, and the assertion may go further. The second resolution declared that no Franchise Bill could meet with the approval of the members of the Federation which did not include women's suffrage, and the third... to judge by the demonstrations of feeling in the meeting, was an extremely mild expression of an uncommonly energetic feeling.

Other ladies also interrupted during the course of Mr. Burns' speech, so that he has good reason to know that the battle for the suffrage is being waged as fiercely as ever.

"BUSINESS AS USUAL." No better phrase could have been found to describe the position of the W.S.P.U. during the absence of its leaders than the above apt title which the Penny Illustrated Paper has put under an excellent photograph of one of the W.S.P.U. speakers addressing a large crowd at the N.W. Norfolk by-election.

