

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

EDITED BY FREDERICK & EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

VOL. II., No. 38.

NOVEMBER 26, 1908.

Price 1d. Weekly. (Post Free, 11d.)

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Dedication	137
The Outlook	137
N.W.S.P.U. Announcements	138
Programme of Events	138
History of the Suffrage Movement. By Sylvia Pankhurst ..	139
The Trial of Mrs. Baines	140
Letters from the Prisoners	148
Mr. Lloyd George and Political Flirtation. By Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.. .. .	148
The Chelmsford By-Election.. .. .	150
An Impression of the Contest. By Evelyn Sharp	150
Our Post Box	151
Heckling Cabinet Ministers	152
Treasurer's Note	152
Contributions to the £50,000 Fund	152
Progress of Women	153
Release of the Prisoners	154
Campaign Throughout the Country—	
West of England — Lancashire — Midlands—Newcastle—	
Scotland	156
Local Notes	158
Questions in the House	159

Articles and news contributed for insertion in "Votes for Women" should be sent to the Editors at the earliest possible date and in no case later than first post Monday morning prior to the publication of the paper.

Subscriptions to the paper should be sent to The Publisher, "Votes for Women," 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

The terms are 6s. 6d. annual subscription, 1s. 8d. for one quarter, post free, payable in advance.

The paper can be obtained from all newsagents and bookstalls.

For quotations for advertisements, apply to the Advertisement Manager, "Votes for Women," 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

DEDICATION.

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.

We have pleasure in presenting to our readers this week an issue enlarged to 24 pages, in order to meet the increased pressure upon our space. The activities of the National Women's Social and Political Union render it more and more difficult to compress the whole of the available material into the 16 pages, and if the circulation and advertisements justify us, we hope to be able to make a permanent increase to 24 pages in the new year. We ask our readers to assist us in this by taking in extra copies, introducing it to friends, and by generally extending the sale in every way. They can also help us considerably by patronising those firms who advertise in our columns.

The Trial of Mrs. Baines.

One of the most important events of the past week has been the trial of Mrs. Baines in connection with the disturbances

outside Mr. Asquith's meeting on October 10. Mrs. Baines had summoned by subpoena Mr. Asquith and Mr. Gladstone as witnesses, but on Wednesday, the 18th, the Divisional Court set aside these subpoenas, Mr. Bigham, in giving judgment, stating that, in his opinion, Mr. Asquith neither saw nor could see, nor heard nor could hear, anything relevant to the trial. This statement was not only contrary to an affidavit produced by Mr. Lawrence, but was in conflict with evidence actually produced at the trial. This decision strikes a serious blow at the rights of prisoners in criminal cases, nor can we regard with equanimity the fact that Mr. Asquith employed Crown lawyers to defend his private suit.

Verdict at the Assizes.

The actual trial took place at Leeds, and a full report is given on pages 140—147. The verdict illustrates the dangerous tendency which prevails of placing full credence in police evidence as against the evidence given by private individuals. Mrs. Baines refused to be bound over, in spite of her declaration that she was opposed to violent methods. She has gone to prison for six weeks, and her strong resolve will be supported by all those who realise the degrading position women have to occupy at the present day.

Holloway.

Saturday last 13 prisoners were released from Holloway Gaol, and, after a procession from the gaol, were entertained to breakfast at the Inns of Court Hotel. Miss Wallace Dunlop gave a graphic account of the protest which was led by her in order to insist upon her right to interview the Governor. Other speakers described their life within the walls of the prison. Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Leigh, and Mrs. Tanner still remain in the gaol, and the Home Secretary still refuses to place them in the first division. Our readers will read with great interest the words of Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughter which have been sent in letters to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence; these will be found on page 148. Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughter have also been visited in prison, and we are glad to be able to report that they are in good spirits, and delighted with all the news that was given to them. Mrs. Leigh is understood to be in solitary confinement. On Saturday afternoon a procession, swelling in numbers until it amounted to many thousands, encircled the prison. The authorities, evidently alarmed, called forth over 1,000 police, and would not allow the demonstrators to approach within a quarter of a mile. The crowd showed enthusiastic sympathy, and gave ringing cheers for the incarcerated women.

Other Interesting Events.

Women are working hard to defeat the Liberal candidate at Chelmsford, and it is hoped that as many as possible will take part in the demonstration on Saturday, particulars of which are given among the announcements on next page. The Bill for giving women the vote in Victoria has now passed both Houses; when this has received the Royal Assent, there will be no part of Australia where women are not enfranchised. Women have taken several opportunities of urging the importance of their case before Cabinet Ministers during the week. Mr. Asquith was cross-examined in person at Toynbee Hall by two women. Mr. Haldane had a Women's Suffrage speech delivered to him at Guildford. Mr. Harcourt at Glasgow was made to realise that Scottish women would not wait much longer for an answer to their demand. At Scarborough a great meeting was held outside the meeting of Sir Edward Grey. On Wednesday, as we go to press, a great meeting is being held in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, of which we shall hope to give a full report next week. We print a letter from Mr. Zangwill, in which he criticises some of the present militant methods. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence replies in the leading article.

N.W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

The Chelmsford By-election.

All friends are invited to take part in the special demonstration which will be held in the Chelmsford By-election on Saturday next. Preparations are in progress for going down into the constituency, and touring through it in motor 'buses. It is expected that the start will be from Kingsway at 2 p.m. sharp, arriving back about 9 p.m. Tickets for the whole journey 2s. 6d. each, from the Ticket Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn.

During the few days that remain before the polling in Chelmsford on December 1 special efforts are being made towards convincing the electors of the rightness of the women's claim, and towards urging them to vote against the Liberal nominee. The N.W.S.P.U. Committee Rooms are at Old Army Barracks, Springfield Road, and Mrs. Drummond will be glad to have the assistance of anyone who is able to put in an appearance. Literature sellers are especially in request, as the electors take a keen interest, and are anxious to buy.

Mrs. Tanner's Release.

Mrs. Tanner, who was sentenced for two months on October 14, will be released on December 4 at eight o'clock.

The arrangements will be similar to those of Saturday last. She will be met at Holloway at 8 o'clock, and will be welcomed by a crowd of friends; from there a procession will go to the Inns of Court Hotel, where a complimentary breakfast will be served. Tickets for the breakfast at 2s. each and for the brakes at 6d. each can be obtained from the Ticket Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C. Friends are specially invited to take tickets early, as on the last occasion several friends were turned away, as there was no room for them.

The Queen's Hall Meeting.

A meeting will be held in the large Queen's Hall, London, on Thursday evening, December 17. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will be in the chair, and the other speakers will be Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Gladice Keevil, and Mr. Pethick Lawrence. Tickets are in great demand, and should be applied for at once, prices 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d., from the Ticket Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

At Homes in the Queen's Hall, London.

Readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN are reminded that a public At Home is held every Monday afternoon in the Queen's Hall from 3 to 5, women being specially invited. Previous to the meeting there is an organ recital by Mrs. Layton, F.R.C.O., who has kindly undertaken the position of honorary organist to the N.W.S.P.U. Next Monday the speakers will be Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, and Mr. Pethick Lawrence.

At Homes in various parts of the Country.

In addition to the At Homes in the large Queen's Hall on Monday afternoons, other At Homes are held in different parts of the country. At Homes are held in Clifton, Plymouth, Manchester, Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Bradford, Leeds, Newcastle, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other places. Particulars of these will be found on pages 156-7. In London the Thursday evening At Homes for the rest of the year will be as follows:— November 26 and December 3, in the small Queen's Hall, Langham-place; December 10, small Portman Rooms, Dorset-street; December 17, there will be no At Home, as on that evening there will be a ticket meeting in the large Queen's Hall. In the new year the Thursday evening At Homes will be held in the St. James's Hall, commencing Thursday, January 7. A few seats will be reserved and charged for, the rest will be free.

Exhibition at the Princes' Skating Rink.

Arrangements are proceeding for the great exhibition which is to be held by the N.W.S.P.U. from Monday, May 17, to Saturday, May 22, in the Princes' Skating Rink, Knightsbridge. All information with regard to the same can be obtained from the Exhibition Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

Christmas Presents.

The Shelley Calendar, arranged by Miss Kerr, for 1909 is now ready, and can be obtained for 1s. The Christmas cards reproducing the beautiful banner by Laurence Housman are also ready, the price is 6d. each for single copies, larger quantities: 25 for 10s. 6d.; 50 for £1; 100 for £1 17s. 6d. The penny Christmas card will also be issued in the course of about a week. Other suitable Christmas presents are the purse bags, belts, ties, sashes, and new and charming hatpins in various designs, all in the colours of the N.W.S.P.U., as well as the Boadicea brooches. A new post card, "On the Way to Bow Street," is now ready. Also a new leaflet, "The Urgency of Woman Suffrage."

Women who are willing to help in the sale of VOTES FOR WOMEN are asked to call at the office, 4, Clements Inn, and ask for Mrs. Baldock, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday mornings at 10 o'clock. Those who can help in the theatre queues should call at the office between 6 and 7 p.m.

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Up to December 4 (as far as at present arranged).

Date	Event	Speakers	Time
Nov. 26	Newcastle-on-Tyne, Exchange, Open-air Meeting	Miss New	12 a.m.
	Kewham, Dock Gates	Miss Phillips	12.30 p.m.
	Wood Green, Small Unity Hall	Bowes Park W.S.P.U.	2.45-4.15
	Somerset Hall, Brentwood	Miss Joachim	3 and 8.30
	Wolverhampton, Bath Assembly Rooms	Miss Keevil, Mrs. Shurmer	3.30 p.m.
	Kensington, Drawing-room Mtg.	Miss Evelyn Sharp, Miss Brackenbury	
	Billinghurst, Sussex	Miss Haig	8 p.m.
	London, Small Queen's Hall	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst	
	Wyham-on-Tyne, The Institute	Miss New, Mrs. Atkinson.	7.15 p.m.
	Chair: Hon. Mrs. Parsons		
	Plymouth, Market Place	Miss Phillips, Miss Elsie Howey	8 p.m.
	Edinburgh, Newhaven, Madras Hall	Mrs. Rothwell	8 p.m.
	Mosley, Debate	Miss Gladice Keevil	8 p.m.
	Hackney, League of Young Liberals, School Room, Pembury Grove	Miss Isabel Seymour	8 p.m.
Fri. 27	Darlington, Temperance Institute, Gladstone Street	Miss New, Mrs. Atkinson, Mrs. Woods	3 p.m.
	Manchester, At Home, Onward Buildings, Deansgate	Miss Mary Gawthorpe, Mrs. Martel	6 p.m.
	Wallsend, Women's Meeting, I.L.P. Inst.	Mrs. Michael, Miss Robinson, Miss Balls	7 p.m.
	Wandsworth, East Hill	Miss Canning, Mrs. Penn Gaskell	7.30 p.m.
	Clifton, Hannah More Hall		8 p.m.
	Camden Town, Protest Meeting, Working Men's College Hall, Crowndale Road	Mrs. Drummond, Miss Isabel Seymour. Chair: Mr. Pett Ridge	8 p.m.
	Brighton	Miss Naylor	
	Plymouth, Guildhall	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Annie Kenney	8 p.m.
	Edinburgh, Toppa Bungalow	Mrs. Rothwell	8 p.m.
	Harmony Hall, Brentwood	Miss Macaulay and Lantern Lecture	8.30 p.m.
Sat. 28	Aberdeen Central Hall		
	Manchester, 116, Portland Street	"Votes" Corps	11 a.m.
	Manchester, St. Peter's Square	Theatre Corps	1 p.m.
	Tour of Prisoners	Brentwood, Essex	
	Plymouth, Corn Exchange, At Home	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	3.30 p.m.
	Manchester, Factory Girls' Mtg. Leeds, Armsley, Protest Meeting	Mrs. Martel	
	Hamilton Terrace, N.W., St. Mark's Church Hall	Miss Adela Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Newcastle, Haymarket	Miss Douglas Smith	
	Glasgow, At Home, 141, Bath St.	Miss New, Mrs. Atkinson, Miss Robinson	8 p.m.
	Leeds, Woodhouse Moor, Protest Meeting	Miss Conolan	
Sun. 29	Bradford, Sunday Society, Laycock's Rooms	Miss Adela Pankhurst	8 p.m.
Mon. 30	London, At Home, Queen's Hall	Miss Gawthorpe	3-5
	Bristol, At Home, Victoria Rooms	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	
	Liverpool	Miss Annie Kenney	3.30 p.m.
	Liverpool, Mr. Forson's Church	Mrs. Martel	7.30 p.m.
	Newcastle-on-Tyne, Bigg Market	Miss New	7.30 p.m.
	Birmingham, Ruskin Hall	Miss Gladice Keevil, Dr. Helen Jones	7.30 p.m.
	Chelsea, Open-air Meeting	Miss Barry	8 p.m.
	Dublin, Law Students' Debate, Law Courts	Miss Mary Gawthorpe	8 p.m.
	Wandsworth, Town Hall, Protest Meeting	Mrs. Drummond	8 p.m.
Dec. 1	Hornchurch, Debating Society	Miss Isabel Seymour	
Tues. 2	Birmingham, At Home, Edgbaston Assembly Rooms	Miss Gladice Keevil, Mrs. Kerwood	3.30 p.m.
	Edinburgh, At Home, 24, Shandwick Place	Miss Conolan	4 p.m.
	Manchester, At Home, Onward Buildings, Deansgate	Mrs. Martel	4-6
	Birmingham, At Home, 14 Ethel Street	Miss Gladice Keevil, and others	7.30 p.m.
Wed. 3	Liverpool, At Home	Miss Mary Gawthorpe	8-10
	Brixton, Literary & Discussion Society	Miss Macaulay	
	Newcastle-on-Tyne, At Home, Crosby's Cafe	Miss New, Hon. Mrs. Parsons, Mrs. Atkinson, Miss Kathleen Brown, and others	3 and 9
	Edinburgh, At Home, 21, Shandwick Place		4 p.m.
	Barnes, Drawing-room Meeting	Mrs. Lorisignol	3-5
	Liverpool, Co-operative Guild	Mrs. Martel	7.30 p.m.
	Edinburgh, At Home, 21, Shandwick Place	Miss A. C. Scott	8 p.m.
	Birmingham, Debating Society, Wylde Green	Miss Gladice Keevil, Dr. Helen Jones	8 p.m.
	Manchester, 116, Portland Street	Members' Meeting	8 p.m.
	Clarendonwell, Peel Institute	Miss Douglas Smith	8 p.m.
	Chelsea, At Home	Committee of Chelsea W.S.P.U.	8-9.30
	Wood Green, Small Unity Hall	Bowes Park W.S.P.U.	8-10
	Kensington, At Home	Kensington W.S.P.U.	
Thur. 3	Chelsea, Sloane Square	Miss Macaulay, Miss Canning	12 a.m.
	Wood Green, Small Unity Hall	Bowes Park W.S.P.U.	2.45-4.15
	Plymouth, Drawing-room Mtg.	Miss Jordan	3.30 p.m.
	Wolverhampton, At Home, Baths Assembly Rooms	Mrs. Kerwood	3.30 p.m.
	Paignton, At Home, Masonic Hall	Miss Elsie Howey	4-6
	Wolverhampton, At Home, Baths Assembly Rooms	Miss Gladice Keevil, Miss Law	8 p.m.
	Streatham, High School Hall, Pinfold Road	Miss N. E. Smith, Miss Evelyn Sharp, Miss Macaulay	8 p.m.
	London, At Home, Queen's Hall		8-10
Fri. 4	Forest Gate, Lecturers Lecture		
	Plymouth, At Home, Royal Hotel	Miss Elsie Howey, and others	4-6
	Wallsend, Women's Meeting, I.L.P. Institute	Miss New	7 p.m.
	Manchester, Dukinfield Liberal Association	Miss Mary Gawthorpe	8 p.m.
	Manchester, At Home, Onward Buildings	Mrs. Martel	
	Clifton, Hannah More Hall	Miss Annie Kenney	8 p.m.
	Wimbledon, Lecture Hall, Lingfield Road	Mrs. Eates. Chair: Dr. Bather	8 p.m.

IMPORTANT FUTURE EVENTS.

London, Queen's Hall Dec. 17

Princes' Skating Rink..... May (1909)

For Special By-Election Meetings, see Page 150.

THE HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST. XXXV.—The Deputation to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman.

As the police dragged the women out of the ladies' gallery of the House of Commons on April 25, 1906, after the protest described in the issue of November 12, they were upborne by enthusiasm for their cause. The flood-tide of their indignation had been running high, and it was with a deep sense of relief that they gave it vent. It was almost with a feeling of triumph that they cried shame upon the men who, by their pitiful and tasteless jokes, had frittered away the hours during which the women had sat silently and anxiously awaiting the verdict upon their just demand. But the feeling of exultation and triumph soon died in the blighting, soul-destroying atmosphere of the House of Commons, and the disdainful glances and bitter reproaches of the Members in the Lobby soon brought the women face to face with the enormous difficulties of their struggle.

There was nothing that the Suffragettes (as they had recently been named by the *Daily Mail*) had yet done that aroused so much attention and interest in the country, but there was also nothing that had brought upon them such a hurricane of abuse. The newspapers showered upon them alternately angry disapproval and contemptuous ridicule, and they were hurriedly repudiated by numbers of women's organisations. The National Union of Suffrage Societies and some of the members of the Parliamentary Committee now urged that the members of the W.S.P.U. had disgraced themselves too deeply to be allowed to form part of the deputation to the Prime Minister, the promise for which they themselves had secured. Efforts were made to induce them to withdraw from it, but this they were not disposed to do, and as some members of the Parliamentary Committee—and, it is said, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman himself—supported their claim to be represented, and also, as it was well known that if they were not received they would agitate for another deputation, the attempt to exclude them had to be abandoned. As soon as the date and time of the deputation to the Prime Minister had been announced, the women began to make their preparations for an effective demonstration upon that day. The National Union of Suffrage Societies had decided that following the Prime Minister's declaration they would hold a meeting in the Essex Hall, but the W.S.P.U. had very much more ambitious schemes afoot.

Early on May 19 a procession organised by the W.S.P.U. began to assemble on the Embankment close to Westminster Bridge. At half-past eleven it started off. At the head of it walked the chief marshal, Miss Teresa Billington, who had been appointed as an organiser for the W.S.P.U. in the previous November, and had taken part in the scene in the Ladies' Gallery; then came the band, and then members of the deputation to the Prime Minister. Among these walked the veteran suffragist Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy, Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., and Annie Kenney wearing the cloaks and shawls that she had worn in a Lancashire cotton mill; there were also a large number of women from the Lancashire textile and other Workers' Committee, with the banners of their respective trades. Then came the great banner of the W.S.P.U., inscribed in white letters with the words, "We demand votes for women this session."

This banner had been made in the little house in Park-walk, and the writing had been part of the secretary's duties, for so it was that the work was done in those days. The poles of the banner were lashed to a big forage lorry, in which rode a number of old women who could not walk and others with babies in their arms. After these came the W.S.P.U. and women members of the I.L.P., and members of other Women's Societies.

The deputation which assembled in the Foreign Office numbered between 350 and 400 persons. It consisted of Members of Parliament representing the 200 signatories to a petition for Woman Suffrage, which had been presented to the Prime Minister, and women delegates from 25 separate organisations representing over half a million women.

There were ten speakers. These were Miss Emily Davies, LL.D., one of the two women who in 1866, more than 40 years before, had handed to John Stuart Mill the first petition for Woman Suffrage; Mrs. Eva M'Laren, who spoke on behalf of the Women's Liberal Federation, with a membership of nearly 80,000; Miss Ashton, who spoke as the representative of 99,000 women Liberals belonging to nine organisations and 641 associations in England and Scotland; Mrs. Rolland Rainy, who testified to the desire for the franchise of the 14,000 members of Scottish Women's Liberal Federation; Miss Eva Gore Booth, and Mrs. Sarah Dickinson,

who spoke as members of the Lancashire and Cheshire Textile and other workers' Representation Committee. Mrs. Gascon spoke on behalf of the Women's Co-operative Guild, with its 425 branches and membership of over 22,000; Mrs. Watson represented the Scottish Christian Union of the British Women's Temperance Association, with a membership of 52,000; and Miss Mary Bateson spoke on behalf of the Women University graduates.

Mrs. Pankhurst spoke next as a delegate of the Women's Social and Political Union. She said that the members of her Union had instructed her to ask that women should be enfranchised during that year. "A growing number of us feel this question so deeply," she went on, "that we have made up our minds that we are prepared if necessary to sacrifice even life itself in order to get this question settled, or what is even harder, the means by which we live. We appeal to you, sir," she said to the Prime Minister, "to make this sacrifice unnecessary by doing in the present year of Parliament this long-deferred act of justice to women."

After that Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman rose to reply. He began as though he had been an earnest supporter of Woman Suffrage, dwelling not only upon the benefits which the franchise would confer upon women, but their enthusiasm in working for it, their fitness to exercise it, and the good work they had already done in influencing public affairs. "That," he said, "is where you and I are agreed. It has been very nice and pleasant hitherto, but," he continued, "I have only one thing to preach to you, and that is the virtue of patience."

Mr. Keir Hardie then moved a vote of thanks. He said that he was sure that most of those present, irrespective of their political convictions, had suffered disappointment that the Prime Minister's concluding statement had not been more emphatic. As to patience, there were some ladies present who remembered that in 1884 and a few years preceding the passing of the County Franchise Act of that year, the demand for Woman Suffrage was as extensive, and as enthusiastic, and apparently as nearly successful as now. By displaying patience their opportunity had passed away. Patience, therefore, like many other virtues, could be carried to excess. Nevertheless, they were pleased to learn that the leaders of the two orthodox parties in the House of Commons were now committed personally to the enfranchisement of women by the statement which Mr. Balfour had made in the House of Commons the other evening, and now that of the Prime Minister himself. "With the agreement of the two great historic parties, and with the support of the other sections of the House," he added, "it surely does not pass the wit of statesmanship to find ways and means for enfranchising the women of England before this Parliament comes to a close."

At this point Sir Henry turned and looked at Mr. Keir Hardie, and shook his head.

Mr. Cameron Corbett, M.P., also expressed himself as being disappointed that the Prime Minister had not given a definite promise.

Now, Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy, who had not been set down as one of the authorised speakers on this occasion, interposed, saying that she had worked in the cause of Woman Suffrage since October, 1865, and during that period she had seen the men voters in the country increase from less than 700,000 to more than 7,000,000. The Prime Minister had told them in his speech how much women had gained in the last twenty years; she asked them to consider how much they had lost in the last sixty years. All that women asked for was the restoration of their ancient rights. It seemed to have been entirely forgotten that their ancient rights in the City of London and in many other towns were co-equal with those of men. He seemed to have forgotten that for the last twenty years it had been impossible to alter some of the gross inequalities in the English law. In 1884, the women had been full of hope, but Mr. Gladstone had pointed blank refused to give them the franchise. No Parliament had ever offered a greater insult to womanhood than the Parliament of that year. They had actually taken six or seven divisions on the point as to whether a feign should continue his disfranchisement for a year after he had served his sentence, but only one division had been taken to decide that English women should not have the vote. Every year it became more and more difficult to remedy the injustices under which women suffered. "If I were to tell you of the work of the last twenty years of my life," she said, "it would be one long story showing the necessity of the immediate enfranchisement of women."

The vote of thanks, to Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman was then carried with cheers and some hissing, and Sir Henry made his reply. He did not in any way strengthen his previous declaration, and as he sat down, Annie Kenney rose up and said, "Sir, we are not satisfied, and the agitation will go on."

THE TRIAL OF MRS. BAINES.

THE DIVISIONAL COURT SETS ASIDE THE SUBPŒNAS OF MR. ASQUITH AND MR. GLADSTONE.

In last week's issue an account was given of the application by Mr. Asquith and Mr. Gladstone to the Divisional Court to set aside the subpœnas served on them requiring them to attend to give evidence at Leeds in the trial of Mrs. Baines. Mr. Justice Bigham and Mr. Justice Walton on Monday, November 16, had granted a rule nisi, and Wednesday, November 18, was fixed for cause to be shown why the rule should not be made absolute. The same judges sat in the Lord Chancellor's Court, which was crowded, several members of Parliament being present. Mr. Pethick Lawrence represented Mrs. Baines. The Attorney-General (Sir William Robson, K.C.), the Solicitor-General (Sir S. Evans, K.C.), and Mr. S. A. T. Rowlatt appeared in support of the rule.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence said he had three preliminary objections to urge why that rule should not be made absolute. In the first place, he desired to point out that the proceeding on the part of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Gladstone was unprecedented. He believed that there was no precedent for setting aside those subpœnas in that particular way and under those particular circumstances. When those gentlemen received their subpœnas they stated that if the learned judge who would try the case, after a review of the facts, decided that their evidence was necessary, they would be willing to attend. He accordingly made application in the matter, and the learned judge said that he was not prepared to go into the whole of the facts at the time, because he could not try the case then, but that he would take his (Mr. Lawrence's) opinion on the question. Counsel assured him that, in his opinion, the evidence of those gentlemen was not only relevant but material, and that his client could not have a fair trial if that evidence was withheld. Upon that the judge accepted the assurance, and intimated that he would expect those gentlemen to be present.

An Unprecedented Application.

It was an unprecedented thing for application to be made to that Court to override the decision of a judge, who had to try a case, in order to set aside subpœnas. Counsel also urged that those subpœnas could not be set aside on the ground of being frivolous or vexatious. He took upon himself to make that assurance to the learned judge on distinct personal investigation of the position, and he (Mr. Lawrence) went to the building in which the meeting took place and informed himself that the evidence of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Gladstone would, under the circumstances, be necessary and requisite. It seemed to him, therefore, that to suggest that his application was frivolous and vexatious was to suggest a stain on his honour. It was said by Mr. Rowlatt, who applied for the rule, that these women had been conducting a frivolous campaign against the right hon. gentlemen, and had been engaged in a process of annoying them and vexing them in many ways. It did not seem to him that that was the place to deal with a political question of that kind, and he ventured to think that his learned friend had been misguided by the Press of this country, and that he had mistaken a slight incidental concomitant of the agitation for the agitation itself. He had overlooked the main fact of that agitation, and the holding of thousands of public meetings each year, while the events to which he referred were only occasional and incidental.

Mr. Justice Bigham: Will you tell me in a few words what your first preliminary objection is? Is it that the course is unprecedented?

Mr. Lawrence replied that it was unprecedented under the circumstances to override the decision of the learned judge.

The Employment of Crown Lawyers.

His second objection was to the form in which that application had been made. He complained that the Treasury solicitor was acting for the right hon. gentlemen. The defendants were put on their trial by the Crown, which was coming to them to ask them to forego part of their evidence. He was instructed to ask Mr. Asquith and Mr. Gladstone to give evidence in the case as private individuals, and if they had taken private legal means to make that representation he could not see any objection. They had, however, made use of the opportunities provided by their position to employ the agents of the Crown to make that application, and it seemed to him unfair that the defendants should be put upon their defence before those who would be against them at the trial at the Leeds Assizes, and that they should be called upon there to explain the nature of their defence.

Prejudicing the Case.

In the third place, he would submit that that attempt to call upon the defendants to show reason why those gentlemen should

give evidence was one which would tend to prejudice the case, because it was an attempt before the event to force them to disclose the nature of the evidence they were going to call, and he would submit that nothing more than a mere outline of the position ought to be called for.

The Charge of Rioting.

Turning to what happened on October 10 last, counsel said a large meeting was being held in the Coliseum at Leeds, that Mr. Asquith and Mr. Gladstone occupied seats at the front of the platform, and 60 ft. away were doors with glass panels opening on to the street. He had it in an affidavit, and he also knew from his personal knowledge, that it was possible in daylight to see through those glass panels into the street from the front of the platform. The defendants were charged with several serious offences, including rioting, and he submitted that what the two right hon. gentlemen saw, or did not see, or heard or did not hear, sitting there in full view of the street, was material and important evidence in the case.

Mr. Justice Bigham: Do you suggest it is more material than that of anyone outside the doors?

Mr. Lawrence: Yes, because those outside are possibly participants.

Mr. Justice Bigham: Is this evidence more important than that of those close to the door?

Mr. Lawrence: Yes, because such evidence would come from people who had their backs to the door.

Mr. Justice Bigham: Is it more important than that of anybody at the meeting sitting just beside these two gentlemen?

Mr. Lawrence: Yes, because they were in front, and had a full and uninterrupted view through the glass.

Mr. Justice Bigham: You will have great difficulty in persuading me that people sitting 60 ft. away from a glass window could see anything going on in the street.

Mr. Lawrence: I have sat in the same position myself in order to verify it, and could see very clearly.

Mr. Justice Bigham: Did you get up a riot outside? (Laughter.)

Counsel went on to state that there were two swing-doors, each having two glass panels a foot wide. He read an affidavit by a gentleman who was sitting in the orchestra at the meeting. That gentleman said he saw through the glass in the doors which formed the main entrance of the Coliseum. Mr. Asquith and Mr. Gladstone were facing the doors, and in his opinion had the best view of what was taking place in the street.

Mr. Justice Bigham: You wish us to believe that there was no view so well adapted for seeing the riot that was going on as that which Mr. Asquith and Mr. Gladstone had?

Mr. Lawrence: No. I ask you to believe that one exceedingly important point of vantage to see what happened was from the platform inside the Coliseum.

Mr. Justice Bigham pointed out that in his affidavit Mr. Asquith said he was wholly unable to give any evidence on any issue relevant to the trial of that case.

Mr. Lawrence replied that he did not wish to impugn the honour of Mr. Asquith, but would suggest that the right hon. gentleman was not in a position at present to know exactly what was relevant to that suit.

Mr. Justice Bigham: If it is true what Mr. Asquith and Mr. Gladstone say, they can say nothing.

Mr. Lawrence said his client was charged with very serious offences, and in his opinion the evidence of Mr. Asquith was of the utmost importance to show what happened in the street. He submitted that there was a *prima facie* case for setting aside the rule. If the Court insisted on his going further to show how far that evidence affected the facts, he would take that course, but that would place his client in a very difficult position, because they were being compelled to disclose their evidence before they had had the opportunity of cross-examining witnesses for the Crown.

Mr. Justice Bigham: You must not suppose I am placing you under any obligation to do anything at all. You must take your own course.

Mr. Lawrence said that if their lordships did not consider that *prima facie* case sufficient, he would feel that he ought to go further into the evidence of the police. In that case, it appeared to him that the interests of his client would be prejudiced, and if as a result of that prejudice his client were convicted, he ventured to submit that he would have to consider how far that would render it necessary to appeal against the verdict on the ground that the case had been prejudiced before the event. Did he understand that unless he provided further grounds—

Mr. Justice Bigham: You must not ask me questions. You must take your own course.

Mr. Lawrence, continuing, referred to the evidence of several constables as to what happened at Leeds on October 10. This was to the effect that rushes were made towards the glass door of the Coliseum, one of which was headed by Mrs. Baines; further that Kitson, it was alleged, pushed at the door; further that women were screaming, missiles were being thrown at the mounted police, and that horses were struck and kicked. Eight or nine hundred people took part, it was said, in a rush to the Coliseum.

Mr. Ernest Palmer (instructed by Messrs. Lawrence, Jones, and Co.) said he represented Alfred Kitson. He had no affidavit to offer, and only attended out of respect to the Court. Mr. Kitson had taken no part in the application for the subpœnas, and desired to take no other course than to submit to the judgment of the Court.

The Case for the Crown.

The Attorney-General said that the affidavits of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Gladstone contained all that he had to say upon the facts of the case. Both gentlemen stated that they had seen nothing which would be relevant to the issue in the case. The Prime Minister's secretary had written to the defendant's solicitor as follows:—

I am instructed by Mr. Asquith to inform you that he did not see anything from the platform of the Coliseum at Leeds which would enable him to give relevant evidence in the case of the Crown against Mrs. Baines. Mr. Asquith feels that no good purpose could be served by his coming to Leeds.

Mr. Justice Bigham: Can you tell us of any case where a process of this kind has been set aside?

The Attorney-General answered that the principle was laid down in several civil cases that the Courts would not allow their processes to be abused.

Mr. Justice Bigham: I have no doubt about that at all. Can you refer us to any reported case where subpœnas such as this have been set aside?

The Attorney-General quoted the case of *Steel v. Savory*, heard before Mr. Justice Romer in 1891, in which a writ had been set aside on the ground that it was an abuse of the process of the Court.

Mr. Justice Bigham: Have you any authority to show that a subpœna in a criminal case has been set aside?

The Attorney-General said he had not been able to discover any reported authority, but submitted that the principle was the same in a criminal as in a civil case. In a case of abuse, especially so flagrant as the present, the Court had ample power to guard its process from abuse. Defendants came before their lordships knowing that the hon. gentlemen, if properly questioned, would give evidence which could not assist their case in any event. That showed clearly a desire to vex, or, rather, to advertise their cause by the notoriety which it was part of their policy to seek, rather than to seek to further the cause of justice.

The Judgment.

In giving the decision of the Court, Mr. Justice Bigham said: I think this rule must be made absolute. There can be no doubt at all about the jurisdiction of this Court to interfere in cases where it is satisfied that its process is being used for improper motives. It must not be supposed that the position which the two applicants, Mr. Asquith and Mr. Gladstone, hold affords them any privilege at all in connection with this matter. They stand in the same position as any other of his Majesty's subjects; but we have to inquire whether the process which has been issued against them has been issued with the object of obtaining, and with the expectation of obtaining, from them, on reasonable grounds, evidence which can be relevant to the charge brought against the defendants.

Now, what are the facts? Mr. Asquith and Mr. Gladstone appear to have been present at a meeting in Leeds in the Coliseum. They were seated in front of the platform, and were about 60 odd feet away from a glass door which formed the entrance from the street into the hall. We have had the door described and the glass panels in it. The charge against the defendants is that they caused a riot and an assault in this street during the meeting, and it is suggested that these two gentlemen saw from the position which they occupied on the platform what was going on in the street, and it is suggested that they must have heard what was going on in the street. On these grounds it is said that their evidence may be important at the inquiry which is to take place at the Leeds Assizes. I do not believe for myself, as a matter of fact, that they either saw or could have seen, or heard or could have heard, anything that could be at all relevant to the inquiry which is to be held before the judge at the assizes. I have the affidavits of the two gentlemen in question, in which they both swear that they are wholly unable to give any evidence which can possibly be relevant to any issue which can arise at the trial. I accept their statement. I believe it to be true, and I think if it is true that it would be idle and a waste of time to require them to go down. They further say, "No application has been made to us by or on behalf of the defendants or their solicitors for any proof of any evidence to be

given by us." That statement satisfies me that this process has not been issued for a simple and proper purpose of obtaining evidence. It has been issued for a different and immaterial purpose, and for a purpose to which the process of this Court ought not to be applied. It is sufficient, I think, for me to say, first, that I am satisfied that neither of these two gentlemen can give any relevant evidence, and, secondly, I am satisfied that this process has not been issued for the purpose of obtaining relevant evidence, but for other purposes, which it is not necessary for me to say anything at all about.

Mr. Justice Walton agreed that the rule must be made absolute. He was satisfied that those subpœnas were not really and *bona fide* required for the purpose of obtaining any evidence which would be relevant to any issue that could or would arise upon the indictment against the defendants. The order which was now made, however, would not interfere in any way with the power of the judge at the assizes if anything arose which led him to think that the attendance of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Gladstone was necessary. His Lordship was not suggesting that anything would arise, and could not see how anything could arise which would induce the judge to make such an order, but the matter would be entirely in his hands.

The rule was accordingly made absolute.

AT THE ASSIZES AT LEEDS.

The actual trial of Mrs. Baines was taken on Thursday and Friday, November 19 and 20, in the Crown Court in the Leeds Town Hall. The Court was crowded. Among others who sat on the Bench were the Lord Mayor of Leeds (Mr. F. J. Kitson) and the Lady Mayoress (Mrs. Kitson), and the Vicar of Leeds (Dr. S. Bickersteth) and Mrs. Bickersteth. In the ladies' gallery were many active members of the Women's Suffrage movement.

The judge was Mr. Pickford. Counsel in the case were, for the prosecution, Mr. A. W. Bairstow, K.C., and Mr. R. A. Shepherd; Mr. Pethick Lawrence and Mr. Hedley appeared for Mrs. Baines, and Kitson was defended by Mr. Charles Mellor and Mr. A. H. Marshall.

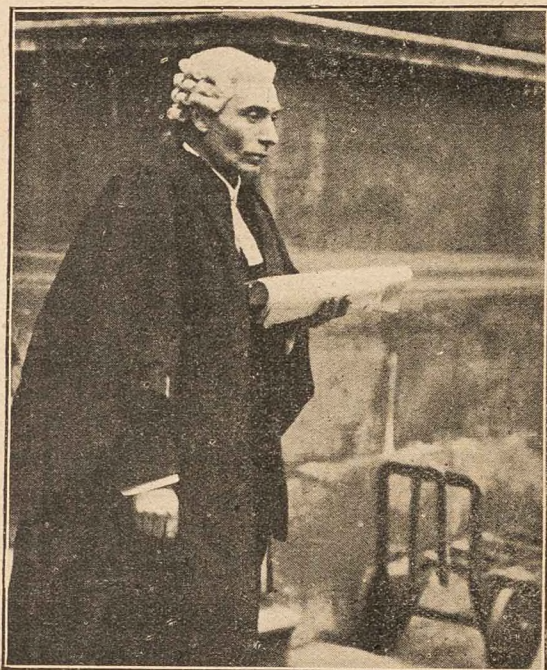
The joint indictment was preferred charging Mrs. Baines, along with Kitson and other persons unknown, with unlawful assembly, riot, inciting to riot, and sedition. Both the accused pleaded not guilty.

Mr. Bairstow said that Mrs. Baines was the local leader of a society which, so far as he knew, was properly constituted, for the purpose of agitating for certain rights for women. Kitson, so far as he knew also, had quite properly taken a considerable part in an agitation on behalf of the unemployed of Leeds. The charge against them jointly was that of unlawfully assembling. No question would arise as to the right of any body of men or women to agitate by peaceable means in a public place for any legitimate object. There was no question as to whether or not it was proper or expedient to give women the vote, nor did the question arise whether means should or should not be adopted for meeting distress. Those questions had no place in the trial. There was another matter which might also be disposed of. It had been suggested that a material question would be as to what could be seen from the inside of the Coliseum of what took place outside. The substantial matter of this inquiry was whether or not acts were done which had the effect of making an apparently lawful assembly unlawful, and whether or not the two defendants were guilty of a crime in what they did.

On October 10 Mrs. Baines—perhaps not with prudence, but with the knowledge that she was within her rights—held a meeting in furtherance of the cause of Women's Suffrage outside the Coliseum at a time when Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister, was addressing a meeting inside that building. The Leeds unemployed also held a meeting in Victoria-square, and passed a resolution which authorised the defendant Kitson, who was a leader of the unemployed, to go to the Coliseum and present a petition to Mr. Asquith. Having passed the resolution, the unemployed marched to the Suffragettes' meeting with the avowed object of joining forces with them. A very large crowd was thus gathered together. Kitson spoke from the landau from which Mrs. Baines had also been speaking, and with her consent (though he understood this was denied); he finally moved:—"That this meeting demands an interview with the Prime Minister—if not by peaceful means, then by force." After that resolution had been carried Mrs. Baines said: "If these tyrants refuse to listen to us break down the barriers, break down the doors, and compel a hearing." Mr. Bairstow said he did not suppose that to-day Mrs. Baines would hesitate to admit, if she gave evidence, that her determination was to force an interview with the Prime Minister at all costs. Having said that, she led a rush to the Coliseum. The police were there in great force, and had they not been the results would have been serious. Mrs. Baines and Kitson were arrested, and the prosecution alleged that when Kitson was taken into custody he had a stone in his hand.

The Evidence.

Detective Officer Gunton then gave in detail his version of what took place at the Victoria-square meeting. A resolution was passed there, and Kitson urged those present to walk six abreast to the Coliseum, join the Suffragettes, and with them demand an interview with the Prime Minister. About 600 men then fell in. On arriving at the Suffragette meeting the people made way for them, and Kitson went up to where Mrs. Baines was speaking from a



(By the Courtesy of "The Daily Mirror.")

Mr. Pethick Lawrence.

landau in Vernon-street. A conversation took place between them, and immediately afterwards Kitson put a resolution demanding an interview with the Prime Minister, "If not by peaceful means, by force." A man named Sweeney afterwards spoke, and then Mrs. Baines stood up and said: "If these tyrants refuse to listen to us, break down the barriers and doors, and compel a hearing," at the same time pointing to the Coliseum. She then got off the landau, and led a rush, shouting: "Come on, men; break down the doors, and votes for women." The police warded her off, but eventually she got near the front entrance, where the witness asked her to desist. She refused, and he took her to the Town Hall. When he returned, about ten minutes later, stones and bricks (specimens of which he now produced) were being thrown, and there was great disorder.

Gunton was subjected to considerable cross-examination by Mr. Mellor and Mr. Pethick Lawrence. He admitted that his notes of the words had not been written down till two hours afterwards, when he was sitting in the Town Hall along with Eburne and Dalton, but he denied having had a conversation with them before writing the notes.

Executing the "Frog March" on Kitson.

Edward Joseph Eburne, another police officer, also gave evidence of the disturbance, quoting the same words. After he had arrested a Suffragette named Lena Lambert and had taken her to the Town Hall, he returned to the scene and encountered Kitson, who clasped him round the waist. The witness freed himself, and seized Kitson, who became very violent, but was eventually forced to the ground. Kitson dropped on to one knee, and when he rose to his feet again he had a flat piece of brick in his hand. Four officers picked him up bodily and carried him away.

Mr. Mellor: What is the frog march?—It is where a person is suspended face downwards by all four limbs.

Did you execute the frog march on Kitson?—No, sir.

Anything like it?—It was something like it; he was carried bodily.

Did people remonstrate?—A woman said, "Let him walk; he is going black in the face."

Was he going black in the face?—Yes; I admit that. I undid his collar and tie. His condition was on account of the tightness of his jacket, and the way in which he was being carried.

As a matter of fact, the man had almost fainted?—No, sir. He had not gone so far as that.

Detective-sergeant Dalton next gave evidence as to the words used by Kitson and Mrs. Baines.

Mr. Mellor: Did you hear Kitson say: "I am not here to advocate force, but Mr. Asquith is here, and he must see us"?—The Witness: I do remember something of the sort in Vernon-street.

Don't you think you might be mistaken as to the way in which the word "force" was used?—No, sir.

By Mr. Pethick Lawrence: He estimated that about 1,000 people made the rush. As to the other people, some rushed up Cook-ridge-street and some rushed down. The force of police varied as the afternoon went on. At the start of the meeting there were 35 officers and men, and when the rush took place there were 150 officers and men, including ten mounted men.

By Mr. Bairstow: At Lord Rosebery's meeting a few years ago the police on duty numbered 34.

Police-Inspector Haddon described the rush to the Coliseum as a determined one.

A Photograph of the Crowd.

Police-constable Conboy gave a detailed account of the part he took in the arrest of Kitson, the kicking incident, and the march to the Town Hall.

In cross-examination, Mr. Pethick Lawrence handed a photograph to the officer, and asked if that fairly represented the "savage rush" he had spoken of.

His Lordship: Oh! that won't do at all. You ought to ask first whether that is a fair representation of what took place.

Mr. Lawrence: I should have done that.

The Constable, after looking at the photograph, agreed that it did represent the first of the two rushes.

His Lordship then examined the photograph, and, handing it back, asked the witness to point out what part of it represented the rush.

The Constable: I should say the middle.

His Lordship: It strikes me—I don't know whether I ought to give evidence—that the photograph represents the body of the crowd, and at the top you can see the people moving, though not violently. However, I shall tell the jury that nothing could be more misleading than a photograph of that sort of a portion of a crowd. If they believe the evidence that the police were rushed back, photographs of that sort are of no importance.

Mr. Lawrence: I shall prove that that was all there was of the rush.

His Lordship: How you will do that I don't know. I won't give a single opinion until you have given evidence.

Valentine Palmer, registration agent, who acted as one of the stewards at the Coliseum, and who took a little respite by adjourning to the colonnade, said that when he saw the rush of people he retired a little.

Mr. Bairstow: Why did you retreat?—I thought discretion the better part of valour. (Laughter.) Besides, pieces of stone and brick were lying about, and people were being knocked down. He

**Mrs. Baines.**

described the arrest of Kitson, and said that the prisoner had a brick in his hand at the time.

Superintendent Lindley also gave evidence, saying that no such disturbance had previously occurred in the city since the gas riots some years ago.

Opening of the Case for the Unemployed.

Mr. Mellor addressed the Court on behalf of Kitson, and said he wished to dissociate himself altogether from the other defendant, Mrs. Baines, so far as the evidence would admit of his doing so. Although they were indicted jointly, it did not follow that the jury need come to the conclusion, if they found one or other of the defendants guilty, that they were both guilty. He asked the jury to say that there was no concerted plan between the defendants, and his contention was that his client did not intend, and never had intended, to commit a breach of the peace. He pointed to the fact that the police evidence, though so exact and corroborative of the words alleged to have been used, was based on notes taken down by detectives in their note-books two hours afterwards, and he pointed out that when these notes were made all the three detectives were sitting in the same room, though the police, "not being as other men," declared that they did not say a word to one another about the events which they had just witnessed before making their notes. He would say, moreover, and he called it in aid of Kitson, that it was creditable to the city of Leeds that, with the poverty and suffering there must ever be there, the unemployed had acted with self-restraint during those months of suffering.

The Case for Mrs. Baines.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence, for Mrs. Baines, said the assertion that Mrs. Baines had used the language imputed to her was incorrect, that those words were never uttered, and that she had no intent to initiate a riot or violence. The riot, indeed, of which they had heard was a myth put forward by the prosecution in this case. There were a large number of peaceable, interested citizens who came to hear what Mrs. Baines had to tell them, and to hear the story of why she wished political reform. The defendant's desire was a perfectly peaceable and proper one, and she did nothing which would justify the jury in convicting her of unlawful

Kitson's Evidence.

The defendant Kitson gave evidence, and said that since he was 18 years of age he had been interested in the questions of the unemployed and the right to work. His desire after the meeting at Victoria-square on October 10 was to present a petition to Mr. Asquith. When they reached the suffragettes' meeting Mrs. Baines was speaking from a landau. He had not known her before. He asked her permission to speak on behalf of the unemployed, and to ask the meeting to endorse the resolution, and she said at first she wished him not to do so, but when he again pressed her she said he might do so, but he must be brief.

Mr. Mellor: Is it true that you said, "If we cannot get an interview by peaceable means we must get one by force?—No, certainly not.

Are you in any way an advocate for attempting force in these matters?—No.

It was an absolute falsehood to say that he at any time had a piece of brick or stone in his hand. He was very roughly used by the police.

Cross-examined by Mr. Bairstow, the defendant gave a categorical denial to the statement that he had advised violence in several speeches he had made, extracts from which were read. The disturbance, he said, was caused by the police.

Other Evidence for the Unemployed.

A man named Hoggart, one of the Unemployed Committee, said that about one o'clock on the day of Mr. Asquith's meeting Mrs. Baines came to him at the unemployed headquarters and gave him some tickets. There were about a dozen men present. They were given him to distribute, and he was asked if he could get four men inside Mr. Asquith's meeting.

Mr. Bairstow: What were you going to get inside for?—The object was not explained to me. If I had got inside I should have asked Mr. Asquith if he would do anything for the unemployed.

Did Mrs. Baines tell you what she was going to do?—She mentioned that she was going to have a meeting outside the Coliseum.

Did you tell Kitson the suffragettes were having a meeting outside the Coliseum?—Yes, I said so.

Do I understand you told Kitson, and that Kitson went up to see Mrs. Baines at her request?—When we got there he said, "Let us see what it is about." The people made way for us when we got to the suffragettes' stand, and I said, "Mrs. Baines, this is Kitson."

You introduced him?—Yes.

Did you arrange anything?—I said, "I will go down there. We are going to pass a right-to-work resolution." We thought we might get the crowd at the Coliseum to endorse it, and we might take it to Mr. Asquith.

The case was then adjourned till next morning.

Friday's Hearing.

At the outset the prisoner Kitson went into the witness-box again, and described the circumstances of the preliminary visit which he paid to Mrs. Baines outside the Coliseum before the unemployed marched up.

Walter T. Kaye, traveller, of Oak-terrace, Manson, who was standing at the end of Vernon-street when Kitson was on the landau, stated that he heard the greater part of what was said, and one remark of Kitson's was, "I do not advocate force."

Alfred Thom, Denison-street, Burley-road, said he stood in the crowd about four or five yards from the landau. He saw Kitson mount the carriage.

Mr. Marshall: What was his demeanour?—He was cool, calm, collected, and thoroughly rational; and he did not say anything about force.

Annie Thom, wife of the previous witness, gave similar evidence. This closed the defence on behalf of Kitson.

Evidence of Mrs. Jennie Baines.

Mrs. Baines then went into the witness-box, and was examined by Mr. Lawrence, who asked her at the outset to give a brief account of her life.

Mr. Pickford: Not the whole of it, I hope.

Mr. Lawrence: No, my lord, I just want her to tell us in a few words, just in a very few words, that will not take up too much time of the Court.

Mrs. Baines: I am the daughter of a working man, and at the early age of eleven I helped to support myself. Between the age of 14 and 15 my father became an officer in the Salvation Army. We were in the Salvation Army for a number of years. After a few years' time my father was unable to carry on the work as an officer in the Army, and my mother and I assisted him as lieutenants. At the age of 20 I was appointed as an evangelist to an independent working men's mission in the town of Bolton. For two years I held that position, and I also acted as police-court missionary in the town of Bolton. I went to the Court each morning to look after and take an interest in the women who were charged with various offences. Two years I held that position, and then I was married, and for a few years I led a quiet life. During that time I gave birth to five children, of which there are three alive. My eldest daughter is 20. After a time I took a great interest in the Temperance movement, I spoke on public platforms. I have been a speaker on public platforms ever since I was 14 years of age. My husband is a boot and shoe maker by trade. His average wage was 25s. per week, and I had to work to help to support my family. One part of my time I worked as a sewing machinist in the City of Manchester. I felt that the wages were not sufficient to get for my children, my husband, and myself the necessary food, and during that time I was compelled to refrain from public work because my duties were so heavy. I was a candidate for the Board of Guardians in the town of Stockport, and I lost by two votes. I have been on the Unemployed Committee for two years and I was also on the Feeding of School Children Committee. Three years this last October I read in the newspapers of the arrest of Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Miss Annie Kenney.

(The Judge: We don't want to go into that question.)
No. For two years I worked as a voluntary worker, having my out-of-pocket expenses paid by the Union. I have been paid as an official organiser for nine months. I came to Leeds for the sole purpose of obtaining tickets to get women into Mr. Asquith's meeting, also knowing perfectly well that I was so well-known in the City of Leeds that I should be refused admission myself. I announced to the general public by chalking the pavements that a meeting would be held outside the Coliseum to protest against the attitude of the Liberal Government in refusing to give women political freedom.

You have heard Hoggart's evidence just now?—Yes.

Did you go to the office?—I did. I went to the office because I had four tickets for men to be admitted to Mr. Asquith's meeting. I gave the four tickets to the man who gave evidence yesterday. I know it was the same, because only a week last Monday he spoke to me in the square, and said "I am the man you gave tickets to in the Unemployed Committee rooms."

Then you heard Mr. Hoggart's evidence about his coming to see you with Mr. Kitson. Is that true?—It is correct. I was addressing the crowd, and someone said to me, "Mrs. Baines, you are wanted." I turned round then, and Mr. Hoggart said—I did not recognise him at the time—he said, "This is Mr. Kitson, the chairman of the unemployed." I took no more notice of him, however.

My speech to the crowd was not inflammatory. I gave what we call a propaganda speech. I wanted the men and women of Leeds at that meeting to understand why we were there to protest against Mr. Asquith. One of the things I told the public was that that afternoon Mr. Asquith would be in the Coliseum dealing with the Licensing question. I said that it was more a woman's question than it was a man's, because it was we women who suffered most through intemperance, and no temperance reform would ever be brought about until women had a voice in the matter. I said that the unemployed question was also more a woman's question than it was a man's, because it was the women who really suffered the most. If a working man had a small wage, sufficient, perhaps, to

keep himself and family, but unable to save anything, when he became unemployed, it was the woman who suffered the most, especially, I said, when the landlord had to be faced. It was not the man who faced him, it was the woman. It was the woman who had to face all these difficulties that were brought about by unemployment. I said that when the children came home from school, and there was no food in the house, and the cupboard was bare, it was the women, who loved their children better than their lives, who heard them crying for bread, who suffered most. I also further stated that the question of employment must be dealt with by the heads of this country. Mr. Asquith had never known what it was, as I had done, to go without food, or go to school hungry. We wanted to see Mr. Asquith, and what we wanted to know was, when were we going to get access to Mr. Asquith.

The Judge: I think Mrs. Baines has given us quite enough.

Mr. Lawrence: Will you please, Mrs. Baines, rather more briefly now, mention the points you dealt with in your speech?—I said that all the questions before the country at the present time, were questions which concerned women. Women had to pay rates and taxes, were compelled to pay towards the upholding of the Army and Navy of the State, yet they had no voice in making the laws which they were called upon to obey. I pointed out that in our agitation we were following the Chartists of old, who were sentenced to death, and who willingly gave their lives in the interests of reform, and we are willing to give our lives in the interests of liberty and freedom of action. I said we had been challenged by Cabinet Ministers to show numbers, and we had shown numbers by various demonstrations throughout the country. While I was saying this, I saw Mrs. Swales; and a few women round the carriage who knew her said, "Here's Mrs. Swales, she has been turned out of the Coliseum." I immediately called upon Mrs. Swales to address the crowd, announcing that she was the first woman to be ejected from the meeting.

While Mrs. Swales was speaking I saw the unemployed come up. Mr. Kitson came to the side of the carriage. He asked me if I would allow him to put a resolution to the crowd, and I replied, "Why not go to the Albert Hall steps, the crowd is big enough there for two meetings."

Then did he press his request again?—He did.

What did you say then?—"Be brief."

Did you hear his speech?—No, I was talking to the other women in the carriage, after telling Mrs. Swales to let Mr. Kitson have a few words. Then Mr. Sweeney spoke.

Where were the police situated at that time?—Many of them, I don't know how many, were across at the corner of the Colonnade. Others were on the edge of the crowd, keeping the people off the tramlines.

Then I said: "This man, Mr. Kitson, has put a resolution that he goes to the Coliseum with a deputation to Mr. Asquith. We are two separate organisations. These people are agitating for the unemployed. We are agitating for liberty, freedom, and justice for women. I have a resolution to put: "All those people who are in favour that we go to the Coliseum and demand an interview of the Prime Minister, show in the usual way." There was a great show of hands; then I said: "If these tyrants won't come to us, we must go to them."

You heard the evidence of Detective Gunton? Did you use these words: "If these tyrants refuse to listen to us, break down the barriers, break down the doors, and compel a hearing."—I did not. That is a deliberate falsehood.

Then did you address the women who were with you in the carriage?—No; I simply said, "I'm going, who's coming with me." I said this to the women in the carriage, not to the crowd. I then got out of the carriage—someone opened the door of the landau—I got down from the carriage, and the people opened out to let me pass through. I went across Cookridge-street, across the tramlines to the Colonnade. I knew it was of no use going to the front entrance of the Coliseum, because it was the farthest from the platform, and I wanted to get inside the Hall to ask questions of Mr. Asquith. I went across the road to the cordon of police across the Colonnade. The first officer I came in contact with was an inspector, Inspector Bulmer. I did not say anything as I was going across.

Did Inspector Bulmer say anything to you?—Yes; he said, "Where are you going?" and I replied, "I'm going to the Coliseum." He said, "Don't be foolish, Mrs. Baines."

Did he say anything about your being refused admittance?—No. He didn't attempt to arrest me, but I turned away and ran round one of the mounted police and into the arms of the man who arrested me.

Did he say anything about your being refused admittance?—Not a word.

Mr. Lawrence: Did you speak between passing from the first officer and going up to the second?—Not at all.

Did Mr. Asquith refuse you permission to go into the Coliseum? No; because I knew it was no use asking him. I had asked him many a time before.

When you were in the charge station, what happened to you then?—The charge was for disorderly conduct. Someone said, "Who charges these women?" and a short, stout gentleman came in and he said, "I do. All five of them, with disorderly conduct."

Had you any weapons in your hand?—Oh, no.

Any stones in your hand?—Certainly not.

Cross-examination by Mr. Bairstow.

You did not need any weapons, Mrs. Baines?—Oh, my tongue's weapon enough.

You think there is a common interest between the unemployed and the Suffragettes?—I suppose there should be—the common interests of humanity.

You went to the headquarters of the unemployed; why did you go?—To give tickets which I had at my disposal.

May I take it that you gave these tickets in order that they might go to the meeting and annoy Mr. Asquith?—To ask him questions.

Not to go there as peaceful listeners, but to annoy Mr. Asquith?—We are militant, we used to be peaceful. Women are not answered at public meetings.

The Judge: Would you mind telling me what you mean by being militant?—Well, we go to political meetings and heckle Ministers whenever we get the opportunity.

The Judge: Other people do that.

Mrs. Baines: But women are ejected, and men are not, because men are voters.

Mr. Bairstow: I think you say now that as far as you were concerned your object was to force an interview with Mr. Asquith?—I did not intend to force an interview with Mr. Asquith.

Didn't you say before the magistrates, "There were four women besides myself determined to go to the Prime Minister, and those women are now in gaol. We were prepared to force an interview at any cost"?—I did not. It was a question put by the solicitor to me, and it was not a question in that form, and I answered.

The Judge: What was it?

Mrs. Baines: He said, "Mrs. Baines, you were determined to see Mr. Asquith at any cost"? and I said, "Yes." He did not use the word "force," and neither did I.

Now, of course, Mr. Asquith was addressing a meeting?—He was. To which you tell us you knew you would be refused admittance?—I did.

And how did you propose to see him?—If possible, slip through the stewards and get inside.

I see. Well, you would want a little assistance from behind. Wouldn't you?—I could do it myself without any assistance. I have done it before.

Let us see what you tell us—the first thing that happened, according to your story, is that the unemployed put a resolution demanding an interview with the Prime Minister?—I suppose they did.

Didn't you hear it put?—I did not.

You knew the substance of the resolution?—Sir, I did not, until I asked them what Mr. Kitson had said, and they were going to Mr. Asquith.

Yes, that is what I call the substance of it. And then you moved a resolution?—Not in the interests of the unemployed; they must fight their own battle.

Now, of course, you have done a good deal of speaking. Are you quite sure as to the words you used?—I am.

Well, let us see what you admit, what you remember, I will say. You will remember saying, "If these tyrants won't listen to us, we must go to them and compel a hearing, and demand an interview with the Prime Minister?—I did say those words.

Well, of course, you could not get to the Prime Minister unless you rushed down barriers?—Oh, of course, I could. If the police had been so kind as to let us pass.

But you did not expect the police would be so kind.—I thought they might.

But you did not expect them to be so kind?—Well, they are very kind. I have no complaint to make against them.

I understand that you said, "Break down the barriers, break down the doors"?—I have never used those words in my life.

You were followed by a large crowd?—The crowd who followed me were my own women. I never expect an ordinary crowd to follow me to get into a building; I have had too much experience in the past.

Were you pressed forward by the crowd?—I was not.

The Judge: I understand the gist of all this is that you never counselled force, and never wish to counsel force?—Sir, never in my life.

A Photographer's Evidence.

The next witness was Mr. Charles Cheatham Vevers, who described himself as a press photographer, and said that he was employed on October 10 to take photographs for the *Daily Mirror*.

He viewed the proceedings from a hairdresser's shop in Cookridge-street. He estimated that there were from 1,500 to 2,000 people present, and they struck him as a particularly orderly crowd. He had heard Mrs. Baines' speech; there was nothing in it about breaking down the barriers or the doors, and as Mrs. Baines crossed Cookridge-street she was certainly not shouting at all. If she had been, he would have heard it. He took the photograph of the movement of the crowd, which had been described by the police as the first rush headed by Mrs. Baines. This was the photograph that had been previously shown to Constable Conboy. It represented the whole of the crowd on that occasion. The crowd never got up as far as the Coliseum. He noticed that the policemen who arrested her did not consider it a very serious business; in fact, some of them were smiling the whole time. In his opinion, the action of the police was not justified by the events. Certainly the streets needed clearing, but it was not necessary to take such extreme measures.

Cross-examined by Mr. Bairstow, Mr. Vevers said that the first disorder was solely due to the movement of the police. Though he was not there to specially notice disorder, he was certainly there to take down the most sensational events that he witnessed.

Saw Through the Glass Door.

Mr. William MacDonald Mackey (consulting and analytical chemist), examined by Mr. Pethick Lawrence, said that on the day of October 10 he was inside the Coliseum on the orchestra behind the platform. He was behind the platform towards the side, but from the centre of the platform he was, he should say, 25 ft.

Mr. Lawrence: Were you considerably behind the platform?—Yes.

After you had taken your seat, did you notice the glass doors at the front of the Coliseum?—I could see through on to the street.

Did you recollect seeing anything through the door?—Of course, I was taking no particular notice, but I saw the street as far as I remember; I seem to remember trams passing up and down. The street was in its ordinary state.

Was your attention arrested subsequently by anything that you saw?—Yes, I think it was towards the end of Mr. Asquith's speech. I saw the horse police riding about; I am not quite sure in what direction, but my recollection is that they were riding down the street, then up, pressing the crowd back on to the footway at the opposite side of Cookridge-street.

Where were the crowd when you saw the police?—When I saw the police I should think they were about the middle of the road, and the crowd was being pressed back on the other side.

Did you notice any opposition to the police?—No, I saw nothing more than a crowd being pressed back.

I should just like to ask you, are you connected in any way with either of the movements of the suffragettes, or the unemployed?—No, I am not connected with either.

Mrs. Morton, of Huddersfield, gave evidence that she saw Mrs. Swales speaking when Kitson first came up. Mrs. Baines appeared to be objecting to Kitson getting on to the carriage. She was only about two yards off when Mrs. Baines made her speech, and could hear distinctly everything she said. The general effect of her speech was that Mr. Kitson had put a resolution, and she would put hers. She represented the women of England, who were fighting for freedom, liberty, and justice. Those of the crowd who were in favour that she should demand an interview with Mr. Asquith would please show it in the usual way. Mrs. Morton said that she was quite certain that Mrs. Baines did not use the words attributed to her by the police.

Cross-examined by Mr. Bairstow, she said that the crowd certainly did not rush after Mrs. Baines with a view to committing violence. There was a slight pause before the crowd followed, and they undoubtedly went after her out of curiosity.

Several other witnesses were then called, among them being Miss Emily Moody, Mrs. Forster, and Mrs. Dickinson, who testified to the general demeanour of the crowd, and several of whom were able to state emphatically that Mrs. Baines had not used the inflammatory words attributed to her. They also all testified to the fact that Mrs. Swales was speaking when Mr. Kitson reached the carriage.

Mr. Mellor, as counsel for Kitson, said that the evidence which he had produced had shown, conclusively that the words about force alleged by the police to have been used by Kitson were not employed by him, but that, as a matter of fact, he had distinctly disclaimed the use of force, and desired a peaceful interview instead. He called upon the jury to give a verdict of not guilty.

Speech by Mr. Pethick Lawrence.

May it please your Lordship, gentlemen of the jury, we are charged in a complicated indictment with several counts; but these charges may be divided into two. In the first place, we are charged with sedition and incitement to riot, and, in the second place, we are charged with unlawful assembly, rout, and riot.

I must ask you, in the first place, to dismiss all political bias from

your minds. This is not a political question; it does not matter whether you are Liberals or Conservatives, or whether you are in favour of votes for women or whether you are opposed to it; the question which has to be decided in this Court is one relating to the conduct of Mrs. Baines on Saturday, October 10.

Considering first the charges of sedition and incitement to riot, we have a direct conflict of testimony between the police and the witnesses which I have called. According to the police Mrs. Baines said, "If these tyrants refuse to listen to us break down the barriers, break down the doors, and compel a hearing," and according to detective Gunton, on her way across Cookridge-street, she said, "Come on men, break down the doors." The witnesses who say this say they did not take any note of the speech until more than two hours afterwards, and when they did take that note they were all sitting together in one room. Further, these witnesses allege that when Kitson got up to speak Mrs. Baines was addressing the crowd. Now, I do not believe there is any doubt in your minds that that was not the case. Mrs. Swales was addressing the crowd. This woman came out of the Coliseum. There was no attempt to shake the evidence that Mrs. Swales was speaking at the time that Kitson arrived. I put it to you at that time we know that Mrs. Swales was speaking. Then this statement on behalf of the police is denied emphatically by all those witnesses which I have called who were able to hear her speech. Mrs. Baines herself has directly denied this statement.

Now, you must not treat a case of this kind in the way that you would perhaps attempt to treat cases of a different character. There is no attempt, as we are told, in any way to defame the character of Mrs. Baines. This agitation is a political agitation, carried on by people who, however mistaken you may think they are, are at the same time people of personal reputation. You have heard the life story of Mrs. Baines. I do not think there will be any attempt to dispute the facts; I shall come back to that again later on. I should also like to point out to you in this connection that the deputy-magistrate at the police-court thought so highly of Mrs. Baines' word that on her own recognisances he let her out on bail. Now, Mrs. Baines, herself a highly respectable woman, flatly denies that she ever said those words. I have called various witnesses, and they have all emphatically denied that these words were used, and I ask you, in view of these facts, in view of this testimony, I ask you to believe, without any misgiving whatever, that the words which are alleged to have been used by Mrs. Baines about breaking down the doors and barriers are not the words used by her, either in Vernon-street or on her way across Cookridge-street. She did not in any way shout or call upon the crowd to break down the doors. The words that she used are the words that she would naturally say under the circumstances.

She asked if these people were in favour of their demanding an interview with the Prime Minister that they would pass her resolution. I think the subsequent facts bear that out; Mrs. Baines got down off the carriage, and went across the road in pursuance of this demand to interview the Prime Minister, and then took place certain circumstances. But before I deal with these circumstances I feel that I ought to clear up certain misunderstandings which you may perhaps have in your mind. I know, gentlemen, that you will to the utmost of your endeavour confine your attention to the facts that have been presented to you inside the walls of this court. At the same time, none of us can shut our ears or our eyes to what we read in the newspapers, and I think it exceedingly probable that many of you gentlemen have read from time to time during the course of the last three years instances and stories of what is called the Suffragette agitation, which may perhaps to a certain extent have poisoned your minds against my client in this case.

The Nature of the Suffragette Agitation.

I do not propose to deal at any length with this question, but merely to refer to it in a very few words. I want to say to you that you cannot believe all that you read in the newspapers. It is the business of the newspapers to try and present something sensational, something that will strike the eye, something which will make people say, "Oh, this is worth reading," and it is only natural that they should over-emphasise—any of you who have had any connection with the Press will know that this is a fact—anything of a sensational character. Now that has affected the movement in the public mind, and no doubt in your mind to a certain extent, in two ways. In the first place, it has made you think that this agitation was mainly an agitation for doing certain things which are referred to generally as militant tactics; and in the second place, it has very likely made some of you think that these militant tactics are very different from what they are in fact. As I have said, I do not propose to deal with this at any length, but I am going to refer to two things which have been referred to in that way. One is certain action which women take at by-elections. (The Judge here interrupted, and said that, although he agreed with Mr. Lawrence about misrepresentations in the papers, and that the jury must disregard anything of that sort, he did not think he could

discuss these matters. Mr. Lawrence: "Well, may I just say this with regard to something that has been said about the tickets?" The Judge: "Certainly, they are connected with your case." With regard to these tickets, some of which Mrs. Baines was keeping for herself, and some of which she gave to the unemployed to use, I want to point out to you that this desire to heckle Cabinet Ministers at their meetings is an admitted political right. There is no suggestion that to go to a meeting addressed by a Cabinet Minister is in any sense an unlawful act. It is a recognised fact that people have the right to go to these meetings to heckle Cabinet Ministers or anyone else, and that is not an act which will bring anyone into trouble in a court of law. *I would further point out to you, as I have said, that actions of this kind are only a very small part of this political agitation, the major part of which consists in having great big meetings all over the country, of which several thousands have been held in the year, and some of them of enormous size.

Mr. Gladstone's Advice.

Now, I want to draw your attention to the fact that indoor meetings alone are insufficient to gain a great political reform. Mr. Gladstone, the present Home Secretary, speaking in the House of Commons, dealt with this particular question. He pointed out that mere indoor meetings to advocate a reform of this character were not enough. The balance of argument, he thought, had been achieved, but, he said, you had to move a great inert mass of opinion, which in the earlier stages always existed in the country in regard to questions of this magnitude, and with regard to this question, opinion must be moved at present, not in Parliament-square, not by relieving Cabinet Ministers of the trouble of making public speeches, but by moving it in all the constituencies in the country, and he went on to say that although women could not meet in the large numbers out of doors in which men had met, yet it was necessary for them, by outdoor meetings, to bring pressure to bear upon the Government to act in the way they desire.

Well, then, gentlemen, this meeting which Mrs. Baines called out of doors, and to which she invited as many people in this city of Leeds as she could get to that meeting, was held within her perfect right. It was held, as I have pointed out to you, along the lines of the advice tendered to her by Mr. Gladstone. It is not contended by the other side that this meeting was in any way unlawful in its assembly, and you know, gentlemen, that a great deal more evidence is required to make you think this meeting was unlawfully assembled if, in its original assembly, it was a lawful meeting. In dealing with the question of unlawful assembly, it is stated in the text-book by Dalton, chapter 137, "It may in the first place be safely laid down that much stronger evidence of the means to inspire terror in the execution of the purpose will be required when the meeting and purpose are lawful than when they are unlawful and directly causing a breach of the peace." It seems to me that there can be no question about the lawfulness of the meeting, and the lawfulness of the purpose for which Mrs. Baines endeavoured to see the Prime Minister.

No Common Object with the Unemployed.

It has been thought desirable by the prosecution to place in the dock side by side to-day, and to charge on a common indictment, the two defendants. My client entirely dissociates herself from the other defendant in the dock. It is perfectly true that she makes no effort to deny the fact that she went to the office of the unemployed to give them the four tickets which you have heard spoken of. It is perfectly true that she hoped that some of the women whom she knew would be present to heckle Mr. Asquith. She had a perfect right to hope that, and had a perfect right to try to get other people to go to that meeting to heckle Mr. Asquith; and as she had certain tickets for men, she had the right to hope that some of the unemployed would be there at the same time. You may think it undesirable from a political point of view, but there was nothing improper in it. There is nothing to suggest that an attempt to heckle Mr. Asquith was in any way connected with the procession of the unemployed coming to her meeting in Vernon-street. There has been no serious evidence put forward that there was any preconcerted arrangement about these two meetings; on the contrary, Mrs. Baines distinctly denies that there was any knowledge on her part that Mr. Kitson would join her on the carriage, and come forward with another deputation to the Hall. Mrs. Baines did her best to dissuade Mr. Kitson from getting on to the carriage at all. She did not know he was coming, and when he did, she tried to dissuade him. She explained carefully at the finish that she had nothing to do with him. She made her speech, and put a completely different resolution, and attempted to go her way to the Coliseum, and he, at a later time, in a different manner, went round by a different way and attempted to get in at the door. Now, if there had been really conjoint action and a deliberate

attempt to inspire the crowd to follow them and rush the Coliseum, I think you will see that a different course would have been adopted. These two speakers would have said: "After this resolution, we are both going to attempt to get into the Coliseum. Come; help us to get in." They did nothing of the kind. What they did say and what they did do, which is perfectly clear from the evidence, is, one went at one time, and one at another. Now, you will see that this attempt to connect these separate deputations, just because the unemployed came along and attempted to make use of the crowd in order to make a speech, against the wish of the defendant Baines, I am sure you will see that this cannot constitute a common object between these two different bodies of people.

No Unlawful Assembly.

Then I have spoken of the second charge which has been made against us, namely, that of riot, rout, and unlawful assembly. It has been suggested by the prosecution that the count on which they lay especial stress is that of unlawful assembly. Up to the present they have not withdrawn the other charges, and therefore I am bound to speak of them also. I submit to you that the very essence of all these charges, not merely of riot, but of unlawful assembly, are tumult, threats, and violence; and generally there is a display of arms. The evidence which we have had before us is entirely contradictory to this idea of tumult. There was no violence, and no tumult. It has been suggested that there was a rush on the part of the crowd. Now, the word rush is one of great divergence of meaning. The police witnesses described it as an "ugly rush" and a "savage rush." I submitted a photograph taken at the time by one of these witnesses, and asked him if it represented the savage rush. It is suggested that perhaps that was not the whole of the rush, but the answer of the witness was that it did represent the whole of this savage rush. You will have an opportunity presently of seeing that photograph, and you will see from that what policemen say was a "savage rush." Then, further, I have called evidence to say that these photographs and this particular photograph did represent the whole of the movement which followed Mrs. Baines, and the witness who gave that evidence stated that this photograph was taken for a paper which wanted to have the most sensational photograph it could, and as far as he was able he took the whole of that rush and of that crowd; any other members of the crowd who were not included were behind. Now, when you come to see that photograph, taken at the instant that Mrs. Baines had got across, you will be able to judge for yourselves how much weight there is to be attached to the idea that the crowd was bent on breaking down barriers or breaking down doors. You will see from that photograph that it was an orderly and peaceful crowd strolling about and rather interested to see what was going on. They made a movement to follow Mrs. Baines—their natural impulse when somebody is going to try to get an interview with the Prime Minister would be to follow to see whether she was going to succeed or whether she was not; but nothing in the nature of a disturbance or a rush took place. I say that the evidence does not in the least substantiate that, and the evidence that I have called has gone to prove that the crowd, both before and after Mrs. Baines got down from the carriage, before she started to go across, and after she had gone across, and at the time she was going across, was all the time of an orderly and quiet character. Several of our witnesses have pointed out—and I do not think their evidence has been in any way shaken—that no disorder of any kind would have occurred had not the police, in their anxiety no doubt to clear everything, rushed their horses in amongst the people, and scattered the people and put them to trouble and some confusion.

Then, in addition to this question of tumult, there arises the question of terror. It is essential for the purpose of establishing these charges that there should be people who were terrified. The evidence that is brought before you of terror is exceedingly slight, and I ask you to say that it is not enough in any case to justify anything in the nature of a serious apprehension on the part of anyone present.

The Facts of the Case.

Coming to the facts of what happened. Mrs. Baines wanted to go on a deputation to the Prime Minister, she knew that on many other occasions he had refused to see her. He had refused repeatedly to answer questions put to him at his meetings after a meeting was over. Even after the great meeting that was held of half a million people in London he refused to take any steps in the matter. She felt that she had to make another attempt to put her case before him, the case which she feels to be of the utmost importance, and she went forward with that object. On the way, she came across the cordon of police. Nothing was said to her that she would not be allowed to get into the Coliseum. Then she tried to get through at another point, and she was arrested. Now, I submit to you that whatever view you may take of her

arrest, that it does not in the least imply an unlawful assembly. She went on a deputation. She was absolutely determined to see the Prime Minister, but she did not attempt to use violence. No evidence has been brought forward to say that she intended to get in by violence of any kind. None of the women going with Mrs. Baines used violence, or showed any idea of using violence to get through the cordon of police. I think the contention that this was an unlawful assembly, bent on getting through by force, by tumult, and to the terror of the people, is an utterly fallacious idea, and is not justified at all by the facts of the case.

One of the witnesses, I think it was Inspector Lindley, stated that the state of the crowd on this occasion was worse than the Gas Riots of 1890. Now, gentlemen, I ask you, is that a serious statement? On that occasion 28 people were seriously injured, and 40 or 50 had to be taken to the hospital to be treated. Here there has been no evidence to hand of injuries, and, to the utmost of my knowledge, no injury has been done to any individual, except that one constable said that Kitson injured his arm, and which is not quite right yet, and the only other injury is that which Kitson himself suffered when he was carried face downwards. If there had been injuries to persons, you may be quite sure they would have been put in evidence. Except that slight bruise on the policeman, not a single person was injured in the slightest way. Yet you are asked to believe that it was worse than the Gas Riots. Does not that suggest to you that the whole thing is a mistake?

The Meaning of what Mrs. Baines did.

Then I want to put to you this. You have heard the story of Mrs. Baines' life. You know that she is a woman who is thought so much of, and her moral character is known to be so high that she was made a police court missionary. She has taken an active part in the reform movements of the day. She has worked hard all her life to keep herself, and to assist in keeping the family which she has brought up. Now, that woman has realised, and realised very deeply, that the wrongs which she wants to redress cannot be righted, because in her judgment, political reform is necessary. Very deep down in her heart she feels the necessity for that political reform. She is determined to see it carried. She has tried in various ways to see it carried, and she has put herself in conjunction with a society which she believes is going to see it succeed. Very deep down she feels a determination that it is necessary to see the Prime Minister in order that he may understand the necessity for this reform. She believes that if he won't see her, she must go forward, even though it should mean that she would get arrested. That is the meaning of her position, and that is what actually occurred. Now, I perfectly admit that when a person of the importance of the Prime Minister comes down to a city like this, it is very natural that every precaution should be taken by the police to keep that man from any possible harm. I do not say that it is not desirable to call forth a large number of constables if they seriously fear any danger to their visitor. It is reasonable that they should take precautions of that character. What is not reasonable is this—that when they have taken precautions of that character, when that man (as, too, the people there at the time) was perfectly unharmed, that should be made the occasion of a charge of this character; whereas when women hold their meetings, and people attempt to break down their doors, sometimes succeeding and sometimes not, no protection is offered to them, and there is no arrest, and no charges following upon such conduct. It seems to me that this charge ought not to have been brought. We deny that there was anything in the nature of the crowd which could possibly justify the charge of unlawful assembly being upheld. She came to the meeting with an avowed, open and perfectly laudable object of holding that meeting. She desired the perfectly legitimate object to go on a deputation to the Prime Minister.

I do not think, under these circumstances, you can possibly do other than return a verdict of "Not guilty" for all the counts of this indictment. It is your duty to clear my client from these charges, which, to my mind, are very wrongly brought against her.

The Case for the Crown.

Mr. Bairstow, in the closing speech for the Crown, indicated that the Crown did not wish to press any of the charges except that of unlawful assembly. He submitted that the defendants had failed to upset the allegations of the intention to use force which had been brought against them, and the fact that no serious riot had as a matter of fact occurred was due not to them, but to the foresight of the police.

The Judge's Summing Up.

Mr. Justice Pickford, in summing up, directed the jury that if they found as a matter of fact that Mrs. Baines and Mr. Kitson intended to use force and violence to get into the Coliseum, and had called upon the people to assist them in this design, they must find them guilty, but if the jury came to the conclusion that

they had not attempted to do this, then they would probably find them not guilty.

The Verdict.

His Lordship's summing-up lasted an hour, and the jury, after retiring for twenty minutes, returned a verdict of "Guilty" against both prisoners.

His Lordship agreed that the verdict was justified by the evidence. As, however, both the prisoners had disclaimed any intention to resort to force, he would like to know whether they were prepared to give an undertaking not to incite to violence or use violence in future.

Mr. Mellor, on behalf of Kitson, at once gave the required undertaking.

Mrs. Baines, however, was reluctant to fall in with the suggestion.

"I want it to be perfectly understood," his Lordship assured Mr. Pethick Lawrence, "that I am not asking her to give any undertaking not to support her cause by every lawful means, but she must not incite to violence or take part in any violence herself."

Mr. Lawrence: She will have to think it over rather carefully. I know her views are rather strong on general lines of that kind, and I think probably she will want to consider it, for a few minutes at any rate.

Mr. Lawrence then had a hurried consultation with Mrs. Baines, who leant over the rails of the dock, after which he turned to the Judge and said: "I understand Mrs. Baines is willing to give an undertaking that she won't use force, or incite to force or violence."

His Lordship: The recognisance will be in the ordinary form, "to be of good behaviour," but it means not to resort to violence.

Addressing the prisoners, his Lordship said the jury had been perfectly justified in coming to the conclusion that the prisoners took part in an unlawful assembly—that was to say, had agreed with certain persons to use force and violence to obtain an interview with the Prime Minister which, in the exercise of his rights, he had refused to grant. "I have," he said, "accepted the statement made by both of you that you do not advocate force at all, and I am willing to think you were both of you carried away by excitement." He noticed that Mrs. Baines had been previously convicted for obstructing the police, but he knew nothing of the circumstances, and he was not going to take it into account. The prosecution had not been instituted for the purpose of revenge or for the purpose of sending either of the prisoners to gaol, unless that was necessary. As he understood that they were willing to enter into recognisances to be of good behaviour in the sense which he had described it would be sufficient in a case of this kind to bind them over to come up for judgment when called upon.

The terms of the bond were then read to Mrs. Baines, and she was asked whether she was content to be so bound over. She hesitated, and, drawing herself together, replied, in defiant tones: "No, sir."

His Lordship (to Mr. Pethick Lawrence): Do I understand your client refuses to undertake not to use violence?

Mr. Lawrence: I understand she declines to be bound over.

His Lordship: I don't understand the difference.

Kitson was next asked whether he was content to be bound over, and his reply was: "Seeing that I denied having committed any breach of the peace, I have no fear of being bound over under any circumstances."

"The point is, Are you content?"—Yes.

Turning to Mr. Pethick Lawrence, his Lordship said: "I understand your client has given a definite decision."

Mr. Lawrence: I understand so.

His Lordship: You had better see her. I only want to know that she thoroughly understands the matter.

Mr. Lawrence then retired with Mrs. Baines, and appeared in Court again, after an interval of a few minutes, with the following statement: "My client has no intention of using violence or of inciting to violence, but in view of the present political position she cannot consent to be bound over."

His Lordship: Very well; I shall have to impose sentence upon her. I don't understand in the least what the present political position has got to do with it. However, I suppose some point of honour is concerned which I don't understand. I am very loth to pass sentence, but I have no alternative, because I do not wish it to be considered that this is not a serious offence. Under the circumstances, he should pass a sentence of six weeks' imprisonment in the second division.

Mrs. Baines then exclaimed: Thank you, sir. I refuse to be bound over.

His Lordship: You need not make a speech.

Mrs. Baines: I do not recognise the laws in this Court administered by men.

"Hear, hear," murmured a sympathiser in Court.

This concluded the case.

The National Women's Social & Political Union.

OFFICE:

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND, W.C.

Tele. Address—"WOSPOLU, LONDON." Tele. 2721 (two lines) Holborn

Mrs. PANKHURST, *Founder and Hon. Sec.* Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE, *Hon. Treasurer.*
 Mrs. TUKE, *Joint Hon. Sec.* Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST, *Organising Sec.*

Constitution.

OBJECTS.—To secure for women the Parliamentary vote as it is or may be granted to men; to use the power thus obtained to establish equality of rights and opportunities between the sexes, and to promote the social and industrial well-being of the community.

METHODS.—The objects of the Union shall be promoted by—

1. Action entirely independent of all political parties.
2. Opposition to whatever Government is in power until such time as the franchise is granted.
3. Participation in Parliamentary Elections in opposition to the Government candidate, and independently of all other candidates.
4. Vigorous agitation upon lines justified by the position of outlawry to which women are at present condemned.
5. The organising of women all over the country to enable them to give adequate expression to their desire for political freedom.
6. Education of public opinion by all the usual methods, such as public meetings, demonstrations, debates, distribution of literature, newspaper correspondence, and deputations to public representatives.

MEMBERSHIP.—Women of all shades of political opinion who approve the objects and methods of the Union, and who are prepared to act independently of party, are eligible for membership. It must be clearly understood that no member of the Union shall support the candidate of any political party in Parliamentary elections until women have obtained the parliamentary vote. The entrance fee is 1s.

The Women's Social and Political Union are asking for votes for women on the same terms as they are possessed by men.

They are not asking for the vote for every woman, but that a woman shall not be refused a vote simply because she is a woman.

The Women's Social and Political Union claim that a simple measure, giving the vote to women on these terms, shall be passed this Session.

LETTERS FROM THE PRISONERS.

In accordance with the usual regulations regarding second class prisoners, Mrs. Pankhurst and Christabel Pankhurst, who have now served one month in Holloway, have been able to write one letter each. These have been received by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. We give the following extracts:—

Mrs. Pankhurst.

I am glad after weeks of absence and silence to be able to write to you. The rules that control me here make it impossible for me to tell you what my life has been since I left you. I have been very ill, but I am better, in good spirits, and quite determined, as I am sure you know, to remain here to the end of the term imposed by the magistrate, unless the immediate passing of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill makes further agitation unnecessary.

It is a great joy and support to me to know that although I am withdrawn from active work for a time you are working harder than ever. I feel confident that great progress is being made, and that very soon the victory for which so many sacrifices have been made will be won.

I have not space to refer in detail to all the work you are doing, and of much of it I know little or nothing, and I long to know more, still faint echoes have reached me of your splendid and successful meetings and demonstrations.

I have learnt that there is a by-election in progress at Chelmsford, and greatly regret that it is impossible for me to take part in it, though all you who can be there will, I know, make every effort to add it to the list of those already won for our cause. As I write, I am going over in my mind the names of those dear

comrades who have worked with me in so many contests. I am sure the electors will listen to their appeal, and will vote for the women this time. I feel sure, also, that the women of the constituency will rally to us as they have done in other places, and that when the contest is over we shall leave behind us a strong body of members and supporters.

In all you are doing my heart is with you, and I look forward to the New Year when I shall again be at liberty to rejoice with you in our newly-won freedom if the Bill has been carried, or to add my effort to yours in bringing about the speedy realisation of our desire for political emancipation.

With affectionate good wishes,

EMMELINE PANKHURST.

Holloway Prison, Saturday, November 21.

Christabel Pankhurst.

This morning we heard the band playing and the welcome that you gave to the released prisoners, and to-night we shall hear more music and more cheering. I cannot tell you how stirred and delighted we are by Saturday night's demonstrations. Now that there is a by-election in addition to everything else, we shall not be disappointed if you are not able to come every week.

From the visitors we have gained quite a lot of information as to how things are going on, and, as you may suppose, I am simply delighted by the progress the movement is making. I think you all are doing splendidly. By being in prison we are doing as much as we can to embarrass the Government. In spite of our absence, the work outside is going on as vigorously as ever; nothing could be better. VOTES FOR WOMEN is going up in circulation, no doubt. I shall be glad when I can do my notes again.

The books here one very much appreciates. I have been reading Ruskin; at present I am reading Tolstoi's "War and Peace." One really learns in prison the value of things. A book is a treasure, a newspaper or a walk, things one takes for granted outside, are the highest privileges to one here.

Please tell the members of the Union how happy we feel and how contented to be here, because of what they are doing outside.

With love to all,

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

Holloway Prison, Saturday, November 21.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE AND POLITICAL FLIRTATION.

A member of the Cabinet which is opposed to "votes for women" is to speak at a meeting for Woman Suffrage at the Albert Hall. He stands in a false position. As Sir William Hanson in "The Law and Custom of the Constitution" says, "The action of the Cabinet is the action of each and every member of the Cabinet." The action of the Government, therefore, in resisting woman's demand for the vote and in employing against our agitation for the vote stern and vindictive measures of repression, is the action of Mr. Lloyd George, and so long as he remains a member of the Government, he is directly answerable for it. How, then, as an honest man can he stand before women to talk platitudes upon this question, which to us is a serious and vital issue, for which we are making sacrifices of liberty and life?

As an honest politician, there are two courses open to a man in the position of Mr. Lloyd George. Either he must accept the full responsibility and the full consequences of the Government's refusal to give votes to women, or else he must lay down his responsibility for this action by resigning his position in the Government. If Mr. Lloyd George were in earnest about this matter, he would be willing to resign his

office as a protest against the line which the Government is taking. This is the action that other men have taken with regard to other questions. I have only to instance the action which Mr. Chamberlain took during the last Government when he differed from the Prime Minister on the question of Tariff Reform, and the action which the Duke of Devonshire also took because he felt that his convictions were at variance with the line taken by the Cabinet on this question. But with this matter of Women's Suffrage politicians have ever been ready to toy and trifle.

Just as there is harmless flirtation and deadly and dangerous flirtation, so in political life a man may trifle and toy with some political movement, and no great harm may come of his dalliance. But if a man, to serve his own ends, attempts to trifle and toy with a political movement that has been built up of the struggle, the sorrow, and the toil of many lives, then just in proportion to the sincerity, the earnestness, and the passion of the promoters of this movement will be the waste and the ruin which will result from allowing it to be exploited by the political philanderer.

Let us take a backward glance at the history of this Women's Suffrage agitation. Some thirty years ago the movement was popular, as it has become again to-day. It was fashionable and attractive, and many were the political philanderers who tried to ingratiate themselves with it, in order that their ambitions might be served, and that their political ends might be furthered. Thirty years ago it was a practice of Parliamentary candidates to make their maiden speeches upon this subject, and in this way they gained the favour, approval, and willing service of women to build for them convenient stepping-stones to success. Astute Members of Parliament anxious for promotion found that a little flirtation with the Suffrage agitation, to which the Government of that day was opposed, just as the present Government is now opposed, was a short and easy cut to the notice of their Parliamentary leaders, and quickly brought the office, in exchange for which they were more than ready to abandon their light promises.

Nearly 20 years ago two members of the present Cabinet, Mr. Haldane and Sir Edward Grey, brought in a Bill not only to give votes to women on the terms now demanded by all the suffrage societies, but also to enable women to sit in Parliament. This turned out to be a piece of extremely good business for them.

Other members of the Cabinet in these bygone days had their little flirtation with the movement too. In 1883 the present Home Secretary, Mr. Herbert Gladstone, replied, in answer to a question asked by a lady at a public meeting in Leeds, that he considered this matter was a "pressing grievance, and I hope," he said, "it will soon be remedied," but in the next year he voted against the Bill.

Lord Morley (Honest John, as he used to be called) gave women a pledge that he would support their measure in the House, but in spite of this pledge, he, too, was quite ready when occasion served in 1884 to vote against their Bill.

It is amusing but not edifying to the student who cherishes a belief in political honesty to study the line of action taken by one man after another who used our agitation as a step to office, and, as soon as that was attained, kicked away the ladder. The annual reports of the Woman Suffrage Society, with an unconscious mixture of humour and pathos, bewail as a loss to the cause every promotion to office of a friend of women's enfranchisement. A glance at the chronological table in Miss Helen Blackburn's book on Woman Suffrage will reveal to anyone who can see beneath the surface the pretty little game that was carried on at women's expense.

In 1881 Mr. Leonard Courtney, who was in charge of the Woman Suffrage Bill, abandoned it, and took office. In 1884, being a member of the Government, he did not even vote for the Bill. Mr. Woodall was the next man to take up the measure, but in 1885 he abandoned the Bill, and accepted office in the Government. Then Mr. Courtney, who in the meantime had fallen out with his Government, and had resigned because of his divergence from the Cabinet on other matters, was ready to take up the Woman's Bill again, and so the story goes on.

And all this time the women who were spending their lives to win this reform went on hoping, and trusting, and forgiv-

ing, allowing the movement for which they had given so much to be trifled with by men who did not really care anything at all about it, but who were willing to use it for the sake of other political ends which they had to serve. Women showed themselves grateful for any notice, responsive to every word of encouragement, never realising for one moment the dishonest and dishonourable game of these politicians, who were for ever playing this movement off for the sake of ulterior personal and public ends. Then the inevitable happened, the woman suffrage movement became old and *passée*, dowdy, and out of date; it was no longer worth flirting with; to try to play it off became useless and ridiculous. There was no game in it, for nobody could now be taken in by the ruse. Those in high political circles only laughed now at the private Member who pretended to care for it. Nobody tried to buy him off with an offer of promotion.

Then, three years ago, arose the new movement, which may be likened to the daughter of the old movement, which flourished 30 years ago; and now again to-day the woman suffrage agitation is popular, is fashionable, and once more formidable. It is true that the Government is still hostile, and has no intention of yielding to the demand of women, but clever politicians are as ready as ever to play off the popularity of the young and vigorous movement against the opposition and hostility of the Government, and they stand to gain many things thereby at the present day, as they did in the days of 20 or 30 years ago.

The question for us is this. Is the suffrage movement open to-day to these blandishments of insincere politicians, or is it going to stand upon its honour, and to insist that the tribute shall be paid to it of action, since it will refuse the empty tribute of words? Is this movement to be allowed once more to be made the tool of wily Parliamentarians? Everything depends upon the answer to this question. I believe and think that the women of to-day have learned a better political wisdom, have gained a sense of greater self-respect. I believe that they will not only refuse, but that they will resent as an insult the make-believe of politicians who seek to dance attendance upon their movement, and to flatter it with honeyed words, which are not prompted by sincere and honourable intentions. I think we shall ask our professing friends that they furnish us with some proof of their honesty. And this proof must take the form not of words, but of action.

Among these philanderers to-day is to be found so lofty a personage as the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself. We do not respect Mr. Lloyd George the less because we know him to be an extremely astute politician, but we realise that we have to be very much on our guard when we find that he is seeking to ingratiate himself with this movement. We do not accuse him of seeking place and position. That would be absurd. For he has already attained one of the highest places in the State. But we know that he has certain reforms sincerely at heart, and it is quite clear to us that a flirtation with Women's Suffrage would be likely to bring the Prime Minister and his colleagues in the Cabinet to his side with an offer of Welsh Disestablishment. And we have little doubt of the choice that he would then make.

No! Action is what we demand, not words. Redress of a great wrong is what women are fighting for to-day. For this they are giving their lives. Nothing else than this will satisfy them. For this they are enduring imprisonment as common criminals and malefactors. The women in this movement have not taken up this question of woman's emancipation to play with it. We mean business. If Mr. Lloyd George means business too, and means the same business as we mean, well and good.

Let him bring the Government to the point of taking action, or else let him leave the Government, and take that action which is open to him as an individual. Then we will listen to him. But if he is not prepared to do either of these two things, then we will not listen to him. And in the face of the treatment which for 40 years this movement has received, he can complain neither of our political distrust nor of our political opposition.

The false position in which he stands makes his platitudes of sympathy an insult to women's political intelligence, an insult against which this Union will continue actively and publicly to protest.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

THE CHELMSFORD BY-ELECTION.

The issue that is presented to the electors of Chelmsford in the present contest is whether they will show their approval of the Liberal Government and Liberal policy by electing Mr. Dence, or whether they will show their disapproval by putting him at the bottom of the poll.

The Women's Social and Political Union are asking the electors of Chelmsford to vote against Mr. Dence, in order that they may show their disapproval of the way in which the Liberal Government is treating women. In February of this year a Women's Enfranchisement Bill passed through its second reading in the House of Commons by the enormous majority of 179. If the Liberal Government had been favourable to Woman Suffrage, this Bill would by now have become law, but the Liberal Government refused to allow the measure to have any further progress through the House, and thus stood in the way of women obtaining the vote. Not content with this, the Liberal Government have caused several hundred women to be sent to prison during the last three years for their persistence in demanding their enfranchisement. And at the present time Mrs. Pankhurst, Christabel Pankhurst, and three other women are confined in gaol, and denied the ordinary rights of political prisoners, in consequence of their determined action. Women find themselves accordingly brought into direct antagonism with the Government, and they are asking the electors of Chelmsford to show that they support the women by voting against Mr. Dence, the Liberal nominee.

There are some people who think that because Mr. Dence has declared himself personally in favour of giving votes to women that, therefore, he ought not to be opposed by women Suffragists. They suggest that if he were returned to the House of Commons, he would be a support, and not a hindrance, to the woman suffrage cause. Those who say this do not realise the way in which business is conducted in the House. If Mr. Dence were elected, his personal views (even if they were a great deal stronger on the subject than they really are) would be of little avail to women. It is true that on the next occasion when a Woman Suffrage Bill is debated Mr. Dence might be willing to vote in favour of it, and so increase the majority from 179 to 180, but this would be of no avail to women, because so long as the Government refuse facilities for the Bill to proceed, it makes no difference what the exact amount of the majority is.

But what would matter would be that if Mr. Dence were returned, then the Government would rejoice to find that they were being supported by the people of the country, and this would strengthen them in their opposition to women; if, on the other hand, Mr. Dence is defeated, and especially if that defeat is by a far greater majority than on the last occasion, the Government will know that their policy is not acceptable to the people of Chelmsford. They will begin to say to themselves: "If we wish to retain our position, we must modify our policy in important particulars." Their agents in the constituency will tell them how important a part was played by the question of woman suffrage, and how many votes were turned over on this account, and so the defeat of their candidate will warn them that people will not tolerate very much longer the way in which they are depriving women of their right to vote. Every elector, therefore, of Chelmsford who wishes to show that his support of the women is something more than words must stand loyally by them on Tuesday next, and give his vote against the Government, which is being represented by Mr. Dence, the Liberal nominee.

Unionist Mr. Pretzman
Liberal Mr. A. H. Dence

The figures at the General Election were as follows:—Major Sir F. Carne Rasch (Con.), 4,915; Mr. A. H. Dence (Lib.), 4,461.

Committee Rooms: Chelmsford, "Old Army Barracks," Springfield-road, Brentwood, 112, High-street.
Polling Day, December 1.

It was uncertain when we went to press last week whether a Liberal candidate would be forthcoming for the Essex (Chelmsford Division) vacancy caused by the retirement of Major Sir F. Carne Rasch. On Wednesday, however, Mr. A. H. Dence, who opposed Sir Carne Rasch at the last election, was adopted in opposition to Captain E. G. Pretzman. A preliminary visit to the constituency had already been made by "General" Drummond, and everything was in readiness for an immediate opening of the National Women's Social

and Political Union's campaign should a Liberal candidate present himself. Committee rooms were immediately taken at the "Old Army Barracks," in Springfield-road, and Mrs. Drummond and a band of workers have been actively employed in vigorous opposition to the Liberal candidate since Wednesday in last week. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst addressed a meeting in the Market-square on Thursday evening, with Miss Ogston as chairman. There was some opposition, and the lorry was pulled along the street by the mob. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence visited the constituency on Friday. Other workers are Miss Evelyn Sharp, Miss Macaulay, Miss Joachim, Miss Helen Ogston, Miss Naylor, Mrs. Baillie-Guthrie, Miss Douglas Smith, Dr. Ede, and Mrs. Bartlett.

The *Daily Mail* records that "lively scenes were witnessed at Old Cannon on Monday. Suffragette, trade union, and Tariff Reform speakers were all expounding their views within a few yards of each other, and the competition was won by the Suffragettes, whose voices drove off the others."

The constituency is a difficult one to cover, its extent being about 23 miles by 16 miles. The total electorate is 12,539; Chelmsford itself has 4,116 votes, Brentwood 2,570, and Waltham, which is the next largest place, 707. The Liberal candidate, at a public meeting on Thursday, said he was not afraid of the Suffragettes.

Meetings are being held every afternoon and evening in the large hall above the Chelmsford offices; in the Conduit, 8 p.m. every evening. Daily dinner-hour meetings are held outside factories and other business places; and lantern lectures are being given. The Brentwood office is under the charge of Miss Higgins; Mr. Pethick Lawrence is addressing a meeting in the Town Hall on Wednesday, and in Chelmsford on Friday. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst is addressing meetings on Friday and Saturday. Evening meetings (7 p.m.) are being held in all the surrounding villages, and on Friday, Saturday, and Monday the released prisoners in prison dress will drive throughout the constituency. On Saturday a special demonstration is being arranged, starting from London, particulars of which are given on page 138.

AN IMPRESSION OF THE CONTEST.

By EVELYN SHARP.

There were three of us in the train by which I travelled down to Chelmsford; but we might have been going to a Cabinet Minister's meeting for all we saw of each other on the way. The benevolent smile of the ticket collector would have betrayed us to anybody, though; and by the natural instinct of one Suffragette for finding out another, we gravitated towards one another outside the station, and were told the way to our committee rooms by two passers-by almost before we had asked it of one of them. Chalked pavements, more benevolent smiles, and a grin that spelt "Votes for Women" from the small boys, told us further that our campaign had been well started, and that we were recognised as part of it. And this was strange, because our travelling cloaks concealed our badges for the moment. But, of course, it is not the badge that proclaims the Suffragette.

A magnificent room with large shop windows, on the ground floor, and a hall for meetings above it—these are our central committee rooms, in the old army barracks; and you could not think of a more appropriate setting for General Drummond. There she sat, writing dispatches, arranging a meeting a minute, and planning the downfall of the Government nominee and the lighting of the hall upstairs, all with the unfailing smile of the born general. I gave her some of the accounts that had reached town of the Suffragette campaign in Chelmsford, which seemed to be news to her. "Except for a few interruptions during our first meeting at the Conduit, I don't remember any hostility," she said. "You didn't notice the pouring rain at that meeting, though, till the chairman pointed it out to you," remarked a feeling voice from the back of the shop. "No more did the crowd," retorted the General.

She soon gave me my marching orders. She would have none of me in Chelmsford, though she was arranging for a daily afternoon and evening indoor meeting there, to say nothing of dinner-hour meetings for working men. The motor-car that sports our colours and rushes out of hearing before the cry of "Votes for Women" has time to die down behind it, whirled me off to Brentwood, at the other end of the constituency, where our branch committee rooms had been established that morning only—long enough, though, to have spread the news of our coming all over the town. As the car drove up at the purple, white, and green shop in the High-street, a small crowd, with the startling originality that distinguishes the juvenile crowd, yelled "Votes for Women" at me, as though it thought I required the information. I told them to go on yelling it everywhere, upon which they became instantly dumb.

"We've arranged an afternoon and evening meeting in the Harmony Hall, but we may not have much of an audience the first day," I was told. I can only say that if the two audiences I saw were not "much," the rest of our meetings will have to be held in the open-air only. In the afternoon, the hall was filled, mainly with women; and in the evening, when it was not safe to admit more people to stand in the gangways, Miss Higgins held a large overflow meeting outside the hall. It was an immensely interesting audience, representing, I should say, all classes of people and all kinds of political opinion. A few had come evidently out of curiosity; some, we were told, were definitely there to make a disturbance. Well, I think the curious ones were disappointed when they found that we walked and talked and behaved like any other women; but it was not disappointment that the majority of that packed audience showed when we had done laying before it our case for enfranchisement and our case against the Government that refuses it. And the disturbance never happened; we could not even screw a question out of anybody. And when from the railway bridge overhead came the shrill cry of—well, everybody knows what—as my train left the station that night, one felt that in Brentwood, as in Chelmsford, the importance of the militant Suffragist as a political factor in the Mid-Essex contest was clearly recognised.

OUR POST BOX. DO MILITANT TACTICS PAY?

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—As the first man to approve publicly of militant tactics, perhaps I may be allowed a slight criticism of Mr. Pethick Lawrence's able article in your issue of to-day, entitled "Do Militant Tactics Pay?" Naturally I agree with the article almost *in toto*. If I am inclined to make the faintest reservation, it is because I am not sure of the logic or the wisdom of his deduction that because the Cabinet stands together as a whole therefore no Minister, even though he be in favour of Suffrage, is ever to be allowed a hearing. Obviously, no Minister can over-ride the will of the Premier. Mr. Pethick Lawrence says: "We have it on the authority of Dr. Cooper that when the Reform Bills of '67 and '84 were under discussion no opponent of reform was ever allowed a hearing." Surely Mr. Pethick Lawrence does not mean to tell us that if any Cabinet Minister had been in favour of reform before the Prime Minister had announced a practical measure, the lovers of reform would have shut him up on every public occasion. Unless Mr. Pethick Lawrence can cite chapter and verse, I shall hold it somewhat disingenuous to suggest that there is any male precedent for the Union's policy. Your organ seems to forget that "Militant Tactics" means "tactics" as well as "militant," and all the militant ardour in the world is no compensation for bad generalship. It may just possibly be that the wiser "tactics" would have been to differentiate between the Ministers favouring and the Ministers opposing Women's Suffrage, because in those circumstances the worried and heckled Minister might have gradually come to look with envy upon the peace and security of the platforms of his fellow-Ministers and thus have been insidiously influenced, whereas now he knows that he has nothing to gain by friendly overtures. This, however, is a mere question of "tactics," and I readily admit the present method of making all the Cabinet equally uncomfortable may be superior.

But what I am absolutely certain about—and in this I have the support of ardent "Militants"—is that the Women's Social and Political Union is on the brink of a *bêtise*, if it purposes to interrupt Mr. Lloyd George at the meeting in December at the Albert Hall. The fact that this meeting is organised by women, and by women in favour of the suffrage, should be enough to give serious pause to the generals of the Union.

Blindly to follow a course of tactics under any circumstances is more a mark of animal instinct than of human reason. But what makes the culminating absurdity of the application of the old tactics to this new instance is that, if I understand aright, Mr. Lloyd George is to address his audience upon Women's Suffrage. For it is highly important that our "tactics" should always be tactically legitimate. Opposition at public meetings is an old-established political procedure, and the form of opposition so astutely developed by our militant forces, being almost always in the form of questions about the Suffrage, is a legitimate extension of ordinary political methods. When, however, a speaker comes before an audience expressly prepared to speak about the Suffrage and to answer questions thereon, this method becomes at once illegitimate, and degenerates into unintelligent rowdyism. Even in military operations there is such a thing as a truce, and Mr. Lloyd George may be regarded as coming to the Albert Hall under a flag of truce. Are women because they have become militant to fall below the ordinary courtesies and chivalries of warfare? As yet their military operations have been—I use the phrase deliberately—worthy of ladies. It will be a sad day for their sympathisers

when they justify the criticism of their enemies. Those left in charge of the Union owe it to their imprisoned leader to run no risk of committing a folly in her absence for which she would have to bear the responsibility. Inaction at this single meeting can do no possible harm; action may do irretrievable mischief. Between such alternatives what sensible person can hesitate?

Yours, &c.,

Far End, East Preston, Worthing,
November 19, 1908.

ISRAEL ZANGWILL.

WOMEN LIBERALS' PROTEST.

The following letter has been received from the hon. secretary of the Chichester and District Women's Liberal Association:—
DEAR SIR,—I am instructed by the committee of the Chichester and District W.L.A. to forward to you the following resolution, passed at a meeting of the executive held on November 3:—

That we, the members of the committee of the Chichester and District W.L.A., enter our protest against what we consider to be the unjust treatment meted out to Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Drummond, and Miss Pankhurst, now undergoing a term of imprisonment. It is, in our opinion, a scandal and a shame that these ladies should have been sentenced in the second division, and thus be compelled to share the fate of rogues and criminals. We earnestly ask the Home Secretary to order their immediate removal to the first-class division.

A copy of this resolution has been forwarded to Mr. Asquith and to Mr. Herbert Gladstone.

Yours, &c.,

MADGE TURNER.

MADAME MELBA'S HEARTY SUPPORT.

Mrs. Tuke has received the following letter:—

DEAR MRS. TUKE,—Madame Melba desires me to thank you for your letter and the enclosed booklet ["The Trial of the Suffragette Leaders"] which she will read with sympathetic interest.

She hopes that before her return from abroad the women of this country will have won the franchise for which you are all fighting with such fine courage and enthusiasm.

Yours, &c.,

AGNES G. MURPHY (Business Secretary).

A By-Election in the Pacific.

Our readers will be interested in the following extract from a letter received by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence from a working woman going out on the S.S. Corinthic to join her husband in New Zealand:—

"What do you think, we had a mock election on board last night. There were three candidates, 'Liberal,' 'Conservative,' and 'Socialist,' so I adopted our by-election policy. I managed to get six young women to join me. I tore up an ordinary copy book and wrote some of our mottoes on the leaves and pinned a leaf on each woman. The room was quite full, but I managed to get a corner reserved for the suffragettes. The chairman opened the meeting and introduced the Liberal first. Directly he started to speak I mounted the chair and spoke also, much to the amusement of the passengers. After the three men had spoken there were cries of men and women, 'Let's hear the suffragettes.' I addressed the whole of the meeting, then another got up, so between us, they had a good dose. It ended up with three cheers for Mrs. Pankhurst, and victory for the suffragettes. This morning everybody is talking of Votes for Women, so you see even in the middle of the ocean one talks of Votes for Women."

An interesting incident occurred after a brilliant meeting at Battersea Town Hall last Wednesday. A young French girl (unable to speak a word of English) had been taken into the police station. The police, unable to understand her, hurried to the meeting to ask whether Miss Pankhurst would come, as they were sure she could speak French, and would do all she could for the poor girl. As Miss Pankhurst was still speaking, another suffragette was found who was able to fulfil the required services.

An Irishwomen's Franchise League has been started in Ireland, the objects of which are to obtain for Irishwomen the Parliamentary franchise on the same terms as it is or may be granted to Irishmen, and to this end to educate and organise public opinion in Ireland by public meetings, debates, &c. The meeting in Dublin on November 17, at which the League was inaugurated, was most enthusiastic, and at the close a resolution of sympathy with the brave women who are at present suffering imprisonment in England in the cause of women's political freedom was passed by acclamation. The League is open to women of all shades of political opinion who approve of its objects and methods. Those desirous of obtaining information respecting its work should communicate with the hon. secretary, 34, Wicklow-street, Dublin.

The following resolution, proposed by Mrs. C. M. Wilson on a vote of urgency, was passed by an overwhelming majority at the meeting of the Fabian Society, held at Essex Hall on November 13:—"That as a distinction is made in prison practice in England between first and second division prisoners, which makes it possible to discriminate between ordinary criminals and persons who, as social reformers, are in conscientious conflict with the law, this meeting is of opinion that the benefit of the distinction should be accorded to the women now voluntarily undergoing imprisonment for taking part in the agitation for the extension of the suffrage."

HECKLING CABINET MINISTERS.

It was Mr. Runciman who, with the fear of a Suffragette "heckle" before him, the other day at Cambridge, extolled the beauties of reticence in public speaking. His fellow-members of the Cabinet appear to have laid his remarks seriously to heart, for their appearances in public have recently become extremely rare. Only Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Haldane and Mr. Harcourt during the past week have had the temerity to address large public meetings, and from these women have either been rigidly excluded or required to sign impossible conditions before being admitted.

Women all over the country are on the watch for these rare appearances, and it is impossible to escape them.

It might have been thought that the Prime Minister going to unveil a portrait of Canon and Mrs. Barnett at Toynbee Hall would have been safe from Suffragette attacks. He was well guarded by his friends as well as by the police, and up to the moment when he was leaving the hall he no doubt imagined that this occasion, at any rate, was to pass off without interruption.

Two Suffragettes had, however, by stratagem obtained an entrance to the yard, and as the Prime Minister emerged, guarded by his friends, and made his way to his motor, the women seized him, each by an arm, and one said: "Mr. Asquith, I want to know when you are going to give women the vote."

"Wait, wait," said the Minister, who was somewhat flurried at being thus taken unawares.

"No, we can't wait. Our leaders are in prison," she replied, and before the Prime Minister reached his motor-car she was able to press home the women's claim.

Sir Edward Grey at Scarborough.

So fearful of the attentions of the Suffragettes were the promoters of the Liberal meeting at Scarborough on Thursday, when Sir Edward Grey was the speaker, that no tickets were issued to women until the day of the meeting. The meeting was a "packed" one. Two hours before it was time to begin, a large body of supporters of the Liberal party presented themselves for admission; non-Liberal men had been refused tickets for a fortnight in advance, and those arriving at 7.15 were told that there was no room, although it was afterwards ascertained that there were some 200 vacant seats. Notwithstanding the precautions, however, a woman in the hall asked Sir Edward Grey when he intended to give votes to women, but was not answered until after the Licensing Bill had been dealt with.

Meanwhile, other women held a great protest meeting on the steps of the Liberal Club opposite, and at its close, accompanied by an enormous crowd, marched to the stage door, by which it was expected the Minister would leave. This was guarded by police with drawn truncheons, and Sir Edward Grey, accompanied by the chief constable and three police officers, escaped to the house of the borough member, Mr. Rea, with whom he was staying.

An amusing account of the meeting was given in one of the local papers, which says:—"It is asserted credibly that the cellars of the theatre were systematically searched with candles, on the chance of finding a suffragette, and in the evening a body of young stalwarts, numbering well over a hundred, were posted all over the building. They all declared they were ready to do or die for the cause. Imagine 'doing and dying' in a fierce battle between over a hundred men and nine frail ladies! I had another incident related to me which I was assured was true. The double-bass player in the band was walking into the theatre, with his instrument swathed in its canvas cover. He was abruptly stopped by an official. 'You must open that case—there may be a suffragette inside.'"

Mr. Haldane at Guildford.

A Suffragette at Guildford on Friday evening, although excluded by the terms of the tickets issued to women from entering the Drill Hall, and prevented by local police arrangements from speaking publicly outside, when Mr. Haldane drove up in an open motor, between lines of men and women who had gathered in the streets, seized the opportunity of addressing him briefly.

"Votes for women, Mr. Haldane, votes for women!" rang out in clear, determined tones. "Let this Government put its Liberal principles into practice. We demand the vote this session, and we are going to get it!"

"Bravo! Well done!" cried members of the crowd, to Mr. Haldane's evident discomfort.

Mr. Harcourt in Glasgow.

The arrangements made to safeguard Mr. Harcourt during the few hours he spent in Glasgow last Friday formed another eloquent tribute to the success of the tactics adopted by the women, while the nature and extent of the precautions taken show how well the

Liberals now realise to what an extent dissatisfaction and disapproval of the Government's actions are rife within their own ranks.

Though the Liberal agents had evidently determined that the evening should pass without Mr. Harcourt's attention being distracted by the question of votes for women, there were women on the spot whose determination was at least equal to theirs, for on Mr. Harcourt's very unostentatious arrival at the hall, he was followed into the vestibule by a woman who dexterously evaded threatened ejection long enough to present him with the current number of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Mr. Harcourt was obviously disconcerted, but finally accepted it.

He subsequently received two telegrams, the first, which arrived early in the meeting, contained the words: "Scottish women demand political justice." The second, arriving at question time, demanded: "When is the Liberal Government going to give votes to women?" Mr. Harcourt stated that he had received a courteous note on the subject from a lady, to which he replied, curiously enough, in a speech of studied discourtesy, an attitude which did not secure the sympathy of his audience, who demanded a speech in return. This having been briefly complied with, many of them left the hall to report progress to the women outside, and encouraged them with three cheers and shouts of "Votes for Women!" Mr. Harcourt evidently lacked courage to face the women again; his nerve was plainly shaken, and he escaped modestly by a side door.

The events of Friday, coupled with the ejections from Mr. Haldane's recent meeting, have convinced a large number of people that to approach Cabinet Ministers with courtesy is merely to give an opportunity for discourteous treatment in return, and that the only method of communication which they really understand is militant action.

TREASURER'S NOTE.

I have just returned from seeing Mrs. Pankhurst in prison. I told her how the friends at Queen's Hall last Monday had subscribed £20 for the motor-car to be used in the Chelmsford By-Election Campaign. She was delighted. I should like to have the whole of the money for the by-election expenses specially subscribed as a form of protest against the Liberal Government for the vindictive treatment meted out to the suffragists in prison. May I ask our friends to send their subscriptions in at once, with a special note that they are to go to the by-election campaign.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £50,000 FUND.

November 18 to November 24.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	24,846	18	4	Anon (sale of frames)	0	3	0
Mrs. Homersham	0	7	6	Anon (sale of two articles of jewellery)	0	17	0
Mrs. Offer (padding sold)	0	1	0	Mrs. J. Langdon-Down	0	10	0
Miss M. B. Williamson	0	1	0	Mrs. Maitland	2	0	0
Mrs. E. S. Cooper	10	10	0	Anon	0	2	9
Anon. (Germany)	0	10	0	Miss Annie Myott (by-election)	0	1	0
Mrs. Richmond	0	10	0	Per Miss J. R. Campbell (for Bradford secretary)	1	0	0
Mrs. M. Agar Dunbar	1	1	0	Miss M. R. R. Mackenzie	0	5	0
Miss J. Callaghan	0	7	6	Miss Anstey	0	10	0
Mrs. F. G. Hamilton	0	5	0	Mrs. G. Gulich (by-election)	0	10	0
Mrs. R. G. Ferguson	5	0	0	Miss A. E. Wilson (weekly)	1	1	0
Mrs. E. Smith	10	0	0	Miss J. Llewellyn (by-election)	0	10	0
Mrs. Iseard	0	4	0	The Misses Beck (by-election)	3	0	0
Battersea members and friends	0	12	0	The Misses McGowan (weekly)	0	5	0
H. F. R.	0	5	0	"Expenses saved by going to Holloway"	4	4	0
Mrs. E. Griffin	1	1	0	Per Mrs. Martel—Rochdale (lecture fee)	0	10	0
Basil Belmont, Esq.	1	1	0	Per Miss G. Keovil—Mrs. and Miss Cards	0	10	0
Mrs. E. Ancey	0	1	0	Miss Eastgate	0	1	0
Miss L. Tingle (collecting card)	1	0	0	Miss S. Pankhurst's expenses to and from Coventry	1	6	6
Miss Deborah Webb (per Miss S. Pankhurst)	5	0	0	Per Miss Gawthorpe—"Sound on the Woman Question"	0	10	0
Miss E. E. Blake	1	0	0	Rochdale W.S.P.U. (half profit on meeting)	1	8	0
Mrs. C. F. T. Woltersen	0	0	0	Profit on Mrs. Duncan's lectures	1	3	0
Scottish W.S.P.U.	2	0	0	Anon	0	1	0
Miss Louisa Macdonald	1	0	0	Mrs. A. Banks	0	1	0
Miss T. M. Macdonald	1	0	0	Membership entrance fees	4	11	6
Chelsea W.S.P.U. (profit on meeting)	6	0	0	Collection, &c.	79	18	1
Miss Lloyd	1	1	0	Total	£25,033	5	1
Miss Ella Gritton	0	5	0				
Mrs. A. Shafco Greene (collected)	1	19	6				
Mrs. H. H. L. Williams	0	10	0				
Miss F. M. Russell	1	0	0				
Miss C. M. Strangways	1	0	0				
Miss Dorothy Hart Davis (paste buckle sold)	1	8	6				
Miss Alice Heale	2	2	0				
Mrs. W. R. Bousfield	10	0	0				
Miss G. P. Stevenson	10	0	0				
Miss C. Wolsey Haig	2	0	0				
Mrs. H. Packer (collected)	0	11	11				

PROGRESS OF WOMEN.

In the course of a lecture on women in Australia, delivered in London on November 23, Miss Louisa Macdonald, M.A., Principal of the Women's College, University of Sydney, said that the vote had been secured so long ago that no one ever gave it a thought now; the women voted according to their convictions, quietly, and with no fuss. Increased interest in politics had resulted from their being politically free.

Votes for Women in Victoria.

The Legislative Council of Victoria has passed a Bill enabling women to vote at the State elections. Bills granting the suffrage to women have been repeatedly passed by the Legislative Assembly, and as often rejected by the Council, and this decision brings Victoria into line with the other States of the Commonwealth and New Zealand. Women in Victoria have had the vote in elections to the Commonwealth Parliament since 1902, when a uniform franchise for this purpose was applied to the whole of Australia.

Soldier Nurses.

Considerable interest was aroused in the West-End of London on Saturday by a half section of the First Aid Nursing Yeomanry Corps, which rode from the Regents' Park Riding School, through Oxford-street and Holborn to St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Here, by invitation of the matron and staff, the women were taken round the wards. The squadron has been formed by Captain E. C. Baker, in connection with his Islington Drill Brigade, with the idea that it will be a valuable help for the regular army to have attached to it a body of mounted nurses, trained to ride over any sort of country, and to give first aid to the wounded in battle until the arrival of the base hospital staff. The women provide their own uniform, which costs £10 to begin with, and horse. The "Lieutenants'" uniform consists of a scarlet tunic with white facings, a blue skirt braided with white facings, black gaiters, Brodric cap with silver lace band, monogram, and chin strap, and white gauntlets. The "Troopers" wear a blue sailor blouse with white facings, blue skirt, the field service cap with chin strap, and white gauntlets.

The women were all exceedingly well horsed, and rode with the erect immovable seat of the trained cavalryman.

Captain Baker, who led them, was followed by the bugler of the corp, one of the youngest of the troopers, whose long, bright hair hung in tossing curls over her shoulders. The remainder of the troop followed behind the bugler, riding two abreast.

On arriving at the hospital, the order was given: "Half-section, prepare to dismount—dismount." The girls leapt lightly to the ground, and stood at their horses' heads. When the women returned and were given the command "mount," they sprang lightly and gracefully into the saddles.

Women and Science.

Miss Gertrude Holland Wren, whose triumph in securing the much-coveted Pereira Medal we chronicled in these pages some weeks ago, has been appointed demonstrator for the Pharmaceutical Society. This is the first time in the history of the society that a woman has been appointed to this post, and it is a fitting acknowledgment to Miss Wren's industry that she should be the first woman to receive it, as she was recently the first recipient of the highest award the Pharmaceutical Society can give to students.

The Chemical Society, which during the summer months took a ballot of its members, has decided by a large majority to admit women to membership.

The fellows and members of the Royal College of Surgeons have unanimously passed a resolution expressing the opinion that women, when admitted to the college diplomas, should have equal collegiate rights with men.

A woman doctor has been appointed School Medical Officer for the district of Birmingham, while another has been appointed Assistant Medical Officer of Schools at Tottenham.

A Woman at the Helm in China.

After the death of the Dowager Empress of China the new Queen-Mother with great promptitude and presence of mind arranged that meetings of the Grand Council should be held in her private apartments, where plans were arranged without loss of time. Ye-He-Na-La, the Empress-Mother, is in possession of the infant Emperor Pu Yi.

Spain and the Women's Movement.

It is encouraging to know that members of the Spanish aristocracy and of the various women's societies in Madrid are expressing

sympathy with the W.S.P.U. The greater part of the London Letter in the *Herald of Madrid* last week was devoted to the Votes for Women Movement in England. "The women," says the writer, "are protesting against the action of the Home Secretary, who has treated the prisoners not as political prisoners, but as common criminals, because he says that they can go out if they like, though they have willingly gone to prison in defence of their ideals. He is not treating them as men are treated in civilised countries."

The Conservative Women's Franchise Association.

The Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, which was inaugurated on November 6 for the purpose of encouraging Conservative and Unionist women to band together in the demand for the vote, has opened an office at 34, North Audley-street, W. Mrs. Gilbert Samuel, the hon. secretary, states that, "although it was known that there was some diffidence in expressing definite views, it was hardly realised that there was such a consensus of opinion in favour of the vote being extended to duly qualified women." In consequence of the success in enrolling members a salaried secretary is being appointed and activities increased.

Married Women's Need of the Vote.

Cases are constantly arising which prove the need for women to have a direct voice in the making of the laws they are called upon to obey. In Scotland some months ago it was decided by the Court of Session that a wife had the right to the use of wedding presents admittedly hers, only in her husband's house. She had no right to remove them without his consent. In the same Court it was decided recently that a husband was within his rights in revoking by his own testament provisions in favour of members of his wife's family which were contained in the *mutual testament of himself and his wife*. Nor are a wife's savings her own, for in a recent case, when the husband, finding the sum of £90 in a drawer, placed £50 of this to his own credit in the Post Office Savings Bank, and £40 to his wife's, the Judge considered that the money was the joint property of husband and wife, and that the man had made a fair division. Another decision related to money saved out of housekeeping; this, it appeared, was the husband's property, and not the wife's.

The Women's Movement in Turkey.

An interesting account of what women are doing in Turkey has been written by Dr. Mary Mills Patrick, president of the American College for Girls in Constantinople. The changes in the harems, says Dr. Patrick, are the most dramatic. Turkish women have thrown off their veils, and are lecturing in different prominent cities, like Constantinople and Salonica. They are forming women's clubs, three of which are already organised in Constantinople. Among these, one woman is especially prominent, Halideh Salih, who is considered to-day the leading woman in Constantinople. She has been asked to write for every paper in the city, and her patriotic, impassioned articles are among the regular contributions to the *Tammim* (Echo), the unofficial Government organ. She is a member of all the women's clubs and the president of one of them, and is also the only woman member of two exclusive men's clubs, a Press club, and a League for Public Safety. She is also taking a prominent part in the reorganising of the schools for girls throughout the Turkish Empire, which is already planned by the Department of Public Instruction.

Another Mohammedan graduate of the American College for Girls at Constantinople is lecturing in Salonica in behalf of Turkish women, and will write for a new journal for women which is being started there.

Women and Industrial Laws.

Industrial laws and how they affect the workers is a subject of prime importance to women, and in Paris a Women's Institute of Practical Law has just been opened. The course comprises 120 lessons, and seems to be designed to give women a working knowledge of the laws which affect them in their industrial life.

Women Tax-Payers in Iowa.

Headed by the Rev. Anna Shaw, 600 Iowa suffragists marched through the streets of Boone the other day, during the annual meeting of the Iowa Woman Suffrage Association. The purpose of the procession was to celebrate the decision of the Iowa Supreme Court in favour of the constitutionality of the law empowering women to vote on questions of local taxation. Many of the best known women of Iowa, including large taxpayers, marched in the procession, and the whole town turned out to look at them.

RELEASE OF THE PRISONERS.

To the rousing strains of the Women's Marseillaise, thirteen women left Holloway Prison on Saturday morning, and were welcomed by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and a large body of members of the W.S.P.U. at the gates. They were Maud Brindley, Florence Williams, Grace Hodgson Boutelle, Lettice Floyd, Winifred Bray, Elizabeth Billing, Mary A. M. Aldham, Ellen Smith, Jane Grey, Ada Flatman, Gertrude Llewellyn, Marian Wallace Dunlop, and Gertrude Mary Ansell, each of whom had served a month's imprisonment for participation in the demonstration at Westminster on October 13. In addition to the members of the Union, a very large crowd was present, and the cheering was tremendous. The women were conveyed in a decorated brake to the Inns of Court Hotel, three more brakes following with members and friends of the W.S.P.U. Along the route many expressions of encouragement were given, heads of departments and shop assistants standing at the doors of the business houses, workers coming to factory windows, and the staff of the London Temperance Hospital coming out on their balcony to cheer the procession as it passed. There was a very large attendance at the breakfast, among those present being the lady who gave £1,000 to the Union's funds at the Albert Hall meeting in March.

Speeches at the Breakfast.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence presided. She said it had happened once more that a by-election coincided with the release of some of the women who had been in Holloway for the sake of their political convictions. This was hard on the Liberal Government, but very appropriate from the point of view of the W.S.P.U.; and the women who were with them again that morning, and to whom she extended a very hearty welcome, would shortly be going to Essex to help in keeping out the Liberal candidate. Brakes and carriages would convey them through the length and breadth of the constituency, and the people in the Chelmsford Division would then have something to say to the Government as to what they thought of their action regarding these women, who were asking for bare political justice. It was not speeches, distribution of literature, or propaganda that would tell in this, as in other by-elections, but just the presence of those who were ready to suffer for the cause that would tell against the Government.

Speaking of events during the absence of the women in prison, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence said that Liberal agents had descended to the most unworthy depths in their desire to prevent the women's protests at their public meetings. Women ticket-holders were now required to sign their names and make a promise not to pass the ticket on to anyone else, and not to heckle the speaker. To have brought down a great Liberal party to such a level was the greatest possible sign of retribution. The fact that the women were now kept out of meetings, because, having given a promise, they were in honour bound to keep it, was the result of this unworthy attitude of the Liberal agents. No one could now talk about "packed Tory meetings." There had never been a time when a great party had had to descend to such means as this.

The women, though excluded from meetings, had been able to hold very effective protests outside. (These are described on p. 152). Mrs. Pethick Lawrence having explained the attitude of the N.W.S.P.U. with regard to the Albert Hall meeting on December 5, at which Mr. Lloyd George is announced to speak (discussed in the leading article this week), called upon Mr. Pethick Lawrence. Mr. Pethick Lawrence, who had just returned from defending Mrs. Baines at the Leeds Assizes, said it would be out of place for him to speak in a general way on the case just concluded at Leeds, but there were one or two points upon which he was entitled to touch. One was that the jury had found Mrs. Baines guilty of unlawful assembly, because they chose to believe the evidence of three detectives rather than that of Mrs. Baines and those who spoke on her behalf. The other point related to Mrs. Baines' decision to go to prison for six weeks. Having heard the facts stated, she said: "I have perfectly made up my mind; I do not intend to be bound over, and it is no use talking any more. I have no intention of doing violence or inciting anyone to do violence, but in the present political position I refuse to be bound over." To Mr. Pethick Lawrence she said: "Please explain to the women what I have thought in the matter: so long as the Government refuse to give votes to women, I cannot consent to be bound over." Rounds of applause greeted this conclusion.

Ex-Prisoners' Speeches.

Miss Wallace Dunlop, who was the first of the released prisoners to be called upon for a speech, said she ought, perhaps, to justify in the eyes of the Union the protest made a fortnight before. Mrs. Leigh was beginning to look ill, and the other women felt some

anxiety about her. On the Monday it was understood that she had a day's solitary confinement to her cell for some breach of discipline. Next day she was still in her cell, and also on Wednesday and Thursday. When she next appeared she said, "I have solitary confinement because the warden told an untruth; she said I requested the prisoners to mutiny with me. I did nothing of the kind." Miss Dunlop, knowing that a prisoner had the right of sending for the Governor, decided to ask the other women whether they could witness that Mrs. Leigh had not done what she was accused of. Two or three said they would. At 3.30 in the afternoon Miss Dunlop asked the warden to send for the Governor, "because," she added, "we have something to say." The warden being unwilling, she added, "We will wait till he comes." At 5.30, when associated-work was over, there was no message, and the warden gave the order, "Return to your cells." "No," said Miss Dunlop, "don't return to your cells. We want to see the Governor, or the Deputy-Governor." Again the order was given to return; again Miss Dunlop refused, saying the women would remain where they were until the Governor or his Deputy arrived. The warden then said she would take other measures. She did so; she summoned a very large number of wardresses, who lined the corridors in long rows. There was complete silence, and "the Suffragettes," said Miss Dunlop, "were splendid enough to support me, though they did not in the least know what was happening. I said, 'Go to the end wall, and link arms, and stand with your back to the wall.' They did so, and looked as though nothing could move them. It would have been of no use whatever to attempt to resist the wardresses, but they looked so firm that no one attempted to move. For several seconds there was silence. Then I heard steps. The Governor had come. I stepped forward, and said, 'We have sent for you because we have a statement to make. One of our comrades has been unjustly punished.' The Governor, who is a very just man, said, 'You know I am always willing to listen to any statement, but I can do nothing to-night unless you return to your cells.' It was of no use asking him to alter the punishment then, because it was finished. They called it a mutiny; we call it a protest. Next day, when the Governor came round, I said to him, 'Is it not a fact that a prisoner has a right to send for the Governor in a matter of importance?' He said, 'Yes,' but that I must appear before the magistrate."

Accordingly, Miss Dunlop went on to state, she was taken before the magistrate, governor, matron, and seven wardresses, by one of whom a statement was made which was perfectly true, and was corroborated by Miss Dunlop, who was then sent out of the room to await results. On being recalled, the Governor addressed her as if she were a naughty child, and he an elderly governess, giving her five days' solitary confinement, and depriving her of associated labour. She claimed sole responsibility for the occurrence, and added, "When we seek for justice outside prison, we are sent to prison; when we seek it inside we are punished. It is a little difficult to know what to do!" But this was not all, for the other women who supported Miss Dunlop were each given three days' solitary confinement.

Miss Dunlop had a word to add about Mrs. Pankhurst. "I can't tell you," she said, "what it is to see her exercising in prison dress and spoken to rudely by a young warden. If by striking anyone I could have done any good I should certainly have struck someone. I have come out determined to work more strenuously and more militantly than ever, and if it is necessary I am ready to go back to Holloway."

Miss Gertrude Ansell referred to the prison as "Our Holloway branch," and described it as an "insane place for the sane." The sight of Mrs. Pankhurst in prison dress roused in her not seven devils, but 7,000. Since Monday she had occupied the next cell but one to Mrs. Pankhurst, and she described how through a little peep-hole she had been able to catch a glimpse of Mrs. Pankhurst's cap; on one occasion she had even darted into their leader's cell and had time for a hand-shake, and to say "God bless you!" before being marched away by a warden. After this a warden was placed in front of the peep-hole. However, not intending to be "done," on the day previous to her release Miss Ansell had been able to catch sight of Mrs. Pankhurst's face, and she added, "her smile was that of one who has had a vision, and who knows that the vision will be realised. She has consecrated her life to the realisation of that vision. It was the smile of one who has dauntless courage and high hope. After I had seen it I ran out to exercise, and I can tell you I did not tread the earth that morning. She holds in the hollow of her hand the hearts of all in this movement. When I left this morning I got a smile from her; then I was taken by the shoulder and hurried downstairs, but I had time to call out, 'Good-bye, Mrs. Pankhurst, God bless you!'"

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence read a telegram from "An old Chelmsford boy" to Mrs. Drummond; he was going to help in the Mid-Essex by-election campaign. He wired:—

"A SUFFRAGE LEADER.

"The reason firm, the temperate will,
Endurance, foresight, strength, and skill;
A perfect woman, nobly planned,
To warn, to comfort, and command."

Mrs. Williams, who described herself as a Liberal woman on strike, said her general motive in going to prison was to attain a clear conscience; she felt it was not right to allow those to go again who had already gone through the ordeal, and for this reason she offered herself for active service on October 13. She was glad to have been, though very, very glad to be free again. The associated labour, which came to an abrupt end, was an absurd farce while it lasted. There was, as Miss Christabel Pankhurst said, more labour than association. The women sat three yards apart, and were not allowed to say a single word on penalty of being sent to their cells. But for the sight of Mrs. Leigh's bright face she did not know whether she would have been able to "keep right."

Miss Winifred Bray related a dream she had had in Holloway, in which Mr. Curtis Bennett preached in the prison chapel from the text, "Surely I am a worm and no man," and was loudly applauded by the Suffragettes. Finding "Votes for Women" inscribed on all the prison knives, she had added "Down with Asquith," and "Long live Christabel."

Miss Ellea Smith said she was allowed to have "Women and Economics" in her cell. On the flyleaf the chaplain wrote: "This book the prisoner is allowed to have, and is to be taken away by the prisoner when she leaves the prison, it being quite unfit for any library."

The remaining prisoners having asked to be excused from speaking on this occasion, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence called for "Three cheers for the prisoners still in Holloway." Someone asked for "Three cheers for the pioneers of the movement," and these being heartily responded to the proceedings closed.

During the morning several members of the W.S.P.U., dressed in prison garb, went through the principal streets of the West-End to advertise the Holloway serenade arranged to take place at four o'clock.

THE MARCH TO HOLLOWAY.

The serenade of Holloway on Saturday afternoon marked an advance in the progress of the cause of votes for women. The words of one of the songs sung by the choir of women who formed part of the procession—

"We frightened all the statesmen till they trembled through and through,"

may, with slight alteration be fitly applied to the occasion, for it was abundantly evident that the Commissioner of Police, or his controlling authorities, or both, had taken fright as to what the women might be intending.

Their intentions, needless to say, were peaceable enough, viz., to give Mrs. Pankhurst, Christabel Pankhurst, and the other women still in Holloway a good-night cheer. The police, however, 1,000 strong, both horse and foot, were told off to guard every avenue leading to the City Prison, and the nearest point the procession was allowed to reach was Carleton-road, which lies at the back of the huge building. The front of the prison, where Mrs. Pankhurst is, was forbidden, the nearest approach permitted being Caledonian-road, a quarter of a mile distant. In addition to guarding the roads leading to the prison, it was noticeable that there was a double line of police on the side of the procession nearest these approaches, while on the off side the men marched single file.

How they Marched.

The procession formed up in Kingsway, and was headed by Miss Marsh carrying the colours. Then came one of the bands, and a wagonette in which were Mrs. Tuke and other honorary officers. The choir followed in a brake; there were two brake-loads of women in prison dress, among whom were those released in the earlier part of the day, and the remainder of the procession was on foot, with the exception of one brake for those unable to walk the whole way. Members of the public fell in at the rear, and two bands accompanied the women, so that there was continuous music. Banners and flags waved gaily; the colours of the W.S.P.U. showed everywhere, and enormous crowds encouraged the women as they passed up Kingsway, Oxford-street, Tottenham Court-road, High-street, and Camden-road. The greatest interest was shown in the prisoners, who were kept busily employed waving to sympathisers along the route. "I've been there," a woman shouted from the pavement, and "Good luck to Mrs. Pankhurst!" came again and again from working women among the Saturday night shoppers. The advice to "Go home and do the washing," once so integral a part of a woman's demonstration, whatever the day or hour, has

been almost entirely dropped, and London, it was evident on Saturday evening, is vividly awake to the justice of the women's demand, the only unfriendly remarks coming from small boys "out for a lark." At the Cobden statue, where many meetings have been held by Mrs. Leigh and others during the last few months, a tremendous crowd was waiting, and the women were most enthusiastically cheered, many of the crowd joining in at the rear of the procession.

The first hint the general public received that the procession would not pass in front of Holloway gates was when it turned off out of Camden-road down Brecknock-road, the turning on other occasions having been Dalmeny-road, which is considerably nearer the prison. As the long, winding procession, which had grown by this time to many times its original size, turned into Carleton-road, the cheers broke out in tremendous volume, rising and falling like "a rushing, mighty sea," the echoes resounding with a most impressive effect.

Do you hear the rise of a mighty rushing sea?
Do you think its waves will be checked by man's decree?
Do you know it means that the women will be free?
We shall go to the poll in the morning.

The choir sang, and the multitude joined in, the tune (John Peel) being taken up by thousands of voices.

In the weird, uncertain light of infrequent street lamps and the flickering lights carried by the choir's brake, the crowd showed as a surging mass, portentous in size; out of it, like two ships manned with white-capped mariners, rose the prisoners' brakes, each carrying a banner which, as it breasted the wind, might have been a white sail painted in purple and green. On these banners were inscribed the text of the Bill "to remove the electoral disabilities of women" in bold type.

Pausing at the nearest point to the back of the prison, the women, led by Mrs. May with a megaphone, put forth all the strength of their lungs in a shout of "Mrs. Pankhurst!" The crowd took it up, and it echoed back and forth, rolling back again from the buildings on each side of the street. Then Mrs. May gave "Christabel!" and again the sound echoed back. The bands played the "Marseillaise," and the procession moved on by way of Tufnell Park-road into Holloway-road, where the traffic was held up to allow the women to pass. Down Caledonian-road they marched, past the Gattle Market, and by way of North-street into Camden-road again, where, before turning homeward, another pause was made, and cheers rang out again and again on the night air.

"They must have heard," women were telling each other. "You know Mrs. Pankhurst said she never in her life heard such a noise as we made last Saturday!"

During the evening a band of sellers disposed of 1,050 copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN *en route*; several purchasers gave considerably more than the price of the paper, and a gentleman, after buying a copy, gave his name and address and paid for a three months' subscription.

Conservative Associations and Woman Suffrage.

At the annual meeting of the National Union of Conservative Associations, held at Cardiff last week, the following resolution was carried by a considerable majority:—

That in view of the unsatisfactory position of women with reference to Parliamentary elections, this Conference supports the claim of women possessing the right to vote at county, municipal, and parish councils to have their names entered on the register of Parliamentary voters.

Commenting on the resolution, the *Daily News* of November 21 says:—"The resolution . . . will cause no surprise to intelligent observers of the trend of events. A few weeks ago several of the Conservative papers noticeably changed their tone in reference to the woman's suffrage agitation, and replaced mockery by a serious discussion of the pros and cons of the question. Since then a Conservative Woman's Suffrage Association has been formed, and among those engaged in promoting it appear the names of ladies nearly related to several prominent Tory politicians. Lastly, there comes the news of the resolution passed at Cardiff, after some discussion, in favour of extending the Parliamentary franchise to women who already possess the right of voting at municipal elections. The Tories are beginning to coquet with this question, but the concession they offer is one which will enfranchise the fewest possible women. It is narrower even than that "limited Bill" advocated at present by the women's suffrage societies, for it would not include women lodgers. It would include, indeed, only that small handful of women who own or rent houses in their own names. It would be a disaster for all parties of progress if women's enfranchisement should come in this fashion. Fortunately, however, the Liberal Government has already indicated its intention that the problem shall be dealt with on more just and more democratic lines. That statement has been misunderstood in several quarters, and we should be glad to see the position made clear beyond cavil."

THE CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

WEST OF ENGLAND.

Shop and Committee Rooms: 33, Queen's-road (opposite Art Gallery), Clifton.
Open from 10 a.m. to 7 p.m.

At Homes.

Mondays, 3 to 5.—Victoria Assembly Rooms, Clifton.
Fridays, 8 p.m.—Hannah More Hall, Clifton.
Fridays, 4—6 p.m.—Royal Hotel, Plymouth.

Important Event.

November 27.—Plymouth Guildhall, 8 p.m.
Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Annie Kenney.

We are very glad to have Miss Clara Codd back, and have set her to work at once. I am leaving her in charge of the office in Bristol during my absence in Plymouth.

We welcomed her at the station on Thursday with a decorated brake, and the banner "Through thick and thin we ne'er give in." Tea was provided at the Arts Club, and we had a short speech from our ex-prisoner. In the evening she again spoke at a reception in the Whatley Hall, and we presented her with a bouquet in the colours of the W.S.P.U. and a Boadicea brooch. On the following evening Miss Codd, with Miss Walter, took charge of the meeting in the Hannah More Hall.

Our Bath meeting on Tuesday was a tremendous success; the crowds were so great that people thought there must be an election going on. We were only welcoming Miss Codd! Quite three-parts of the audience was composed of women. When I had spoken for about a quarter of an hour, the door burst open, and an organised band of about 200 young men and boys began to ask questions. The audience was with us, and I answered the questions to their satisfaction. It was the finest advertisement we could have had, for next day the papers devoted columns of description to the meeting, and next time we visit Bath we shall have a large body of men and women to back us up. We held a separate meeting for women in a smaller room, and at the close, unlike Cabinet Ministers after they have been heckled, we left by the front door. I do not think the crowd was really hostile, they were led on by someone who thought it would be a joke to heckle the Suffragettes.

Miss Mary Phillips has been helping us, and we have been very glad to have her with us. I should be glad to hear from anyone in the neighbouring towns and villages who would like a visit from an organiser; in writing will they please say how much money they can afford for expenses?

I am sending up to the treasurer: weekly collection £2 17s. 7d. I have received from Miss Elsie Howey collection £1; subscription from Miss Emma Anstey, 10s.

Plymouth and Torquay.

During the week I visited Plymouth, and attended the At Home, when Miss Mordan also spoke. Miss Mary Phillips took the chair. On Thursday evening a very large audience gathered in the Market Place to listen to Miss M. Phillips and Miss E. Howey; there were some interruptions, chiefly by small boys, but the crowd on the whole was sympathetic and interested. A large number of copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN have been sold in the street, and this has helped to rouse public interest here. At Paignton we are going to hold weekly At Homes, starting next Thursday. Mr. Hunt has very kindly lent us the Masonic Hall for this purpose at a nominal rent. Funds are urgently needed to carry on this campaign. Subscriptions should be sent to Miss E. Howey, 15, Alfred-street, The Hoe, Plymouth.

ANNIE KENNEY.

LANCASHIRE.

Manchester Office, 116, Portland-street.

At Homes.

Tuesdays, 4 to 6, Onward Buildings, Deansgate.
Fridays, 8 to 10, Onward Buildings, Deansgate.

A splendid "indignation" meeting, organised by the Rochdale members, was held on Sunday, the 15th inst., when the Pioneers' Hall was crowded with a highly sympathetic audience. Miss Lillian Williamson, B.A., presided, and Dr. Letitia Fairfield and I were the speakers. Miss Mabel Capper afforded additional point and proof to what was said by giving a short account of her recent prison experiences. New members were made, and from the latest news to hand we are glad to hear that a party of 30 are coming from Rochdale to Wednesday's demonstration, and eight stewards in addition. Also on Sunday, the 15th, I had the pleasure of addressing a different, but equally typical, audience at the Lower Mosley-street Sunday School, Manchester; and on other nights during the week Miss Lillian Williamson and I have

had excellent meetings in connection with other Sunday School societies, the one organised by the Moston "Men's Own" in connection with the Union Chapel being quite a wonderful gathering. A hundred copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN were sold "in no time," and a resolution calling on the Government to put our prisoners in the political offenders' division was carried on the motion of the minister with one dissentient out of a packed audience of many hundreds. The Wednesday afternoon At Home to meet Holbrook Jackson brought along an altogether new set of people, and Mr. Jackson's admirable address was all one could have wished for. His backing of the tactics was so sincerely the outcome of our special phase of the woman movement that the enrolment of new members for the Union and for the Men's League as well was a natural consequence. On Friday we occupied the large Onward Hall again as last week, and although the night was both stormy and wet a large gathering attended, and listened to the latest announcements in connection with the demonstration. Mrs. Martel was quite up to date with a speech on the New Zealand elections which took place last week, and with special reference, too, to the newly-enfranchised State of Victoria (Australia); whilst Miss Florence Clarkson told us of the Scarborough protest at Sir Edward Grey's meeting.

The Demonstration.

When this appears in print the great meeting of the 25th will be an event of the past. If it is successful in proportion to the efforts of all the members who have worked in its favour, everybody will be pleased. We intend to start another campaign directly this is over, for the next Free Trade Hall meeting when Christabel Pankhurst will, this time we are sure, be with us.

Meanwhile on Saturday we sent up a gross of toy balloons bearing slips of paper to intimate to the finders that they would be entitled to a free seat at the meeting. In the afternoon, in spite of the wet, a wagonetteful of "real" 2nd division prisoners, followed by a corps of Suffragette sandwichmen, paraded the principal parts of the city. Needless to say, the keenest interest was aroused, whilst unfavourable comments were very rare, as we were able to reply to chance inquiries that our "prisoners" had really been in gaol for the cause, and that told in our favour too. The parade is being continued on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday.

Future Activities.

Liverpool, Rochdale, Preston, Southport, and other chief Lancashire centres are to receive regular visits after next week, and we hope to have flourishing centres in all these places by the new year. In Manchester, the afternoon series of At Homes, commencing this week, will be held in the Onward Buildings, Deansgate, on Tuesdays, 4 to 6, unless otherwise intimated.

Finances this week: "Sound on the Woman Question," 10s.; Rochdale members (half profits on meeting), £1 8s.; Wednesday At Home, £1 2s. 6d.; profit on Mrs. Duncan's lectures, £1 3s.; Friday At Home, 15s. 6d.; Anon., 1s.—total, £5.

Mary E. Gawthorpe.

MIDLANDS.

Shop and Committee Rooms: No. 14, Ethel-street, Birmingham.

At Homes.

Birmingham, No. 14, Ethel-street, Tuesday, 7.30.
Birmingham, Edgbaston Assembly Rooms, Wednesday, 3.30.
Wolverhampton, The Baths Assembly Rooms, Thursday, 3.30.

Our evening and afternoon At Homes in Birmingham are more largely attended than ever, and we are most grateful to the many friends who are now helping us, but I want to ask for more assistance at 14, Ethel-street. Also more speakers are needed, and to this end a speakers' class is being formed. In addition, will members who can give two or three hours in the evening or more send me their names, as there is important work to be done in and near Birmingham.

Stirchley and Bournville.

The meeting in the Stirchley Institute, organised by Mrs. Edwards, was well attended and most successful. Dr. Helena Jones' address, which dealt with the condition of women's labour market, was followed with marked interest. New members joined. A large number of working girls at Cadbury's wear the Votes for Women badge, and it is the subject of animated discussion at the works. The following day so many requests were made for another meeting that Mrs. Edwards offered to arrange a second in the Ruskin Hall on Monday, 30th. Miss Aitken and Miss Stevenson very kindly lent their drawing-room for an At Home last Friday evening, when Miss Hazel and I spoke. Five new members were gained, and several promised to join in the near future.

Northfield.

Another meeting has been requested in this district, and one will shortly be arranged. All willing to assist should communicate

with Dr. Helena Jones, 30, Bunbury-road, King's Norton, or Mrs. Edwards, 27, Beech-road, Bournville.

Coventry.

The week's campaign in Coventry terminated in a crowded meeting in the Baths Assembly Hall. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst was the principal speaker, Dr. Helena Jones also gave an address, and I presided. It was evident before the speaking commenced that a section of the audience (nearly 200) had come with the intention of breaking up the meeting. In spite of opposition, Miss Pankhurst's address was attentively listened to and applauded. Plans for future work in Coventry will shortly be announced.

Wolverhampton and Dudley.

Mrs. Davis' address at the Thursday afternoon At Home in Wolverhampton was much appreciated; we hope she will be able to come over again before long. Mrs. Shurmer Sibthorpe will speak next Thursday, and Mrs. Kerwood on December 3. An evening At Home, to which men are specially invited, is being arranged.

In a most interesting debate at the Dudley Institute a very large majority voted for our resolution. Before long I hope to arrange a meeting in this town, as requests for one are being made.

Donations, &c., this week: 15s. lecture fee; £23 13s. tickets sold; £1 4s. 2d. collection. All contributions towards the Midland campaign should be addressed to me at 49, Bristol-street, Birmingham.

Gladice G. Keevil.

NEWCASTLE.

At Homes.

Wednesdays 3 to 5, and 8 to 10.—Crosby's Café, Northumberland Street.

Fridays 7 to 9.—Meeting for Women, I.L.P. Institute, Chestnut-street, Wallsend.

A great deal of interesting work has been done during the week, though the weather again has been somewhat against us. The weekly At Home was well attended. The Hon. Mrs. Parsons was in the chair, and again gave us most interesting and instructive facts about the great offices and officers of State, a matter of the greatest importance to women at this juncture, when the fate of our Bill is entirely at the mercy of the Cabinet. At the evening At Home, Mrs. Atkinson presided, Miss Lina Lambert and Miss Mildred Atkinson spoke, and Mrs. Brown gave us some interesting news from London, where she had been to meet her daughter. Next Wednesday we shall have Miss Kathleen Brown herself with us again, and shall have the pleasure of presenting her with the £21 for the Campaign Fund of the North, which is now complete.

The midday meeting for men at Gateshead is resumed on Fridays at 12.15; speakers are invited to volunteer for this important branch of our work.

With regard to the sale of VOTES FOR WOMEN, we hope that more of our members will do as several are already doing, *i.e.*, making themselves responsible for the sale of a certain number per week. It is the easiest and one of the most effective ways of furthering knowledge of our cause. Members are reminded that now the Christmas and New Year season is coming, the most welcome and suitable presents for friends are our literature, calendars and Christmas cards and postcards. Orders to any amount may be sent to 37, Rye-hill. Donations towards the Campaign Fund of the North-East should be sent to me at the same address. We are sending £2 12s. to the treasurer this week in collections, &c., and 3s. membership fees.

Wallsend.

The meeting for women was very successful, but we want more help in advertising it. Mrs. Brown again spoke, and the news she had to give of Mrs. Pankhurst aroused great indignation among the audience. On Sunday I was invited to address the evening meeting of the I.L.P. The audience was most sympathetic and appreciative.

Sunderland.

In response to an invitation from the Vicar of St. John's, I spoke at a meeting in St. John's School on Wednesday. The audience were thoroughly interested, and genuinely sympathetic, as they expressed at the close in the heartiest manner possible.

Wylam.

The Hon. Mrs. Parsons is arranging a meeting for Thursday, 26th, at 7.15, in the Institute, at which Mrs. Atkinson and I are invited to speak. Much valuable educative work is being done in this way.

Darlington.

A meeting is being arranged by Mrs. Woods for Friday in the Temperance Institute, Gladstone-street, at three. It is hoped that a local Union may be started as a result.

Edith New.

Readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN should remember that by dealing with the firms which advertise in its pages they are materially assisting the cause of the N.W.S.P.U. In writing to advertisers please mention VOTES FOR WOMEN.

SCOTLAND.

Office, 141, Bath-street, Glasgow.

At Homes.

Wednesday, 4 p.m., 24, Shandwick-place, Edinburgh.
Saturday, 3.30 p.m., 141, Bath-street, Glasgow.

Important Events.

December 9, Queen's Hall, Edinburgh, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.
December 10, Charing Cross Hall, Glasgow.—Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.
December 11, Stirling.—Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

The event of the week has been the visit of Mr. Harcourt to Glasgow on Friday. This is described on page 152.

Last Sunday I spoke at a meeting in the Masonic Hall under the auspices of the Jewish Literary and Social Society. The greater part of the audience had not previously considered the question, and I have since heard that the large majority were convinced of the justice of our claim. On Thursday I went with Mrs. David Greig to speak at the Airdrie Free Church Guild, where the animated discussion prolonged far beyond the usual time testified to keen interest in the subject. Mrs. Greig's reference to the services rendered by Mrs. Pankhurst to the women of the country were received with evident sympathy.

All arrangements for Mrs. Lawrence's visit are now completed, and we shall be very glad to receive names of those who will help in selling tickets, distributing bills, acting as stewards, literature sellers, &c.

G. M. Conlan.

We learn from M. Colby, the president of the Bristol East Women's Liberal Association, that the members of her committee desire to express their intense indignation at the imprisonment of Mrs. and Miss Pankhurst, now locked in Holloway for the extraordinary reason that persons in authority were unable to comprehend the meaning of the word "rush," and now are being treated with vindictive cruelty and with what appears to be the desire to break their spirits and ruin their health. The committee feel that such conduct on the part of unsatisfactory servants of taxpayers is likely to lead to very serious action by persons who are beyond the control of the Women's Social and Political Union.

THE WOMAN'S PRESS.

A SPECIAL W.S.P.U. CALENDAR for 1909,
Price 1s.

W.S.P.U. CHRISTMAS CARDS, 6d. & 1d.

The following penny pamphlets are published or sold by the Woman's Press, 4, Clements Inn, London, W.C.:

Prison Faces. By ANNIE KENNEY.

A Call to Women. By MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

One and One are Two. By ISRAEL ZANGWILL.

Talked Out. By ISRAEL ZANGWILL.

The Commons Debate on Woman Suffrage. By CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

The Importance of the Vote. By MRS. PANKHURST.

The New Crusade. By MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

The Meaning of the Woman's Movement. By MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

Votes for Men. By MARY GAWTHORPE.

Woman's Suffrage in America. By MRS. BORRMANN WELLS.

Woman's Vote in Australia. By MRS. MARTEL.

The Citizenship of Women. By KEIR HARDIE.

Woman's Franchise. By MRS. WOLSTENHOLME ELMY.

Woman's Suffrage. By T. JOHNSTON.

The Militant Methods of the N.W.S.P.U. By CHRISTABEL PANKHURST, LL.B.

The Trial of the Suffragette Leaders.

Verbatim Report of Speeches and Examination of Witnesses.
48 pp. Six Illustrations. Price 1d.

The Woman's Press also publishes a large number of leaflets on particular questions, samples of which will be sent free on receipt of postage, and which can be obtained in large quantities at specially cheap rates.

From the Woman's Press can also be obtained books on the Woman's Suffrage question, and picture post cards of the leaders of the N.W.S.P.U., and of many of the incidents in the agitation.

BADGES AND COLOURS.

The following can also be obtained:—

Boadicea Brooches...	...	...	3/6 each.
Button Badges with the words "Votes for Women"	...	...	1d. each.
Hat Pins (in the Colours)	...	...	6d., 9d., & 1/.
Leather Bags	...	...	2/6 & 5/6 each.
Regalia	...	...	1/11 each.
Ribbon, 1½ ins. wide	...	...	9d. yard.
Ribbon, 2 ins. wide	...	...	1/- yard.
Ribbon Badges (woven "Votes for Women")	...	...	1d. each.
Ribbon Belts, with Buckles	...	...	2/6 each.
Scarves, 2½ yards long, 13 ins. wide	...	...	2/11 each.
Ties	...	...	1/- each.

LOCAL NOTES.

Brighton and Hove W.S.P.U.—The usual open-air meeting was held at the Western Boundary Front on Wednesday, November 18. On Friday, November 20, in our room in Pavilion Creamery, we had the pleasure of welcoming Miss Eta Lamb and Miss Gye with their magic lantern, containing films of the suffragette campaign, which was much enjoyed by the audience.

Chelsea W.S.P.U.—The Town Hall meeting, on November 16, was the most successful one that we have yet held. The crowd was so great that numbers had to be turned away. Mrs. Drummond and Miss Macaulay gave most interesting addresses, holding their audience from the very first.

Edinburgh W.S.P.U.—Last week we sold over 400 copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN in the streets of Edinburgh, while this week we have disposed of over 250 copies in the same way. There has also been a large demand for our penny pamphlets, which our members sell along with the magazine.

Hammersmith W.S.P.U.—This Union is busy with drawing-room and open-air meetings. On November 12 Mrs. Lorisignol and Mrs. H. Rowe spoke at the house of a new member to about 40 people, many of whom had never heard our demands nor methods explained before, and many names were handed in.

Hendon W.S.P.U.—We have held several small protest meetings against the action of the Government in refusing to treat our leaders and the other suffragettes in Holloway as political prisoners. We are now working up a large meeting of protest in the King's Hall, West Hendon, on Tuesday, December 8—the earliest date on which the hall is available.

Hornsey W.S.P.U.—Our local union promises well. As many as the room could hold were present at our last meeting, when Miss Hamley, a local member, gave her maiden speech. She was followed by Miss Vera Wentworth, who gave us a lively account of prison life and the need for militant tactics.

Kensington W.S.P.U.—The Unions in the West of London have been trying to arrange a large joint protest meeting, as they felt that one large meeting would be more effective than many small ones. Mr. Mulholland has kindly consented to allow the King's Theatre, Hammersmith to be used for this purpose, and an afternoon meeting has been arranged for Saturday, December 11, at 3 p.m.

Streatham, W.S.P.U.—Two meetings were held in our studio, 34, Ambleside Avenue, last week. The afternoon meeting on Tuesday was advertised, as formerly, in our local paper, and by posters printed in our colours, which we put up on our front garden wall.

Higgins came to speak for us, and Mrs. Akroyd took the chair; both gave speeches to be remembered for their telling points. Our energies are now directed to making a success of our public meeting, on December 3, to welcome the return of our valued hon. secretary, Miss N. E. Smith, on her release from Holloway Gaol.

Wimbledon W.S.P.U.—On Sunday, November 15, at 3, Miss Douglas Smith gave a bright and bracing address to hundreds of people. Mrs. Lorisignol, of Wimbledon, was chairman. Questions were asked at the close and adequately answered. A vote of thanks to Miss Douglas Smith, proposed by Mr. F. A. Bather, was warmly responded to.

Meeting at Skye N.B.—On November 11 I was asked by the Literary Society at Portree, Isle of Skye, to speak to them on Votes for Women. We had a splendid meeting. The Sheriff and Canon McCulloch were present, the latter in the chair. The reading-room was full, and the audience was most attentive.



Anty Drudge Saves Gussie's Moustache.

Mrs. Bride—"It's no use talking, Augustus, your moustache will have to come off. I cannot possibly get these coffee stains out of the napkins without scrubbing the skin off my fingers."

Boiling clothes makes them tender. There is a scientific reason for it. You take advantage of this natural law every time you boil a piece of tough beef. It becomes tender because water at a high temperature weakens the fibre. The same thing occurs with clothes when they are scalded or-boiled week after week.

Why not let Fels-Naptha do it? Fels-Naptha will do it. Isn't it worth trying?

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

On Tuesday (November 17) Mr. Cooper asked the Home Secretary whether His Majesty's Government recognised the class of political prisoners; whether the Suffragists now imprisoned in Holloway were committed under 34 Edward III. because they refused to find bail; if not, whether he would state the nature of their offence.

Mr. Gladstone: The reply to the first part of the question is that His Majesty's Government is necessarily guided by the law, which does not recognise political motive as giving rise to any claim for special treatment in prison on the part of offenders against the ordinary law.

Mr. Cooper: Is it within the recollection of the right hon. gentleman that he and the present Prime Minister and the Liberal Party went into the division lobby as a protest against the arrest and prosecution of the senior member for the city of Cork, on July 1, 1889?

Mr. Gladstone: I do not think that has anything to do with this question. Mr. Cooper asked the Home Secretary whether Mrs. and Miss Pankhurst, now imprisoned in Holloway Gaol, were deprived of exercise and put on bread and water because they spoke to one another when they met in the exercise yard.

Mr. Gladstone: Mrs. and Miss Pankhurst were not put on bread and water. They were both awarded one day's confinement to cell for taking part in a disturbance in the exercise yard. I may add that I have received satisfactory reports of the health of both Mrs. and Miss Pankhurst, and that directions were given on Friday last that they should be allowed to exercise together in the hospital yard, without any restrictions as to talking.

Mr. Cooper: Are these ladies wearing their own garments? Mr. Gladstone: They are in the second division.

Mr. Lupton: Would it not be better for exercise if they were allowed to walk outside the prison?

Mr. Cooper: Arising out of the answer, is it not the fact that Mrs. and Miss Pankhurst were in solitary confinement for one day because the mother and daughter met together one morning and spoke?

Mr. Gladstone: I am informed there was an offence against the prison rules with regard to talking. Mr. Gladstone, on Wednesday (November 18), in reply to Mr. MacNeill, said he accepted full responsibility for the proceedings taken by the Metropolitan Police against ladies in relation to matters arising out of the Suffragist agitation.

Applying at Bow-street on Thursday, Mr. Frost asked Mr. Curtis Bennett to order that Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughter and the other convicted Suffragettes now in prison should be transferred from the second to the first division.

The Magistrate: "I see no reason to alter my decision. These ladies can come out of prison to-day if they like."

"They have only been bound over in their own recognisances and ordered to find sureties, which they could easily find."

"They choose to remain where they are, and I see no reason at all to alter my decision."

Great Meeting at Battersea Town Hall.—A great protest meeting was held in the Battersea Town Hall on Wednesday, 18. The meeting was a splendid success, the hall being filled to overflowing, and many people were turned away; indeed, the hall might have been filled twice over, so many were unable to gain admission. Mr. Wellis, the Mayor of Battersea, presided, and he was supported on the platform by a number of the borough councillors and their wives and other local people.

MARGARET CAMERON.

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LECTURE.—WOMAN: PRESENT & FUTURE. A Lecture on the Above Subject will be Given By Dr. Stenson Hooker. Wednesday, December 2nd, 5.15 p.m.

CHRISTMAS GIFTS IN LEATHER.—Miss M. ROBERTA MILLS, 7, Stansfield-road, Brixton, S.W., makes Bags, Belts, Neck and Muff Chains, Guest Books, Cushions, Card and Music Cases, Albums, &c.

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