

# VOTES FOR WOMEN

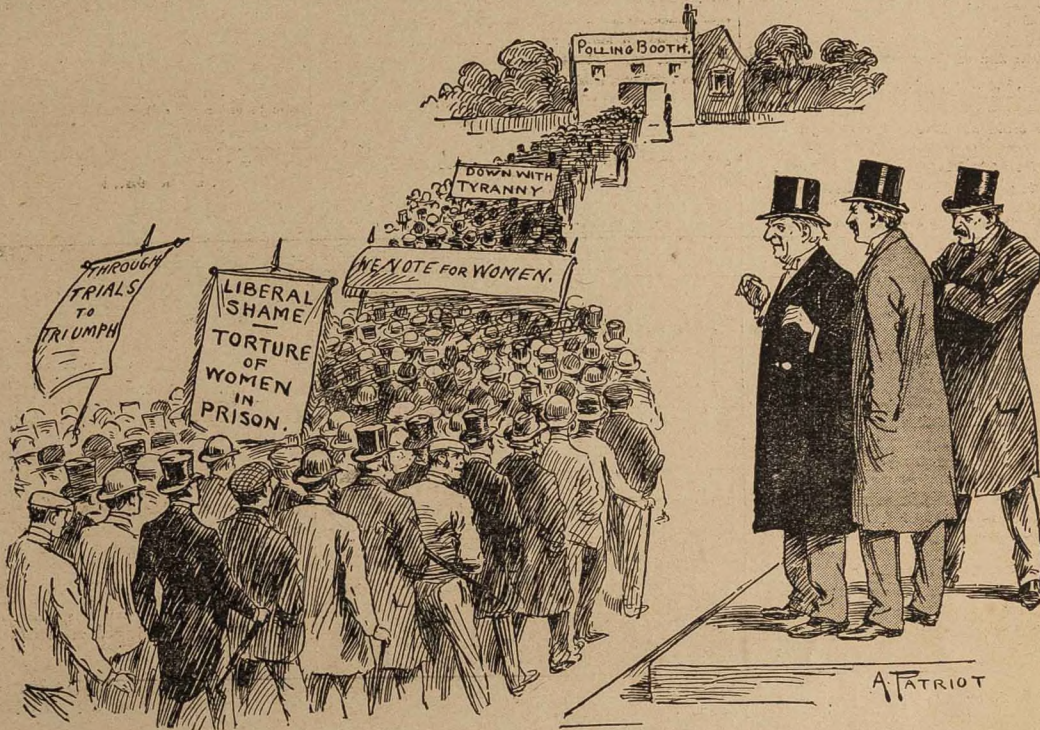
EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

VOL. III. (New Series), No. 84.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1909.

Price 1d. Weekly. (Post Free.)

## A GLIMPSE INTO THE FUTURE.



Electors (going to the poll): Our vote will be given for the women.  
 Cabinet Ministers (in chorus): We thought the issue would be the Budget and the House of Lords.

("They may decree a revolution, but the people will direct it, and issues will be raised of which they do not dream."—Mr. Lloyd George at Newcastle.)

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

### THE OUTLOOK.

Never before have events followed so close upon one another's heels in the Suffrage Movement as during the week that has gone by. Not a day has passed without its quota of occurrences of first rank importance.

#### Nothing to be Got by Patience.

On Wednesday in last week was published the correspondence between Mr. Asquith and the peaceful section of the Woman Suffrage Movement, the outcome of which was a final refusal of Mr. Asquith to receive a deputation. Such an answer, we should have supposed, left

only two alternative courses—either to abandon the fight in despair or to proceed to more vigorous measures. The "patient" Suffragists found a third road open in complaint and disapproval of the Prime Minister. But does not the whole situation provide a complete justification, if one were still required, for the actions of the militant Suffrage Party?

#### A Monster Meeting.

On the following day a great demonstration was held by the Women's Social and Political Union in the Albert Hall, where a crowded gathering showed by its boundless enthusiasm and by its indignant protests at the Government how far they have alienated women by their recent actions. Those who cannot see the significance of such signs will nevertheless be impressed by the fact that in less than ten minutes a sum of £2,300 was subscribed to swell the war chest of the Union.

#### A Vindictive Attempt.

On Friday, in Liverpool, the case of the hunger strikers who were summoned for damages done in the prison was brought before the court. None of the women appeared, and warrants for their arrest were issued. It remains to be seen whether the authorities are so blinded by their vindictive impulses as to endeavour to put into effect these warrants against women who have already been punished in prison for their action, and who are charged with inflicting damage to the absurdly small amounts of 1s., 6d., and 3d. in the prison.

#### Mrs. Pankhurst's Case.

Meanwhile, on the same morning in London, Mrs. Pankhurst, the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, and Mrs. Lawrence were entering into recognisances to prosecute the appeal in the case of Mrs. Pankhurst and the ninety women concerned with her in the recent deputation to Mr. Asquith. It may seem strange to some of our readers that this is actually the earliest occasion on which this

has been possible, and though everything has been done to facilitate the proceedings it will not be before the end of November that the special case is heard. If Mrs. Pankhurst is sent to prison, then she has already declared that she will go through the hunger strike and be prepared to resist the outrageous stomach feeding, should such be the action that the authorities are determined to take.

#### A Pageant of Brave Women.

Saturday was marked by two more events of first-rate importance. In Edinburgh the Demonstration and Pageant arranged and carried out by the W.S.P.U. were a signal success, and attracted the universal admiration and respect of the citizens of Edinburgh. This demonstration marked at once the culmination of the work which has been going on so long in Scotland, and the inauguration of the winter campaign throughout the country. The Scottish people may be slow to respond to a new political call, but, once moved, they are strong and valuable allies, and they will be prepared to teach the Government a lesson which will not soon be forgotten.

#### In Newcastle.

Still more important were the stirring scenes which were being witnessed on the same day, in Newcastle, on the occasion of Mr. Lloyd George's visit to the town, when women made their protest in the only way that was possible to them in order to call attention to the failure of the Government to meet their just demands. They succeeded by their heroic action in forcing upon the attention of an unwilling member of the Cabinet the dominant nature of the woman's question, and in creating a situation which, in the words of the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, had no parallel in the political history of the city.

#### The Arrests.

The following, twelve women in all, were arrested:—Miss Violet Bryant, Miss Ellen Pitfield, Miss Lily







The Women's Social and Political Union are NOT asking for a vote for every woman, but simply that sex shall cease to be a disqualification for the franchise.

At present men who pay rates and taxes, who are owners, occupiers, lodgers, or have the service or utility franchise, possess the Parliamentary vote. The Women's Social and Political Union claim that women who fulfil the same conditions shall also enjoy the franchise.

It is estimated that when this claim has been conceded, about 1,000,000 hands will possess the vote, in addition to the seven and a half million men who are at present enfranchised.

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

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VOTES FOR WOMEN

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 15th, 1909.

MY FAREWELL WORD.

DEAR MEMBERS OF THE W.S.P.U. In this great fight of ours for the Vote, we have day by day been made to realise that one of the most powerful weapons in political warfare is the Press.

Fortunately we have a paper of our own, VOTES FOR WOMEN, and it is by means of our own paper that we can make the general public understand the meaning of the women's movement, and so win their active sympathy and support.

Since its first issue the circulation of the paper has steadily increased. It is now purchased and read by thousands of people, and this is due in great measure to the devoted labour of its Editors, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, their staff, and the army of volunteers who give so much time and energy to the work of distribution.

But those in authority are deceived if they think to prevail over us because they have more brute force than we. The despots of the world, in their blindness and folly, have always thought that Might would be stronger than Right, and they have never learned, except by their own overthrow, that the arm of the weak is made strong to defeat the evil-doer.

Now for the terms which the Nation thinks might prevail for the basis of a truce, perhaps a lasting peace, between the Women's Social and Political Union and the Government. These terms are embodied in a sentence: - If the Prime Minister were now to make a speech, acknowledging fully the bravery and disinterestedness, though depressing through the violence, of the militant Suffragists, and to express even now a willingness to receive any demand of the moderate wing of the movement (which has never ceased to urge this course upon him by peaceful pressure); and, finally, were he to undertake that in the first session a clearly-pledged majority of Suffragettes returned to the next Parliament carried a resolution in favour of Woman Suffrage, the Government would allow effect to be given to this judgment in a Franchise Bill, we can hardly doubt the efficacy of this policy.

There is nothing here upon which a peace could be concluded. We are exceedingly anxious that the Prime Minister should dislike our methods, but we have learnt to be indifferent as to his opinion of our motives. That he should receive a deputation respecting the other wing of the Suffrage Movement would be most proper, most reasonable, but his reception of that deputation would in no way bind us not to demand an interview with him.

As to undertaking that in the first Session of the next Parliament a clearly-pledged majority of Suffragettes carry a resolution of Woman Suffrage the Government would allow effect to be given to this judgment in a Franchise Bill, we should, for more reasons than usually, be exceedingly anxious that they should assume responsibility for the enfranchisement of women as they have assumed responsibility for the Budget; that they shall actively fight for the cause both in Parliament and in the country as they are fighting for the Budget; that they shall use every endeavour to carry the Women's Enfranchisement Bill into law as they are using every endeavour to carry the Budget; that they shall stake their very existence upon this measure as they are staking their very existence upon the Budget.

Upon these terms, and upon these terms alone will the Women's Social and Political Union consent to be at peace with the Government of the day.

Christabel Pankhurst.

There is abundant evidence that the sterner methods which the Government, by their repeated vote, have lately compelled upon us, have not only not advanced the Women's Suffrage question to the point of settlement, but that Official Liberalism regards the situation created by the Women's Social and Political Union as serious as indicated by the utterances of the Liberal Press. The Daily Chronicle shrieks the dread word "Anarchy." The Daily News has called for a pause in the conflict, and pleads with militant Suffragettes to hold their hand. The Nation in a recent issue assumes the office of mediator, and urges the contending parties to suspend hostilities.

tion that the Government have been more violent than their women opponents is recorded, and its truth is not denied. Then is stated the alleged reason why militant methods should not be used, namely, that such methods are wrong not for men but for women because, when employed by "a definitely weaker sex" they must necessarily fail.

These we have unblushingly revealed the real cause of the attack upon the methods of the Women's Social and Political Union. Militancy is forbidden not by its own sake, but because it may not be successful! This is the false morality which tyrants and their hangers-on have always tried to impose upon those striving for freedom.

It is a morality which decrees that to the strong all things are permitted, while to the weak there is but one thing permitted - to submit. Militant Suffragists, in truth abide by no such rule as this, for they know the true moral law to be the very reverse of it. According to that law, force has but one justification, which is that it is used, not by equals to settle their disputes; above all, not by the strong to hold their fellows in subjection, but by the weak in the attempt to gain release from an unjust domination. The women's revolution is, therefore, morally right, whether it succeeds or whether it fails, and those who think by declaring that women are the weaker sex to check that rebellion understand this movement not at all.

But how do Liberals dare predict the failure of the militant campaign? Women may be physically weaker than men, but it is not possible on that account to oppress them with impunity, and it is not the definite intention of the Government and their supporters to provoke still more serious protests on the part of women, they would be wise to do nothing further by word or deed which shows any intention of trading on the possession of superior force.

But those in authority are deceived if they think to prevail over us because they have more brute force than we. The despots of the world, in their blindness and folly, have always thought that Might would be stronger than Right, and they have never learned, except by their own overthrow, that the arm of the weak is made strong to defeat the evil-doer.

I have just got one word to say in regard to this violence. We have heard something about "methods of violence," and that term forthwith has been applied to the methods used by this Union. That term shall be applied to the methods that have been used to oppress women, and that term forthwith has been applied to the methods used by this Union. That term shall be applied to the methods that have been used to oppress women, and that term forthwith has been applied to the methods used by this Union.

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ON THE ROAD TO VICTORY.

Verbatim Report of the Speech by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence at the Albert Hall.

One of the greatest struggles that the world has ever seen is going on to-day, a struggle fraught with issues to the whole human race, inconceivably and infinitely important. Nearly 2,000 years ago a message was brought into this world, and the message was this: That the human body is the temple of the Holy Spirit, and that the human mind or soul in its individual development is meant to be an expression of some idea or principle of God.

But what are the methods of our warfare? I have given a typical instance of the methods of violence used against us; I will now give a typical instance of the methods of warfare which the women on their part have used. This typical instance you will find in that wonderful act, that extreme act of passive resistance which the hunger strike means. The Press, so far as it is inspired by party feeling on one side or the other, has dealt lightly of the hunger strike as an easy means of getting out of prison. We have only to this day the outcry there would be in this country if the deepest dyed criminal were sentenced to six or seven consecutive days' starvation; that will show that the hunger strike means to the women who practise it, and this hunger strike and the heroic resistance now being made by our comrades, whose bodies are being violated in prison by their political opponents, are typical of the women's methods of warfare. We have described it before; we can only describe it again in the same words. The sharp end of the weapon has ever been placed upon our own breasts and the blunt end against the foe.

What shall we say about this crowning inquiry, this latest method of the Government? I say that the violation of the bodies of their political opponents in prison covers this Government with infamy. I say that it is a stain on this country's honour which will not be forgotten.

Yes, we are indignant, profoundly indignant and justly indignant, at the dishonourable and the cruel means that have been taken to repress an agitation carried on by women who have no political representatives in Parliament, who have no legal status, who have no political and constitutional weapons. We are indignant, but that is not the only feeling that we have. In the depths of our being, where the spirit sits serene in these storms, we are profoundly sorry for these men veiled with temporary power which they have so grossly misused. They know not what they do, they know not the spirit against which they are fighting. I believe that if they knew what they were doing they themselves would be sorry. I am convinced that all is well, and all shall be well with this movement. We cannot see to the immediate future, we do not know what further persecutions, who are extending the movement shall have to meet, but we know that the end to which we were born, the end to which we, the members of this Union, were brought together in this wonderful fellowship of ours, will be accomplished. "Death or Victory!" Is this what we say? No, we have got something better to say than that. What we say is, "Death and Victory it may be. But in any case it is Victory."

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conditions, and, as he refuses to show us any way whereby we can by strenuous endeavour win that which is no more than our just right, we should be glad indeed, although it saves us in so far as we do not fight for our liberties. We are going to fight. We will fight our way to freedom. Years ago, when we began this militant agitation, the cost of the warfare was counted; we accepted the price then.

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