

"Votes for Women," September 24, 1909.

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

EDITED BY FREDERICK & EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

VOL. II., No. 81.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1909.

Price 1d. Weekly. (Post Free.)
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THE BRITISH CZAR.

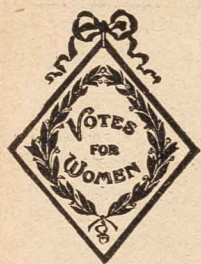


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Subscriptions to the Paper should be sent to The Publisher, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

The terms are 6s. 6d. annual subscription, 1s. 8d. for one quarter, inside the United Kingdom, 8s. 8d. and 2s. 2d. abroad, post free, payable in advance.

The paper can be obtained from all newsagents and book-stalls.

For Quotations for Advertisements, apply to the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

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.

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THE OUTLOOK.

That the Prime Minister of England in visiting Birmingham in order to make a political speech should have found it necessary to surround himself with precautions literally resembling those of the Czar of Russia would have been absolutely incredible a few short months ago.

At Birmingham.

Starting from Euston, where he was guarded so assiduously by the police that his own sister was for a long time excluded from the platform, Mr. Asquith arrived in Birmingham to find the city in a state of siege. Barricades 9 ft. high were along the station platform; similar barricades were across all the leading thoroughfares in the neighbourhood of Bingley Hall. The whole police force of the city were in requisition, and for hours mounted men and constables on foot grappled with the vast crowds which gathered about the scene. Nor did Mr. Asquith refuse to avail himself of underground passages and subways, of luggage lift entrances and other expedients, in order to reach his destination, and on the only occasion when he emerged above ground in the open his motor proceeded at a walking pace, preceded, followed, and surrounded by a guard of mounted police. To such a strait was the British Prime Minister reduced because the women of the country refused to accept "no" as an answer to their demand for entrance to the hall in which he was speaking, and the right to cross-question him upon his refusal to treat women as citizens of the country.

What the Women Did.

Though the women came in for some very rough handling—Miss Marsh and Mrs. Leigh being drenched to the skin,

and Miss Marsh having her head badly cut—they determined not to go one step further than was absolutely necessary in order to make their protest effective. Women have, in fact, entered upon the first stages of a definite revolution, but without the recklessness which characterised the action of men in similar circumstances in days gone by.

A Liberal View of the Meeting.

The value of women in the eyes of the Liberal party is clearly shown by the remarks of Sir Henry Norman on the result of the meeting, in the course of which he said:—

The meeting was particularly interesting . . . because it shows that with proper organisation it is easy to have present at a meeting all the ladies who have a real claim to be there without having the slightest interruption or inconvenience.

While a meeting was being held to protest against the exclusion of women, there were, I think, over two hundred on the Prime Minister's platform—a fact, I may add, that he did not realise until he was in the train going home, when he learnt of it both with surprise and gratification.

Thus, while there are as many women to be taxed as men, some 200 women as compared with 10,000 men are all that had any claim to be present!

Police Court Methods.

We desire to draw attention to the illegality of the treatment of the prisoners at Birmingham on Saturday morning before their trial. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Christabel Pankhurst duly presented themselves at the police-court and asked for permission to see the prisoners before their case came on, at a time when in the theory of the British law they were merely suspected persons and had had no opportunity of consulting their friends as to their defence. This permission was categorically refused. Of the ten prisoners two were sentenced on Saturday to one month each, and the remaining eight were dealt with on Wednesday, Mrs. Leigh and Miss Marsh received three months' hard labour, and the others various sentences. We understand they are all hunger striking in prison.

The Right of Interruption.

Last Monday in the House of Lords a debate took place on the question of the interruption at Conservative meetings by Liberals. The Earl of Malmesbury, referring to the cartoon in VOTES FOR WOMEN, said that he had noticed an imaginary conversation in a Suffragist organ, and he had come to the conclusion that supporters of the Government "would appear to have donned habits woven by more fairy-like hands." In a leading article the *Manchester Guardian*, though disapproving of howling down speakers, nevertheless argues as follows:—

We do not hold the view that anyone who convenes a public meeting is entitled to express his views at it without the embarrassment of an occasional interjection. It would destroy the value of political meetings as an expression of public opinion and a means of education if the speaker were made immune from all interruption, however brief, relevant, and reasonable, and from all adverse expressions of opinion, however unexceptionable in point of form.

When it is remembered what an outcry was made from the first in the Liberal Press about interruptions made by women at Cabinet Ministers' meetings, and that these interruptions were in the first instance merely of an interjectory character, the value of the moral platitudes with which these same papers continue to rebuke women will be appreciated.

The Constitutional Issue.

Meanwhile the Liberal papers continue to descant upon the constitutional issues which will be involved if the Peers throw out the Budget. The whole question depends, says the *Daily News*, upon whether the representatives of the people are to control the national finance or not. Our contemporary seems to forget that there are to-day no real representatives of "the people." The House of Commons merely contains the representatives of men, and at the present time women not only have no representatives, but are pro-

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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 university franchise possess the Parliamentary vote.

It is estimated that when this claim has been conceded, about a million and a quarter women 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.

IS IT RIGHT? IS IT WRONG?

Questions have been raised regarding the new development of militant tactics in this Union. For three years our battle for the vote was fought without resort to physical violence on the part of women, in spite of immense provocation.

But it is fitting in view of the violence and the injury that is being done daily to women by those who are withholding justice, and in view of the immense personal injury inflicted upon the active champions of the Woman's Cause and borne by them on our behalf, that the question should be asked, not from the point of view of the superior person, or of the critic who presumes to pass judgment, but with humility as a seeker after that Truth which must be for each one of us the light unto our feet.

No little maxims that we have learned by rote, no hearsay theories, no cut-and-dried morality, will serve us at a serious and critical time like this. Back to religion and history we must go to test and try our theories and maxims by the fundamental experiences of human life.

the Temple. That was an act of violence. No one denies that it was humanly justified.

All governments and all judicial systems resort, as a matter of course, to acts of violence to meet various contingencies, and are acquitted of wrong by public opinion if it is held that the occasion and circumstances justify the deed.

The truth of the matter is that acts of violence are sometimes right and sometimes wrong. Into account has to be taken the motive which prompts the deed, and also the circumstances and conditions that render it necessary and expedient.

Violence is always grievous, but it is not always wrong. If no active resistance entailing violence had ever been offered by the oppressed to the oppressor, by the subjected to the tyrant, the best and noblest records of humanity would never have found a place in the history of the human race.

The question remains. Are the acts of violence that have lately marked the development of the militant campaign justified by the motive behind the deed, and also by the absolute necessity enforced by conditions and circumstances?

So far as the motive is concerned, these actions are prompted by an absolute devotion to a cause which women deem to be the greatest ever fought for in the history of the world. The political, moral, and spiritual emancipation of that half of humanity which holds the life and destiny of future generations in its especial keeping; the release of the soul of womanhood to bring its influence upon the world to the shaping of the conditions of progress and the evolution of human life.

In order to judge of the necessity, a brief review must be taken of the militant campaign. It must be remembered that this war of freedom was begun when women had deliberately arrived at the conclusion that after forty unavailing years, the uses of argument and persuasion were at an end. Women knew that they were rendered artificially weak by the denial of political power, and that the Government to be fought was very strong.

met the new protest by excluding women from public meetings. Again, the choice of abandonment of the fight, or of further developing the militant policy, was thrust upon the fighters. They then conceived and carried out the policy of holding protest meetings, and of attempting to force an entrance to those public meetings where a member of the Government was discussing questions vitally important to them, calling upon sympathisers in the crowd to back them up in their endeavour.

Women, in direct opposition to their instinct, tradition, and normal character, have thus been forced into a revolution in defence of their rights and liberties, and for this the Government is responsible, and not the women. Women, even more than men, hate war. Women, even more than men, love peace.

The conflict which statesmen, and above all Liberal statesmen, should have avoided has come to a very serious point. We are pressing the Government hard, driving them by our militant action and by the passive resistance of the hunger strike, into a corner from which there is no outlet except by giving votes to women.

If we resort to any stronger action before all the moves yet tried have been rendered impossible, if we go on a step further than is absolutely necessary in order to accomplish the end of this warfare, then we shall be responsible and blameworthy; but if we move only as we are forced to move by the absolute necessities of warfare, then the Government which forces us to fight for our very existence in the body politic, is alone responsible for what happens.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

TREASURER'S NOTE.

Every day this week a generous stream of gifts has been pouring into the War Chest. Those members of the Union who are not able to take an active part in the more stressful and strenuous side of the campaign are grandly supporting the agitation for which heroic women are literally giving their life.

Out of the magnificent total for the week of nearly £500, more than £200 has been given by Scottish women living all over the kingdom towards the expenses of the Scottish campaign. There remains over £2,000 to be raised for the completion of the £50,000 before Mrs. Pankhurst leaves this country on October 12 for her suffrage campaign in America.

Women to-day do not accept everything that they are told by opponents, who would again, as in the past, take advantage of their necessarily limited experience of practical politics, and make them believe that the militant movement is putting back the clock.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £50,000 FUND.

September 15 to September 21.

Table with columns for names, amounts in £ s. d., and sub-totals. Includes entries like 'Already acknowledged', 'Mrs. Moir (for Organiser Fund)', 'Mrs. Isabella Morrison', etc., ending with a total of £47,219 10 6.

AT THE POLICE COURT.

The ten women arrested in connection with the disturbances on Friday night at Birmingham were:—

Miss Mary Edwards, Miss Leslie Hall, Miss Mabel Capper, Mrs. Mary Leigh, Miss Charlotte Marsh, Miss Laura Ainsworth, Miss Evelyn Whurrie, Miss Patricia Woodlock, Miss Ellen Barnwell, Miss Hilda Evelyn Burkitt.

Mrs. Leigh and Miss Marsh, who had been on the roof of the house, were soaked to the skin, and Miss Marsh had her head badly cut. Bail was refused in the case of all the prisoners, who had to remain in the police court all night, Miss Marsh and Mrs. Leigh being obliged to wear their drenched clothing until the morning. The matron bound up Miss Marsh's head, describing it as a "nasty wound."

On Saturday morning Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, who had travelled specially down to Birmingham, went to the police court and asked to see the prisoners, to consult with them as to their defence, but permission was categorically refused, and the prisoners came into the court without having had the opportunity of consulting their friends.

Mr. Hill prosecuted on behalf of the police, and said that the women were charged with certain offences which were really the outcrop of the meeting held in Bingley Hall the previous night. From the action of the defendants on the evening itself there had resulted something like a riot in Birmingham. The women were then placed in the dock, sometimes singly and sometimes two together, and detailed evidence was given against them as to their action. Eight of the defendants were remanded until Wednesday at the request of the police, who desired to bring further evidence and to estimate the amount of the damage. The cases of Miss Ellen Barnwell and Miss Hilda Evelyn Burkitt, who were charged with throwing missiles and damaging a railway carriage window, were disposed of at once. A remand was refused, and the magistrate sentenced each of

the prisoners to one month in the second division. The two women at once began a hunger-strike.

On Wednesday the remaining eight prisoners were brought before the magistrate. The hearing of the evidence against them occupied four hours.

Mrs. Leigh and Miss Charlotte Marsh were charged with assault and damage. Both claimed that their quarrel was with the Government, and expressed their regret that this brought them into conflict with the police. Their motive was an honourable political one. They brought this point out clearly, and the Bench recognised it.

Miss Whurrie was discharged, but was re-arrested on a charge of breaking windows, and was brought before the Magistrates on the following day.

Miss Patricia Woodlock explained that her action in breaking the Liberal Club windows was a protest against the denial of the vote. She said, "I will continue to protest when I come out." Miss Ainsworth stated that the hatchet she had in her hand was for breaking the barriers between Bingley Hall and herself, and for no other purpose. The Government alone were responsible for all that had happened.

Miss Mary Edwards said she was sorry if she had injured the police; her quarrel was with the Prime Minister. Miss Capper claimed that the offences with which the women were charged were political, and demanded the recognition of this fact. Miss Leslie Hall made a similar statement.

The sentence on Mrs. Leigh was three months' hard labour on a charge of assault, and one month (in default of a fine) for damages; these were assessed at £4 15s. Miss Charlotte Marsh was sentenced to three months' hard labour, and Miss Patricia Woodlock to one month's hard labour. Miss Mabel Capper and Miss Leslie Hall each received one month in the second division, and Miss Mary Edwards six weeks in the second division, the latter on a charge of assault on the police. Miss Ainsworth was fined 10s., or in default two weeks' imprisonment.



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West of England.—Miss Annie Kenney, 37, Queen's Road (opposite Art Gallery), Clifton, Bristol. Exeter: Miss Vera Wentworth, 3, Richmond Road, Torquay; Miss Elsie Howey, 32, Victoria Parade, Cornwall; Miss Mary Phillips, 5, The Parade, Truro. Cardiff: Miss Elsie MacKenzie, 131, Richmond Road, Roath. Newport: Miss Gabrielle Jeffrey, 'Votes for Women' Shop (near the bridge).

Lancashire & North Wales.—Miss Mary Gawthorpe, 164, Oxford Road, Manchester. Liverpool: Miss S. Ada Flatman, 28, Berry Street. Preston: 41, Glover's Court. Rochdale: 84, Yorkshire Street.

Midlands.—Miss Gladice G. Keevil, 14, Ethel Street, Birmingham. Nottingham: Miss N. Crocker, 6, Carlton Street.

Yorkshire.—Miss C. A. L. Marsh, 68, Manningham Lane, Bradford. Middlesbrough: Miss D. Pethick, 3, Holgate Terrace.

Newcastle.—Miss Edith New, 284, Westgate Hill.

Glasgow.—Miss G. Conolan, 141, Bath Street; Miss Margaret Cameron, 148 Sauchiehall Street.

Edinburgh.—Miss Florence E. M. Macaulay, 8, Melville Place, Queen's Street; Mrs. Drummond, 63, Princes Street.

The network of organisation is being extended far and wide over the country, and splendid work is being done in districts where ignorance or indifference regarding the aims of the W.S.P.U. have formerly been the rule. Meetings, great and small, are showing that earnest sympathisers are to be found even in places hitherto unvisited by the Suffragettes. Among many important meetings arranged is one at Birmingham to-night, when Miss Christabel Pankhurst will speak at the Temperance Hall; to-night also Miss Beatrice Harraden will give a reading of her play, "Lady Geraldine's Speech," at the Onward Hall, Manchester; and to-morrow (Saturday) the Coventry Demonstration will take place. On Tuesday and Wednesday next, September 28 and 29, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will address meetings at Redcar and Middlesbrough. On Saturday, October 2, a great meeting will be held at the White City, Manchester, to welcome Lancashire's fourteen Hunger-Strikers, and hear their experiences. On Thursday evening, October 7, a great meeting will be held at the Albert Hall, at which Mrs. Pankhurst will be the principal speaker, and on the Saturday following, October 9, the long-expected Scottish Demonstration will be held in Edinburgh, at which the leaders of the W.S.P.U. will speak, the whole day being devoted to processions, speeches, and other propaganda work. On Monday, October 11, Mrs. Pankhurst will give a farewell speech at the Sun Hall, Liverpool, previous to her departure for America. In other directions work is being steadily and surely done. The Liverpool shop will be opened by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence next Thursday (September 30); a shop has just been started at Newport, and arrangements are in hand for one at Cardiff. Large quantities of badges, pamphlets, etc., are being sold, and the circulation of VOTES FOR WOMEN shows a steady increase.

LONDON AND HOME COUNTIES.

The At Home at the St. James's Hall last week was most enthusiastic, and we are working to secure full meetings every Thursday evening and Monday afternoon.

The activities of London workers are being mainly concentrated on preparations for the great Albert Hall meeting on October 7th. A shop has been taken and opened at Hammersmith. It is situated midway between Hammersmith and Shepherd's Bush, and is only five minutes from the Post Office Savings Bank, West Kensington, and, therefore, in a central position. The work in this district in rousing interest in the Albert Hall meeting is proceeding briskly. Already £5 ls. worth of tickets have been sold, but more canvassers are very much needed. Miss Thomas has been good enough to lend her drawing-room. As the sale of tickets greatly depends upon the number of At Homes held, members and sympathisers who are able to help in this way will help very much by communicating with Miss Roe as soon as possible. Thanks to Mrs. Budd, the sale of VOTES FOR WOMEN has been kept up during the holidays; but it is now more important than ever to increase the sale, and for this purpose at least two open-air meetings are being held every evening. Members willing to help in this way please call for papers at 160, Shepherd's Bush Road, Hammersmith, any time during the day.

Miss Corson will be glad if any members residing in the Paddington district who can help in a house-to-house canvass will kindly send in their names to her, at 4, Clements Inn, W.C. A considerable number of tickets have already been disposed of in this way. On Thursday an excellent meeting was held at Marble Arch, four dozen papers being sold at the close. The speakers were Miss Una

Dugdale and Miss Hewitt. On Friday a very successful shopping meeting was held in Westbourne Grove, Mrs. Eates being the speaker. Mrs. Knubley, of Findon Road, has kindly arranged a drawing-room meeting for the 29th inst. Will those who have any time to give at all please communicate with the Organisers who are working up the districts or with Miss Christabel Pankhurst. Similar work is being done in Kensington and Knightsbridge, where the Albert Hall meeting is being energetically worked up.

Sellers of VOTES FOR WOMEN are specially wanted every evening to sell outside Queen's Hall, where the people wait in queues for the Promenade Concerts. Will those who can do this please be at 4, Clements Inn at 6 p.m. any evening. It is very important, also, that a good band of sellers should be out this (Friday) morning; the supplement to this week's paper gives an account of the developments of the new issue, and it is most essential that the paper in its new form should be brought prominently before the public. There is still room for more recruits for the Drum and Fife Band, and Miss Dallas will be pleased to see anyone who wishes to volunteer at 4, Clements Inn. The local Unions are doing their utmost to get shops in their own districts. Kensington was the first to open; Lewisham came next, then Putney, and now Hammersmith has just followed suit.

WEST OF ENGLAND.

It is hoped that definite arrangements may be made next week for At Homes all over the West of England. Meanwhile, in Bristol, extensive preparations are being made for the exhibition which will be held in the new year, and also for the mass meeting in Colston Hall before Christmas. A meeting was held last week to discuss plans for effectually advertising these, and also the weekly At Homes and the paper in its new form; and Miss Edith Craig also gave members valuable advice concerning the play, "How the Vote was Won," which will be one of the attractions of the exhibition. In Exeter good work is being done, and the Newport shop was opened last Wednesday by Miss Gabrielle Jeffrey, who has forwarded to the treasurer over £12 towards the expenses in connection therewith. Miss McKenzie is now in charge of Cardiff, where good headway is being made. Last week an outdoor meeting was held at Bathaston through the kindness of Mrs. Tollemache, who lent her garden, beautifully decorated with Chinese lanterns, for the purpose of the meeting, which was attended by a highly interested audience. Prospects in the West Country are very bright and hopeful; and Miss Kenney, who makes a strong appeal for funds to carry on the work, also wishes to thank all those who so kindly responded to her request for information regarding other towns in the West of England and in Wales.

In Cornwall the autumn campaign has made a very hopeful start. Active preparations are being made for the meetings at Launceston and Truro on October 21 and 22 respectively, at which Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak, and for which the names of all who can sell tickets or in any other way advertise the meetings will be welcomed. Volunteers are also asked to come forward for house-to-house hand-bill distribution, and also for stewarding, which latter department, as far as Truro is concerned, is in charge of Mrs. Crosby Smith. A very practical method of helping the cause would be by getting up drawing-room meetings or gatherings—however small—of teachers, nurses, students, shop assistants, etc., between now and October 21, with a view to arousing interest before Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's visit. Collecting cards for the Cornish Campaign Fund may still be had, to be returned, if possible, in time to give Mrs. Lawrence at either Launceston or Truro, and it is hoped that members will make a special effort to secure new subscribers for VOTES FOR WOMEN. Excellent meetings have been held during the week at Torquay, Paignton, Tor-e, Teignmouth, and Dawlish. More volunteers are needed to help to sell the paper. One Torquay member has made herself responsible for the sale of one dozen copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN every week, a good example which it is hoped many others will follow.

The first At Home of the season at Cardiff will be opened by Dr. Garrett Anderson on October 13 at the Park Hall, where subsequent At Homes will be held; and as this district is almost new ground, members and friends are asked to give their help to furthering the success of the movement in this part of the country. The sale of VOTES FOR WOMEN is increasing, fifty copies being sold in twenty minutes outside the New Theatre, and helpers are wanted

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