ARE self
do not want to give up their
eright, but they wish to hold on to it.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, let me try to explain to you how it is that I have come to the point of view that I have taken.

Although you have a great deal of democracy, a great deal of representative government there, England is the most conservative country on earth: why, your forefathers fought for that great many years ago. If you had passed your life in England as I have, you would know that there are certain words which certainly, during the last two generations, certainly until about ten years ago, aroused a feeling of horror and fear in the minds of the mass of people.

The word revolution, for instance, was identified in the minds of many people with the idea of change, the idea of upsetting the established order of things.

Now, talking from the stand of some of the most conservative men and women, I think that I have met that they are descended from the horrid names which are associated with the revolution, but it always seemed to be for these men and women, and yet it has all ended in talk; they are still talkers and dreamers, but the Revolution, which was so great a thing in its day, was all a dream, it is so obvious that something happens of a volcanic nature they will go on talking about it until the end of time.

You need some law of the land to stop them. The House of Commons, for instance, the whole social organization is almost as bad for doing nothing.

I think that the answer to that, that there has been some social legislation in England in recent years.

The reservations of the franchise to the men of my country have been preceded by very great violence, by something like a revolution, by something like a fight between those who would maintain the status quo and those who would take it away.

In 1867, John Bright urged the people of London to crowd the approaches to the Houses of Parliament, and he said that if they did that no Parliament, however odious, could resist their just demands.

Rioting went on all over the country, and as the result of that rioting, as the result of that ungovernable passion, the famous Hyde Park railings, as a result of the fear of more rioting and violence that the Reform Act of 1832 was at last abandoned.

In 1884 came the turn of the agricultural laborer; John Bright made the same passionate appeal, but was met with a very conservative person and a radical, threatened that, unless the vote was given to the agricultural laborers, the men from Birmingham to know the reason why, rioting was threatened and feared, and so the agitation was defeated.

Meanwhile, during the '80s, women, like men, were asking for the franchise.

Appeals, larger and larger, went on year by year from other women, were presented in support of Women's Suffrage. Many meetings were held in the different counties, and city councils, passed resolutions asking that women should have the vote. More meetings were held, and larger, for Women Suffrage. The votes of men, the usual and usual method of power, yet the women did not get it.

Men got the vote because they were and were violent. The women did not get it because they were not allowed to be violent.

We have been so accustomed, we women, to accept one standard for men and another standard for women, that we have even applied that variation of standard to the injury of our political welfare.

In the twentieth century women, having had better opportunities of education, and having had some training in politics, having in political life come so near to the superiority to the men of power, as a result of our methods have failed and the men's have succeeded, that we should take a leaf out of their book.

We were led to that conclusion, we older women, by the advice of the young—you know my fate. It was not, 'If you wait, you know; if age could,' but I think that we ought to reverse it, and when you can bring together the women and the men, and treat them on the same terms and take the same point of view, then you are on the high road to success.

Well, we in Britain, on the eve of the twentieth century, make the appeal, why, you could almost count us on the fingers of both hands—set out on the wonderful adventure that the world is waiting for, most of the world is waiting for to give the women the vote. Only a few in number, we have the reaching of a great idea, and yet we quite quite gaily made our little banners with the words, look at them, and we would do so if it was to win the enfranchisement of the women of our country.

Was the movement was almost dead. The women had lost heart. You could not get a Suffrage meeting that was attended by men, if you put only about 24 adherents in the front row. We carried our resolutions to the end, and no movement there was.

The women changed that in a twinkling of an eye at a great Liberal demonstration in Manchester, when it was voted that the Liberals, the great and constitutional party, has never looked back. We had little more than one morphous society for Woman Suffrage in those days.

Now we have 1,000 societies for Woman Suffrage, composed of both men and women, and they are large in membership, they are rich in money, they are powerful, they have a large influence in the whole country.

But how is militancy has put back the clock. I think that we are getting there.

Now, some of you have said how wicked it is that (the commissioners told me that on Saturday) there should be a joint sitting of the Lords and Commons, representative property of private individuals who have done us no harm. Well, you know there is a proverb that the bird in hand is worth two in the bush.

We have come to the conclusion that the only way to have for damage to property, the only justification for violence, the only justification for breaking eggs, I wish we could.

I want to say to you that the only thing for damage to property, the only justification for violence, the only justification for breaking eggs, I wish we could.

The women have been prevented from taking part in the argument, but the only thing for damage to property, the only justification for violence, the only justification for breaking eggs, I wish we could.
A Speech Delivered by Mrs. PANKHURST in New York, October 21, 1913.

(27th part of this speech appeared in our last issue.)

Well, you may say the laws may be inadequate, the laws may be bad, but human nature, after all, is human nature, and the law is made upon the whole people live fairly happy lives.

And for those who are fortunate it is very comfortable to live in any country, to live within the permissive limits of the law, but for those who are not fortunate it is very uncomfortable. The conditions of life as we find it in our centralised civilisation in Europe, you will find that after all the law is much the same. It is impossible for us to think the law allows them to behave badly to those who are nearest and dearest to them. We want a law to protect us, and we want to take full advantage of all the laxity of the law. What have we been hearing of so much during the last few years. It is a very remarkable thing, ladies and gentlemen that, along with this woman’s revolt, you are having a great uncovering of social siders. We are having light let into dark places, whether it is in the United States or whether it is in the old countries of Europe, you can see the social ill from which humanity suffers are very much the same as the. A country has been discussing how to deal with that most awful slavery, the white slave traffic.

Now, we know that the great American people were divided into hostile sects, and on the question of whether it was right and whether it was a thing that set of human beings of one colour should buy and sell human beings of another colour. Now, when you come to that question, I tell you that throughout the civilised world to-day there is a slavery more awful than any that has been known in the history of the world. It is called the white slave traffic, but in that white traffic there are slaves of every shade of the human race.

Well, in my country we have been having legislation to stop that evil, the Slave Trade Act, and under that Act of Parliament, in that Act of Parliament, they have put enunciations that the slave trade is a thing to be stamped out, and by being tagged if they are convicted and found guilty under that Act of Parliament, and the British people are said to have given all shades of mottled colour, waxed highly eloquent on the need of degrading these so-called tigers of the human race, and mankind. What is the white slave traffic? It is the black slave traffic.

Well, we women looked on and we read their speeches, but in our hearts we said, “Why don’t they decide to go to the people for whom the white slave traffic is a thing to be ended? Why don’t they make an appeal to the white people to attack the customers? If there was no demand there would be no traffic, because business does not exist unless there is a demand. Why did we women say, “It is we, we, men, who are responsible?” Why is it that the women who have laboured in the home, the women who have laboured in the factories, the women who have laboured as the backbone of the working class, have not been heard? We don’t trust you to settle it; we want to have a hand in settling it ourselves. And that is why we run up to the British Parliament, and we have a right to distrust that legislation. They passed the Act very, very quickly; they put it on the statute books, and we have seen it in operation, and we know that the time of Parliament and the time of the nation was wasted on a piece of legislation which I fear we intended to be taken very seriously; something that we kept the women quiet into a piece of legislation which we intended to be taken very seriously; something that was intended to be something to make us believe that now, at least, the Government were really grappling with the question.

Well, and so we attacked this great evil. We said, “How can we expect real legislation to deal with this, how can we expect real legislation to deal with this, how can we expect real legislation to deal with this?”

Well, in Great Britain we have tried persuasion, we have tried the plan of showing (by going upon the evidence of those who had been there) that they had not much time to do themselves (that we were not capable of doing ourselves) that we were not capable of doing ourselves, that they would do it in the way that we should convince them and do it for the reason and do it for the reason and do it for the reason and do it for the reason and do it for the reason and do it for the reason.

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