VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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FRIDAY, MARCH 28, 1913.

Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free,)

AT PEACE BEGINS HOME!



EUROPE (to Militant Suffragist): "Drop that hammer, my dear. Don't you know that we gain our ends nowadays by peaceable methods?"

(" Colossal schemes of military expansion are being prepared by the great Continental Powers." — Daily Paper.)

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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

It is now believed in political circles that the Woman Suffrage Bill drafted by the Liberal Suffragist group in the House of Commons will be introduced, probably by Mr. Dickinson, early in April, when the Government will be asked to give the promised facilities for it. This Bill, as we have before stated, proposes to give the vote to women over the age of twenty-five who are householders or wives of householders. It would enfranchise more women than a Bill to give them the vote on equal terms with men; but by establishing a fancy franchise for

women, and especially by raising the age of qualifi-cation, it would ignore the principle of sex equality for which women are fighting.

The Coercion Bill

The Coercion Bill

Woman Suffragists have unanimously refused to support any kind of Private Member's Bill; but at least Mr. Dickinson's Bill is an attempt, however poor, to deal with the cause of the present unrest among women. The same cannot be said of the measure introduced by Mr. McKenna last Tuesday, the object of which is to give the Government power to re-arrest, at the expiration of a certain term to be mentioned on the licence, those hunger-strikers who are released from prison when death from starvation would otherwise ensue. For a coercive measure of this sort, which ignores the disease in attempting to cure the symptom, we have nothing but the strongest condemnation. It may stop forcible feeding, but like all panic legislation it is foredoomed to failure. Women who have lost all fear of imprisonment, torture, or death are not to be deterred by re-arrest; and a succession of hunger-strikes will neither break their spirit nor rid the Government of their present embarrassments. There is but one remedy for the prevailing disorder—a Government measure to enfranchise women. Coercion will only enlarge the sphere of disorder.

The Easter Conferences

The women's question has been discussed both at the Teachers' Conference and also at the Conference of the Independent Labour Party. At the former meeting at Weston-super-Mare, there was a warm debate last Tuesday on the equalisation of the salaries of men and women teachers, a proposal that was

rejected by a large majority; and a Suffrage debate was to take place after we went to press on Wednesday. At the I.L.P. Conference at Manchester a resolution was passed condemning forcible feeding, and also another urging the Labour Party in Parliament to press for a Government measure and to oppose every measure of Franchise reform that does not include women; but an effective amendment, demanding that the Party should render all business in the House impossible until the Government measure was forthcoming, was rejected on the ground that it would mean the "suicide of the Labour Party." The Labour Party has yet to learn that existence may be bought too dear. "Propter vitam vivendi perdere causas."

The Debate on the Militant Suffragists

When we went to press last week the debate in the House of Commons on the treatment of Suffrathe House of Commons on the treatment of Suffragist prisoners, arising out of the motion for the reduction of the Home Office Vote, was still proceeding; and we think the Labour Party missed a great opportunity in not voting against the Government on this occasion. Even if, as they might allege, they were afraid that by doing so they would appear to favour the more severe measures of repression urged by the supporters of the motion, a statement of their position before going into the lobby would have dispelled any such suspicion, while one decisive action of this kind would do more to convince women of the sincerity of their protestations than anything that has yet been done by the Party, in or out of Parliament.

The Home Secretary's Case

The Home Secretary's Case
The debate was important from many points of iew. It revealed the utter weakness of the Home

ON THE PICKET LINE

By a Suffragist Picket

(We reprint the following episode in the New York garment-workers' strike, with acknowledgments to "Life and Labour," in which it originally appeared.)

Secretary's position, faced as he is by a spirit against which physical force and the whole armoury of the law are alike powerless. He might call it fanaticism—as Mr. Walter Roch finely said, "We owe all our religion to fanatics." He might defend forcible feeding on the grounds of its being in some measure a deterrent—a defence which would condone any form of torture; but he gave his own case away directly he admitted that 14 per cent. of the Suffragists sent to prison this year have determined their own sentences after being forcibly fed. Attempts to Cure the Symptom

At the same time, it must be admitted that the case of his assailants, who were to be found on both sides of the House, was little stronger than his own. The "let-them-dio" theory found scarcely a supporter. Transportation, though advanced by no less serious a Parliamentarian than Lord Robert Cecil, fared little better. Mr. Keir Hardie alone went to the root of the matter and pointed out that there was no remedy save in enfranchising women.

no more, no loitering, no crowding. Then the police-men gathered, three of them and one mounted. A

Forcible Feeding Doomed

The one outstanding feature of the debate was the fact that scarcely anyone could be found to echo Mr. McKenna's defence of forcible feeding. And while this hideous process was being uncompromisingly condemned at Westminster, a great demonstration was being held in the Kingsway Hall for the purpose of protesting against its continuance. The difference between the two assemblies was startling. In the one, brains were being cudgelled for some temporary solution of an insoluble situation; in the other, the temporary faded before the eternal, and a great Churchman, a great actor, and a great writer saw in the torture of Suffragist prisoners something which one of them called "a denial of life everlasting." There was no need at the Kingsway Hall meeting to remind the audience that the one remedy was the woman's vote. Only a passionate desire for freedom could have brought those speakers and that audience together.

The one of them and one mounted. A car arrived to take some of the strike-breakers away. Suddenly they began to come out. Leonora made a sharp turn down to the edge of the sidewalk and called to some girls ahead. Just then four policemen standing in the doorway of the shop three out their line straight across the sidewalk and, deliberately or not, separated us from Leonora and gathered all the girls on that side into the dragnet.

In court, the police accused the girls of yelling scab, but they had said nothing at all. The arrest was made before the strike-breakers were on the sidewalk. At no time were Miss — and I farther than five feet from the girls, and that only for a moment or two, it would have been impossible for them to have yelled scab without our hearing it. Afterwards I heard Leonora O'Reilly crying, "Shame upon you!" But the police made the arrest on

The Inevitable Result

Meanwhile, coercion and repression are having their inevitable effect, and militant outbreaks have continued to punctuate the days of the Easter holiday. The house of Lady White, valued at £3,000, has been almost entirely destroyed by fire; an attempt to burn another unoccupied house at Beckenham was only discovered in time to prevent serious damage. More pillar-boxes have been fired, more golf links have been damaged. All these outbreaks are attributed to Suffragists, in view of the presence of Suffrage literature; no arrests, however, have been made. For the first time, it is said, Hampton Court has been closed to the public over the week-end; and Windsor Castle is guarded like a beleaguered fortress—presumably because one of His Majesty's subjects, suffering from an intolerable grievance, might venture to give effect to the Bill of Rights.

We insisted that we, too, were under arrest, and Leonora said, "Yes, officer, these women are with us." But the officer refused our right to ride in the patrol waggon, simply because of the way we were dressed. Infuriating!

Then we went down to the edge of the sidewalk and said to every girl as she was put in the waggon, "We'll be in court to-night!" "The Night Court, girls," said Leonora, as she stepped in and sat down, At Manchester, Mr. Keir Hardie was subjected during the week-end to a good deal of heckling by militant Suffragists, who, on one occasion, held up his meeting for some fifteen minutes. Three of the women, having read his defence of militancy, made at an outdoor demonstration on Sunday, wrote to and began singing the Marseillaise! The waggon drove off with the girls ripping out the song! women, having read his defence of mintancy, made at an outdoor demonstration on Sunday, wrote to explain to him that their purpose in heekling him was to make him see that individual action on his part was of little use as long as he allowed his party to support the Government in their treatment of the Stiffers quarterior. Two of these women were Leonora is a wonderful woman, has been a shirtmaker

to support the Government in their treatment of the Suffrage question. Two of these women were atterwards arrested for obstruction outside the Hall where the Conference was held, and one of them went to prison last Tuesday.

I cannot express how absolutely we were filled with resentment against the injustice done those girls. A lot of our friends were in court, it was like a small

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst

The exasperation of women, which leads them even to oppose individual Suffragists when these are leaders of a Party that help to keep the present Government in office, can better be understood when their hostility is viewed in connection with the actions of that Government. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst is the latest victim of official torture to be released from Holloway Gaol. She has served five weeks of her two months' sentence, and nearly all the time two months' sentence. Holloway Gaol. She has served five weeks of her two months' sentence, and nearly all the time has been forcibly fed twice daily. She is covered with bruises; her digestion is seriously impaired; even the nerves of her eyes are said to be strained. "Shame on you scabs, scabs, scabs, scabs!" and that all

even the nerves of her eyes are said to be strained.

Our admiration for courageous endurance such as hers is only equalled by our condemnation of a Government that can seek to meet so rare a quality with outrage and torture sooner than carry their own principles into practice. Eight women are now being forcibly fed in Holloway Gaol.

"Shame on you scabs, scabs, "and that all the other girls had screamed scab at the top of their voices, and that they saw each individual girl yell "scab," and so swore! The plain clothes man said, in addition, "After we got the defendants in the corridor two well-dressed women who are now in court runshed their way in and began—" Ruled out forcibly fed in Holloway Gaol.

Items of Interest

Important secessions have taken place from the Cambridge Women's Liberal Association, Miss Julia Kennedy, the honorary secretary, Mrs. Rackham, and other prominent Liberal women, having sent in their resignations as a protest against the Government's treatment of Woman Suffrage.

We have received a special cable from America informing us that the electors of Alaska have enfranchised the women by a unanimous vote. This we take to mean that the Alaska Legislature has passed the proposition, and it will now be submitted to a Referendum. We heartily congratulate our Alaskan issters on their victory.

"Miss - and I were with them from the begin-

January 31.—I was arrested last night with ning. We consulted with our lawyers before we went on the picket lines, and were told clearly what does and what does not constitute disorderly conduct. I Street in the garment workers' strike! Great! Miss
— (the novelist) and I were together. Later a
plain clothes man refused to hold us—we were dressed
in velvet and a little fur and jewellery.

One of the women suffragists had called me up
and asked me to go. So I went. She said the police
were acting shamefully, and they are, and how they
lie and lie!

and what does not constitute disorderly conduct. I
affirm that the pickets did their duty in a legal
manner, without loitering, crowding, assaulting, or
crying opprobrious terms." Then I described the
arrest, making it clear that we had been next to Miss
O'Reilly much of the time and were deftly separated
by the police line at the moment of arrest. "But we
want in the pickets did their duty in a legal
manner, without loitering, crowding, assaulting, or
crying opprobrious terms." Then I described the
arrest, making it clear that we had been next to Miss
O'Reilly much of the time and were deftly separated
by the police line at the moment of arrest. "But we were just behind the police at the moment of the arrest, and at that time no one was crying scab

"You swear that?" asked the Judge.
"I swear it," I replied. "It was not possible for me not to have heard it, with them, if the girls were

I had told the lawyer that we had been under arrest ourselves for a few moments, and I wanted to tell that to the Judge, but he stopped me when I said, "We were swept up into the corridor," and I stopped, being ignorant of all law procedure. You are not one of these women?" said the

Judge, after a minute.
"These women?" I asked, and he smiled a little.

You are not a garment worker by profession?"

You have never worked at their trade?"

But you sympathise with them?"

All was over then, and we went back to our seats. them to have yelled scab without our hearing it. Afterwards I heard Leonora O'Reilly crying, "Shame upon you!" But the police made the arrest on nothing at all.

We got around on to the O'Reilly side forthwith, and finally a policeman laid a hand upon Miss—'s shoulder and said, "What are you ladies doing here? You ain't in this!"

Next appeared a plain clothes man who said, "Now, the patrol waggon is coming, and you girls will all be treated decently." (This was said for our benefit, then he turned to us.) "What are you ladies doing here? You'd better go."

We will all be treated decently." (This was said for our benefit, then he turned to us.) "What are you ladies doing here? You'd better go."



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THE POLITICAL SITUATION

THE GOVERNMENT'S COERCION BILL

MARCH 28 1913.

The following are the chief provisions of the Prisoners' (Temporary Discharge for Ill-health) Bill, introduced by Mr. McKenna last Tuesday:—

1. (1) If the Secretary of State is satisfied that by reason of the condition of a prisoner's health it is undesirable to detain him in prison, but that, such condition of health being due in whole or in part to the prisoner's own conduct in prison, it is desirable that his release should be temporary and conditional only, the Secretary of State may, if he thinks fit, having regard to all the circumstances of the case, by order authorise the temporary discharge of the prisoner for such period and subject to such conditions as may be stated

(2) Any prisoner so discharged shall comply with any conditions stated in the order of temporary discharge and shall return to prison at the expiration of the period stated in the order, or of such extended period as may be fixed by any subsequent order of the Secretary of State, and if the soner fails so to comply or return he may be arrested without warrant and taken back to prison.

(3) Where a prisoner under sentence is discharged in pursuance of an order of temporary discharge the currency of the sentence shall be suspended from the day on which he is discharged from prison under the order to the day on which he is received back into prison, so that the former day shall be reckoned and the latter shall not be reckoned as part of the sentence.

(4) Where an order of temporary discharge is made in the case of a prisoner not under sentence, the order shall contain conditions requiring the attendance of the prisoner at any further proceedings on his case at which his presence may be required.

2. (1) Where the prisoner is undergoing a sentence of penal servitude the powers under this Act shall be in addition to and not in substitution for the power of granting licences under the Penal Servitude Acts, 1853 to 1891.

(2) Nothing in this Act shall affect the duties of the medical officer of a prison in respect of a prisoner whom the Secretary of State does not think fit

THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

part in the deliberations of the Independent Labour Party, whose annual conference opened at Manchester last Monday. Miss Margaret Ashton, in a greeting of welcome to the delegates, said that the suffrage women of the whole country were deeply indebted to the Independent Labour Party for the action they were taking to help forward the cause of women's freedom.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Mr. W. C. Anderson, in his presidential address, alluded as follows to the ques-

A MILITANT DISCUSSION

(a) Stelling in this Act about a first the discussion of the protein of prison in repect of a prison of the prison of th

were fighting for their freedom was as clean and honest as any that could come from any section of the community.

A Reactionary Speech

ference opened at Manchester last Monday. Miss Margaret Ashton, in a greeting of welcome to the delegates, said that the suffrage women of the whole country were deeply indebted to the Independent Labour Party for the action they were taking to help forward the cause of women's freedom.

"Give us the Paddles"

"Your freedom is won," Miss Ashton continued. "You have only to make use of it. For us freedom is yet lacking, We look to you to supplement our efforts with your votes. You have the power to do this great deed of enfranchising the rest of the human race. We have been told we ought to paddle our own cance. (Laughter.) Give us the paddles and we will do so." (Cheers.)

THE SUFFRAGE RESOLUTION

A Really Strong Amendment

The Inevitable Result

fortress—presumably because one of this majory subjects, suffering from an intolerable grievance, might venture to give effect to the Bill of Rights.

Militant Suffragists at Manchester

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F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE

(The speech delivered by him from the dock of the Old Bailey, May, 1912, together with a biographical note.)

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MISS ELIZABETH ROBINS ON MILITANT SUFFRAGISM

"The reactionary should not make too much of the fact that the women of these islands have not yet attained political liberty. Hundreds of thousands of them have been given the Freedom of the City of the Soul."—"Way Stations," p. 381.*

Stations," p. 381."

The delicate pen of the artist goes straight to the facts that are of account. Miss Elizabeth Robins, rightly looking ahead, wastes no time over comment on the unessential. This latest volume of hers, with its combination of mature confidence and fastidiousness, puts the case of Votes for Women in a form that must appeal to all thinking men and women. That one of the most sensitively gifted writers of our day should have identified her faith in the freedom of women to come with that branch of the Suffrage movement which proudly proclaims itself militant, would be, if that movement were downhearted, a great encouragement; and while that movement is triumphantly upholding the historical continuity of revolt and reform and fearlessness, as things human and without sex, is an expression of comradeship and support of which the value cannot easily be estimated.

One feels paradoxically glad to learn from her book that Miss Robins keeps in touch with many ways to the state of the ordinary of t

easily be estimated.

One feels paradoxically glad to learn from her book that Miss Robins keeps in touch with many Anti-Suffragists. I imagine, indeed, that she may have grown up amongst the best type of these. Her work has the rare value that comes from seeing the other point of view (when it is intelligent) as clearly as her own. To many thinkers the dividing line between one camp and another is indeed only a line, but it makes all the world of difference to thought and action—"The little more, and how much it is." And so we find in Miss Robins' writing a certain social tolerance that we must all admire, even because we find it so difficult of attainment.

This volume consists of speeches and articles delivered or written by Miss Robins since the time when the intellectual passion behind militancy brought her free spirit to this cause. Those speeches and articles are linked together by a "Time Table" which gives concisely and carefully an account of the history of the Suffrage movement since the day when two young girls, for asking a question at a Liberal meeting, were sent to prison, in 1905. This Time Table is in itself valuable, and combined with the rest of the book we have the outer history of a big movement, and of how Miss Robins personally came to it and with it.

Time Table is in itself valuable, and combined with the rest of the book we have the outer history of a big movement, and of how Miss Robins personally came to it and with it.

To select points from the intricacies of an intellectual attitude must always seem crude and harsh; but it does seem as if Miss Robins' criticisms of those who have and use the power to suppress freedom and trample on the desire for it come under two heads. One is ignorance and inattention; and the other is the debasing influence of party feeling. For my part, I think Miss Robins is entirely in the right when she refuses to believe that all the cruelty, stupidity, and vulgarity shown by the Government has been planned and meant for the hideous thing to which in practice it works out. The root of the difficulty is that women are fighting against an agelong tradition (to the fabric of which they have themselves contributed not a few threads); and that men cannot easily lose their pleasact habit of smiling when they speak of women and their whims. That the woman's demand is logical and reasonable matters not a straw. Men remain entirely incords. when they speak of women and their whims. That the woman's demand is logical and reasonable matters not a straw. Men remain entirely incredulous with regard to the possibility of women feeling, determining, struggling, suffering, just as they might, under oppression, do themselves. They cannot do away with the idea that women are a privileged, happy, sheltered set of cherished wives and mothers, or even sisters—always happily related to some toiling male. And it is because they have shut their eyes and brains to the facts of life, that they find their glass house rudely smashed by stones. It has been difficult for women to understand the slowness of men to see their needs. As Miss Robins says:—

Among other discoveries women found, to their astonish-

less reasonable sex, the more superstitious, the more helpless before custom.

With all Miss Robins has to say of party politics,
readers of Votes for Women will more than agree.
The fetish of party does not appeal to free women
any more than it does to-day to enlightened men.
From men and women to-day we want sincerity and
a faithful desire for justice and truth. But it was
necessary to awaken the somnolent politician, and
it is still necessary. We are glad that Miss Robins
has sent out to the world her support of the militant
movement, and we know that in generations to come
sons and daughters of Britain will bless those women
who paid in soul and body the price of their freedom.
And they will understand—as people will understand
and love their friends when it is too late. Even
Burke could say, "I am not of the opinion of these
gentlemen who are against disturbing the public
repose. I like a clamour whenever there is an abuse.
The fire-bell at midnight disturbs your sleep, but it
keeps you from being burnt in your sleep, but it
keeps you from being burnt in your sleep, but it
keeps you from being burnt in your sleep, but it
keeps you from being burnt in your place. The hue
and cry alarms the country, but preserves all the
property of the province."

To recommend Miss Robins' book would be an
impertinence; but we may all join in gratitude to
her for having published it.

*"Way Stations." By Elizabeth Robins. (London: Hodder

"Way Stations." By Elizabeth Robins. (London: Hodder d Stoughton. 6s.)

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NEW FICTION

"THE REEF"

As usual, Mrs. Wharton gives us in "The Reef" (Macmillan, 6s.) beautiful literary workmanship in her clear and exquisite style, full of fine detail, yet artistically restrained. There is no self-conscious straining after effect; the medium is never allowed to become obtrusive as is the way with so many writers with whom style is of supreme importance. "The Reef" is a fine picture, yet it lacks the poignancy, the sense of irrevocable tragedy, which one felt in the "House of Mirth." The characters live and breathe, yet they lack robust vitality. In fact, the picture evoked is of a finely painted modern "Interior," say, with figures of charming people "Interior," say, with figures of charming people indulging in cultured sentiment, although we feel they must be suffering intensely in reality.

Anna is a product of American cultured, refined womanhood, a "daughter of wealth," therefore removed from sordid care and the less "select" aspects of life. She is always in a carefully guarded circle, away from the real battle of life. Anna is left a widow after a few years of colourless marriage with away from the real battle of life. Anna is left a widow after a few years of colourless marriage with a man whose chief passion seemed to be that of "collecting" and arranging art treasures, and falls in love with a man whom she had met in her girlhood. The two seem destined for each other. Yet this man is unfaithful to their love, a very temporary infidelity, it is true, during a period of pique and disappointment caused by Anna's habit of delay and indecision (in spite of her strong chin and Amazon profile). The crass reality confronts her and the problem arises: Can she ever forget? She forgives and loves irresistibly, but will not the memory of her lover's deception ever pursue and embitter their relations? Apparently it will, given Anna's temperament. The theme has been worked out many times from the point of view of both sexes. With Mrs. Wharton's ending (it is not a solution), which trails off indefinitely on a minor note, we are conscious of a certain dissatisfaction. Not that Darrow had not acted really badly (although he is almost as colourless as Anna's husband), but Anna with her tears and helpless jealousy is—a bore! One is sorry for her, of course; but one feels she will go on being the central figure in her cultured, artistic picture of things, to the colour and texture of whatever wove itself into the substance of her emotion." Would she not suffer too much from remembrance of her lover's infidelity? She feels she would, yet she goes on clinging to him. A touch of irony in the book, and what would become of them all?

Women out in the struggle of life, not living luxurious lives in French chateaux, are apt to feel impatient with a heroine of this stamp. The world wants strong women, unselfish women, broad-minded women, who can either renounce or hold firmly their chances of happiness.

"WINDVRIDGE"

There is a type of story, comparatively easy to write, which might be called the "invalid novel." You come at it in this way: Take one tired worker, man or woman, weary of the problems of great cities; set him or her down in a far-a-way corner of the earth and let recovery take place slowly, to the accompaniment of the crowing of the barndoor cock, the lowing ment of the crowing of the barndoor cock, the lowing of the cow, and the quaint and homely wisdom of the countryman. Out of such materials you make your story. It may be quite a good one, as W. Riley's "Windyridge" (London: Herbert Jenkins, 6s.) is, but the pattern on which it is constructed shows through all the same. The writer, following the call of the "Inner Self," and not quite sure whether she is acting wisely or whimsically, takes a third-class ticket to Yorkshire to hear a choir sing, and she does not come back. Finding a little whitewashed cottage on the edge of a moor, with a dear little old lady next door to act propriety, she settles in, makes more or less of a living as a photographer, and tells us all about the country folk. Finally, as we expected, she marries the cynical young lawyer who is marked down for her by the dear old lady, and lives happy ever after. Voila!

"LADY OF THE NIGHT"

We cannot help quarrelling somewhat with Benjamin Swift. In writing a novel it sometimes happens that one of the characters gets out of hand, and refuses to run in harness, and this, evidently, is what Henry Ratcliffe did. Though not, ostensibly, one of the most important people in 'Lady of the Night'' (Eveleigh Nash, 6s.), he grows and grows, like Topsy, till in the end he tumbles right out of the picture. The story of Ratcliffe's conversion from gentlemanly burgling to expiation in prison is magnificent material for a novelist, yet in Benjamin Swift's hands it receives almost cursory treatment Swift's hands it receives almost cursory treatment, and is wedged into a story which only concerns the convert in a secondary sense. Hence our quarrel. We should have liked to know more about Ratcliffe, and to have traced his curious psychological history quite apart from the far less interesting Darcy and his troubles. Moreover, why, in the opening chapters, is it so impressed upon us that Honorius, Darcy's great-grandfather, is aged 102, when he would have been quite as useful to the story at ninety or less? And why, finally, call the book "Lady of the Night," when the French girl to whom the description is supposed to apply 1s, obviously, a lady of the early morning, of the Dawn?

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MEN AND WOMEN

VOTES FOR WOMEN

4-7, RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET.

Telegraphic Address:--Votfowom, London. Telephone:-Holborn 1305.

ERIDAY MARCH 28, 1918.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PRESS

searches into the agitation of women for the vote, he entirely distorted view of the occurrence would will be confronted with the difficulty of understand- appear in the daily papers, and the careful testiing how it was that the present unhappy imbroglio mony of such a distinguished eye-witness as Mrs. was brought about. He will see a perfectly reason-liberately excluded. able demand being put forward. He will see that it was supported by demonstrations larger and more numerous resolutions carried in nearly all the prinnumerous than had accompanied the demand for any cipal municipal bodies of the country in favour of other extension of the franchise. He will see that the Conciliation Bill have been almost entirely kept there were ample signs that the country as a whole | from the public eye, while the tiniest meeting on the wished that duly qualified women should become other side has been magnified into national imvoters. He will see no sign of any substantial portance. agitation either of men or women opposed to it. Yet "Such action," said a newspaper man once, in the he will see that the reform was delayed, and delayed

Were we to give the true facts women would have the until the most determined section of the Suffragist vote in less than six months." forces had come to the conclusion that nothing short | It is in the light of these facts that the accounts of a deliberate war on the community would effect recently given in the Press with regard to Suffrage their purpose.

easily escape his detection.

With one or two honourable exceptions, the Press, for reasons of their own, have been from the first almost entirely hostile to the movement for the enfranchisement of women. And this hostility they have which the sober and decent section of the community exhibited not merely by unfriendly comment which may be regarded as legitimate opposition, but by the illegitimate methods of suppression of news, fabrication of news, distortion of news, supplemented at fore, we say alike to the critic of to-day and to the various times by incitement to brutality.

pressed. Then, when a few women dared to contravene the conventions and come out into the public eve all kinds of outrageous statements were allowed to appear regarding them which were entire travesties of the truth. They were represented as ungainly hoydens or spectacled frumps, and every conceivable ill-mannered jest was made at their expense. The street hooligan, reinforced by the pale-faced clerk, saw at once the opportunity for a "bit of sport," and lost no time in turning up at the suffrage meetings to make a stupid noise and to assault the speakers in much the same way as they are doing at he present time.

After a time the women, by indomitable courage and shrewd mother wit, got the better of the hooligan element in the crowd, and as a result some of the largest and most remarkable public meetings ever known took place. The Press preserved almost complete silence. The Albert Hall might be filled to overflowing with a tense enthusiastic audience; Mr. Israel Zangwill might deliver an inimitable speech; not a single line would find its way into the columns of the daily Press, and the public were thereby invited to believe that the agitation for the vote had sunk into oblivion.

Again, at Cabinet Ministers' meetings, women, for some perfectly relevant and apt interjection, would be hurled with brutality into the street, and the subeditor, with a liberal application of blue pencil, would convert their remarks into a senseless parrot cry of "Votes for Women," and dilate on their hysterical behaviour.

Or again, when women went out on a perfectly peaceful deputation to the House of Commons, and were confronted by a body of police, and treated with such violence that many of them were laid up for When the historian of the future pursues his re- months, and one of them died in consequence, an Bertha Ayrton on the other side would be de-

Again, such important evidences of support as the

meetings must be read. They are deliberately in-Should his eye chance to fall upon this article it serted for two reasons: firstly, to give the false may be that we shall be able to enlighten him. There | impression that the public are opposed to the Sufframay be that we shall be able to enlighten him. There are two salient facts which account for the situation.

gists; and secondly, to stir up the baser sort among the populace to go and do likewise. Those who throw The first is the perverse obstinacy of the Government; the populate to go and to the populate to go and to the clods of earth at Suffrage speakers are not responsible the second the shameless misrepresentation of the citizens, justly indignant with women for committing Press. We do not propose to dwell here upon the serious breaches of the law; they are a low type of former of these two causes, because we have dealt | hooligan who see in the courageous woman on the with it at length on former occasions, and because | platform some new type of sentient being whom they the historian will naturally acquaint himself with all | hope to be able to torment with impunity. Their the necessary facts concerning it in the course of his actions were prompted in the first instance by the investigations. The latter cause is, however, in a Press, who published an "intelligent anticipation" different category, for unless it be deliberately of what they were likely to do; they are sustained dragged out into the light of day, it might very and supported by the friendly accounts which the

These methods of the Press (particularly its latest methods) have not done any harm to the Suffrage very heartily regret, and they have subjected to gross ill-treatment a number of the bravest and most public-spirited of the women of the country. Therehistorian of the future that, after the Government, In the early days, before the militant movement we hold the Press responsible for the situation which began, all mention of Woman Suffrage was sup-

THE MILITANT CAMPAIGN

SUFFRAGISTS IN PRISON

In Holloway Gaol

Name. When	Sentence	ed.	Length of	Sent	ence.	
Miss Louisa Gay	Jan. 9		8 months			
Miss Louisa Gay	Feb. 7		3 ,,			
Mrs. Maud Brindley	" "		5 ,,			
Mrs. Marie Louisa Miles	11 11		3 ,,			
Miss Mabel Muriel Scholefield	22 12		3 ,,			
Mrs. Branson	Feb. 10	***************************************	2 ,.			
*+Miss Zelie Emerson	Feb. 18		2 months'	hard l	abour	
+Miss Pleasance Pendred	Feb. 22		6 ,,	-17	**	
Miss Jane Shortt		***************************************	6 ,,	11	1)	
+Anonymous	Mar. 4		2 months			
+Miss Ella Stevenson			9 ,,			
Miss Olive Wharry	Mar. 7	***************************************	18 ,,			
Miss Dorothy Barnes	Mar. 11		1 month			
Miss Kathleen Paget	*) . 11		3 weeks			
Miss May Richardson	- 21 37		1 month			
Miss Dorothy Smith	23 27		3 weeks			
Miss Grace Stuart	23 23					
Miss Gertrude Vaughan	:1 11		1 month			
Mrs. Dove-Wilcox		***************************************	1 month			
+Miss Marjorie Masters		***************************************	14 days			
Miss Margaret Macfarlane		***************************************	5 months			
Miss Margaret Mactariane	mat. do		o months		-	
At Manchester						
Mrs. Edith Rigby	Mar. 25		7 days			
In Pentonville Prison						

In Wormwood Scrubbs Prison Mar. 8

* Hard labour afterwards remitted. + Being forcibly fed.

TO "2411"

"I can hear Miss - singing like a bird in her cell."-Extract from a letter from Holloway. Within your prison cell they've heard
The prisoner "singing like a bird."
Your spirit gained its liberty—
I am the captive—you are free.
S, B.

High on the hills I sing and run For gladness of the wind and sun. Yet, though my body's strong and brave, I know my soul is still a slave.

DIARY OF EVENTS

MARCH 28, 1913.

Thursday, March 20.—House belonging to Lady White, widow of Sir George White, V.C., burnt at Egham, Surrey; house unoccupied at the time; damage estimated at £3,000. Fire attributed to Suffragists, as papers bearing suffrage messages found in rockeries. No arrests. Professionals' workshop and tool-house at the golf links, Weston-super-Mare, destroyed by fire.

Saturday, March 22.- Letters damaged by

Sunday, March 23 .- Mr. Keir Hardie M.P., persistently interrupted at the Free Trade Hall, Manchester; several

about a quarter of an hour.

Monday, March 24.—Delegates at Independent Labour Party Conference locked into the Association Hall, Manchester, by means of padlock and chain; chain had to be sawn through. Suffragists gathered outside Hall and tried to address delegates as they came out. Missiles said to have been thrown at Mr. Keir Hardie and Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P. Two women arrested for obstruction.

Attempt to burn partially built house at Park Langley Garden City, near Beckenham. Attributed to Suffragists, Beckennam. Attributed to Sultragists, as literature, including copies of Votes for Women, The Awakener, and The Suffragette found in the house.
Considerable damage to greens at Royal St. George's Golf Links, Sand-

Galleries and State apartments closed at Hampton Court; the first time for many years on an Easter Monday. Special staff of detectives said to be guarding Windsor.

Tuesday, March 25.—Tubes of phosphorus put in letter-boxes at Richmond Rail-way Station and on Richmond Hill; a great number of letters destroyed. Let-ters also damaged at Lincoln.

IN THE COURTS

Thursday, March 20.—At the West London Police Court, before Mr. Fordham, charged with conspiring with other persons unknown to set fire to the Roehampton Pavilion, and with damaging letters in letter-box at Ladbroke Road, Notting Hill, Miss Olive Hocken, surrendered to bail; case adjourned, bail

At the London Sessions, charged with eaking two windows at the Tecla Gem

At West London Police Court on Thursday, March 20, before Mr. Fordham, Miss Olive Hocken an artist

forcibly fed. Miss Kathleen Methoson will come out of prison to-morrow (Saturday). Miss Kathleen Paget, Miss Dorothy Smith, and Miss Gertrude Vanghan's sentences expire on Monday next.

We are glad to hear that Mrs. Purser, who was released from Tullamore Prison on March 17, twelve days before the expiry of her sentence, has recovered from the effects of her hunger strike in February.

Company, Ltd., Old Bond Street, Miss Margaret Macfarlane; sentenced to five months in the second division.

ruary.

Miss Pankhurst's Terrible Experiences

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, in a written

Miss Pankhurst's Terrible Experiences
Miss Pankhurst, in a written
Saturday, March 22.—At the Stratford
Police Court, charged with affixing a
notice to a Post Office letter-box without authority, Miss Ethel Haslam;
fined 20s. and 4s. costs, or 14 days' imprisonment. Payment of fine at first
refused, but subsequently paid.

Tuesday, March 25.—At the City Police
Court, Manchester, charged with obstruction and with throwing a bottle to
the danger of the public, Mrs. Edith
Rigby; fined 5s. or seven days' imprisonment. Fine not paid.

Charged with obstruction, Miss Helen
Atkinson; fined 2s. 6d. or five days.

Fine paid.

Miss Pankhurst's Terrible Experiences

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, in a written
to a written
to prison. When six women,
she says, "had got me on the bed, holding me by the ankles, knees, and shoulders,
the doctors came stealing in. They hadn't
the courage to show themselves until I was
securely held. Somebody caught me by
the held from behind and tied a sheet
under my chin. I set my teeth like a
vice, and my breath came so quickly that
I thought I should suffocate. I felt a man's
hand trying to force my mouth open. I
felt a steel instrument being forced against
my guins, where I had had two teeth out.

Tought against it with all my strength,
but, cutting its way into the flesh, it
worked its way in, and then they turned
a serew, which gradually forced my jaws
apart. It felt as though I were having my
teeth drawn.

"They then started to force the tube

Will not the Cabinet take the
hint?

Will not the Cabinet take the
hint?

down my throat. I tightened the muscles and struggled with all my might. Presently they said 'That's all,' and dragged out the tube. It was quite a long time before I could get my breath. They left me on the bed exhausted and shaking with sobs. The same thing happened in the evening, but I was too tired to fight so long. So it went on day after day.

"I think it was after about two days of forcible feeding that the Governor came into my cell and said, 'You are reported for misconduct, You are charged with refusing all food,' I said, 'I do not consider that misconduct, and I shall continue in the same way.' He said, 'You admit it. Three days' solitary confinement, with deprival of the privileges of Rule 243A.' Three times he came and ordered a continuation of the same punishment. It seemed a farce, when he was only ordering what I had had from the first.

"All the time I was in prison I had scarcely slept at night. My eyes had begun to give trouble. When struggling and straning against the feeding I had acute pain, and felt as if the cords that held my eyes in must snap."

COBDEN'S DAUGHTER AND MILITANCY

COBDEN'S DAUGHTER AND MILITANCY

The following letter appeared in the Daily News last, Friday:—

Sir,—You say: "The peril is from outside. It is the attitude of the mob which creates concern. The adoption of methods of violence by the women lets loose the lowest instincts of ruffianism." So do other causes and events let them loose. How about Mafeking night? How about the night that peace was proclaimed and the Boer war ended? It was not safe for women to go down the Strand; friends of mine, venturing, had their clothes torn from their backs before they were rescued by the police. Then, why not grapple with the real "peril"? Is it because we are so used to the knowledge that those "lowest instincts of ruffianism" are rife in our outskirts that we are content to put up with their manifestations—so easily, moreover, avoided by ourselves?

The want of perspective in the views taken of life by the man in the street is amazing. In a world where people are being killed in war and dying of its attendant starvation and disease, where the economic results of underpaid labour are hideous, where "the lowest instincts of ruffianism" animate masses of our countrymen, it seems to me—a looker-on—preposterous to be making a mountain out of the mole-hill of broken windows and burnt kiosks. And to think that the whole question might be set at rest sooner instead of, as it will be later.

Elle Melicent Corden.



ANOTHER MILITANT

MOTHER: "So you tried to take her hoop away and she boxed your ears? Well, it served you quite right!"

BOBBY: "Oh, Mummy, Mummy, you see I didn't know she was a Suffragette!"

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MARCHERS' QUI VIVE CORPS

the morning were the third day." - Irish Citizen.

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

239, Nugra Ronn, S.W.

Australian and New Zealand Voters

Association.

9, Gra ton Street, W.

Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,

55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Fran-chise Association,

Church League for Women's Suffrage,

Civil Service Suffrage Society,

Irishwomen's Reform League,

Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,

27, Donegal Place, Belfast.

Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association.

125, Leinster Road, Rathmines, Dublin.

London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,

136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Men's Society for Women's Rights,
25, Viotoria Street, S.W.

National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,

Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,

Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage, 28. St. Paul's Chambers, Ludgata Hill, E.C.

Men's League for Woman Suffrage,

Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,

Marchers' Qui Vive Corps,

National Political League, 16. St. James' Street, S.W.

Spiritual Militancy League,

46, Queens Tour Suffrage Ateller 6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.

Women Writers' Suffrage League, Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

Actresses' Franchise League, 2. Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C. Artists' Suffrage League, 259. King's Road, S.W.

ATTACK ON THE HOME SECRETARY

The Debate in the House of Commons, March 18

selection from the many Press comments that appeared on the following and subsequent days.

POINTS FROM THE SPECHES

The other proposition was that of the hon, baronet (Sir A. Markham), who indeed, put forward vianportation to a development of the women die who would not take food. He forgets that in the case of men fighting for the franchise, scarcely a hundred years ago yet, that transportation was tried, and only added to the strength of the movement. Their (the women) for the movement. Their (the women) for the movement. Their the movement. Their the movement or the movement. Their the strength of the movement. Their the women is perfectly logical and consistent. (Hon. Members: "No, nol") They say that they have no voice in the making of the laws, and they are under no obligation to obey them. That they have no voice in the making of the laws, and they are under no obligation to obey them. That they have no voice in the making of the laws, and they are under no obligation to obey them. That they have no voice in the making of the laws, and they are under no obligation to obey them. That they have no voice in the making of the laws, and they are under no obligation to obey them. That they have no voice in the making of the laws, and they are under no obligation to obey them. That they have no voice in the making of the laws, and they are under no obligation to obey them. That they have no voice in the making of the laws, and they are under no obligation to obey them. That they have no voice in the making of the laws, and they are under no obligation to obey the down and the law and the country of the point of th

The live propied held those people had been plant the refusal to take find would end that the refusal to take find would end them. That is, always perveded that the possibly would be convenience to the possibly that the possibly would be convenience to the possibly that the possibly would be convenience to the possibly that the possibly would be convenience to the possibly that the possibly would be convenience to the possibly that the possibly would be convenience to the possibly that the possibly would be convenience to the possibly that the possibly would be convenience to the possibly that the possibly would be convenience to the possibly that the possibly would be convenience to the possibly that the possibly that the possibly would be convenience to the possibly that the possibly that the possibly would be convenience to the possibly that the possibl

The debate on the prison treatment of Suffragists, arising out of the discussion on the Home Office Vote, was still in progress when we went to press last week, and we were able, therefore, to give only a portion of it. We think it may interest our readers if we give herewith some more passages from the most striking of the specches made on that occasion, and also a selection from the many Press comments that appeared on the following and subsequent days.

POINTS FROM THE SPECHES MR. KEIR HARDIE

The other proposition was that of the hon, baronet (Sir A. Markham), who, indeed, put forward two propositions, one of which was to try transportation to a desert island, and the other was to let the women die who would not take food. He women die who would not take food.



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WILLIAM OWEN LD.

TEACHERS IN CONFERENCE MR. KEIR HARDIE, M.P., AND THE SUFFRAGETTES

TAX RESISTANCE

MARCH 28, 1913.

We understand that the Duchess of Bodford has consented to become a member of the Women's Tax Registance league. That Society will therefore conduct her protest when distraint has been levied for the non-payment of the property tax upon the Princes Skating Club, which, as we stated last week, the Duchess has decided not to pay, as a protest against the non - enfranchisement of women.

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON TUESDAY, MARCH 25

Mr. Wedgwood asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether his attention has been called to the distraint levied by the Commissioners of Income Tax upon the proposes to take any steps to prevent the local commissioners of any man whose wite happens to hold strong views on the suffrage puestion?

Mr. Lloyd George: I have been in-

THE CHURCH MILITANT

An Outspoken Bishop

The Bishop of Winchester (Dr. Talbot), speaking to the Mothers' Union at Winchester last Tuesday, said that they witnessed to-day acts to which he would be willing to apply any epithet of disgust and repulsion on the part of women, but while they condemmed these acts and wondered that the tenderer sex should really think that by ways of force and violence right was done, they must be more determined that womanhood should be differently treated; that it should have greater dignity and a greater stake in life and greater equality. He thought that something of the fire that burned in this new, movement came from the indignation to movement came from the indignation to movement came from the indignation to be a supplied to the supplied of the fire that burned in this new, movement came from the indignation to be a supplied to the supplied of the fire that burned in this new, movement came from the indignation to be a supplied to the supplied of the fire that burned in this new, movement came from the indignation to be a supplied to the supplied of the supplied to the s An Outspoken Bishop

THE REV. R. J. CAMPBELL ON MILITANCY "Not Prepared to Condemn"

"Not Prepared to Condemn"

In a sermon preached on Easter Sunday at the City Temple, the Rev. R. J. Campbell said of the militant Suffragists:—

"When the Home Secretary testified the other day in the House of Commons that nothing could exceed the heroism and self-devotion of the Suffragists whom the law obliged him to keep in prison, he but paid unconscious tribute to the principle which is the very core of the Christian Gospel. These women are in deadly earnest, so much so that, as this responsible Minister of the Crown declared, they would welcome death itself if that would secure the triumph of their cause. Be sure no cause can be resisted for ever which can produce such a spirit. It is a just and righteous cause which, like all other spiritual movements, will enter into its kingdom by the Cross."

In an interview after the sermon, Mr. Campbell, questioned as to the Suffragists who employ physical force, replied: "I am not prepared to condemn them."

16, St. James' Street, S.W.

National Union of Women's Suffrage
Societies,
14 Gt. Smith Street, Western

THE LIGHTER SIDE A HARROWING JOKE

that there may be no need, after all, to ake any steps to brighten cricket. The problem may solve itself. When we consider all that the W.S.P.U. has done in the last few months to brighten golf,

COMING EVENTS

The first intimation of the hunger strike at Tullamore came to the husband of one of the prisoners in a telegram, which read:
"Matthew six sixteen and Genesis one thirteen." The passages read: "Moreover when ye fast, be not as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance: and the evening and the morning were the third day."—Irish

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New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage,
19, Manaions Areade, Knightsbridge,
19, Manaions Areade, Knightsbridge,
11, C.Q. Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.
Souffrage,
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.
Soottish Federation for Women's Suffrage,
Sunwick, Berwickshire, N.B. VHITE. 2 Buttons, SAAL, Plastic NAT'L. 2/11 & 3/11 3/11 Wrists. GLOVE STORES, SLOANE ST., S.W.

6, Stanlake Villas, Snepherd's Busn, W.
Suffrage Club.
52, New Bond Street, W.
Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee, Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee,
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.
Suffragists' Vigilance League,
49, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
Women's Freedom League,
10, Southfields Road, Fastbourne,
10, Southfields Road, Fastbourne,
Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.
Women Teachers' Franchise Union,
27, Murile Road, Lee, S.E.
Women's Tax Murile Road, Lee, S.E.
Women's Tax L

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Kensington, W, 63, Rosslyn Hill
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OLDEST and STILL

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insertion in our next issue, all advertisements be received not later than Tuesday after Address, the Advertisement Manager. VOIES WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

DEMONSTRATION in HYDE PARK.

The Women's Freedom League will hold a demonstration in Hyde Park (near the Marble Arch) on Sunday, March 30, at noon. Among the speakers will be: Miss Husband (Dundee), Mrs. Whetton (Southeea), Miss Hare (Hove), Miss Murray (Cardross), Miss Jack (Edinburgh), Miss Murray, Miss Andrews, Miss E. J. Read.

Andrews, Miss E. J. Read.

PUBLIC MEETINGS AT CAXTON
HALL.—On Monday, March 31, at 8
p.m., lecture by Miss Helena Normanton,
B.A., on "The Origin and History of English
Poor Law." Chairman: Miss Eunice Murray. Admission by ticket—2s, 6d, 1s, and
doi-rrom Women's Freedom League Office,
I, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C. and at
doors. On Wednesday, April 2, at 330:
Speakers, Dr. Kathieen Vaughan on "The
Position of Medical Women in India" and
Miss Eunice Murray. Admission free.

ROARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

A BSOLUTE Privacy, Quietude, and Refinement, no extras. At the Strand Imperial Hotel, opposite Gaiety Theatre, Idadies with Constant of the Co

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