

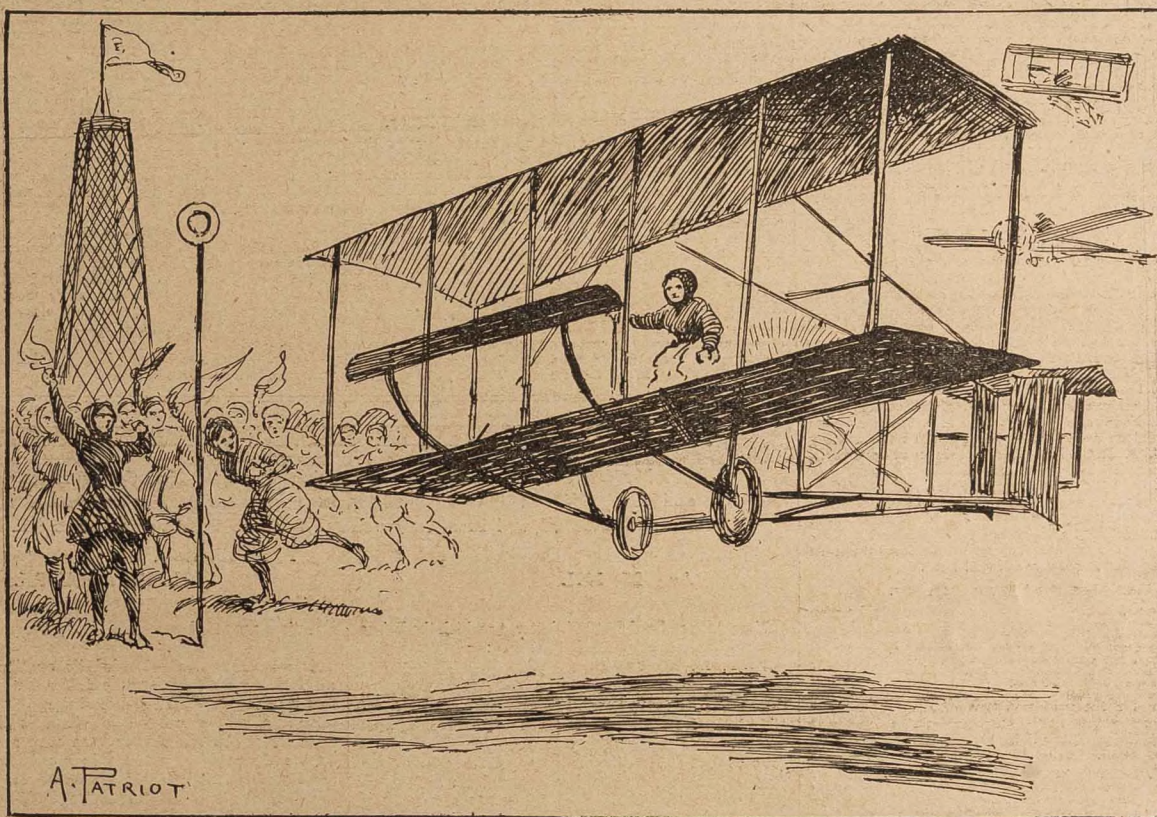
VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

VOL. IV. (New Series), No. 181.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 25, 1911.

Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free.)



Great Britain about to join the other countries which have given Women the Vote.

[In a letter to Lord Lytton Mr. Asquith repeats his promise of facilities for the Conciliation Bill.]

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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.

The Prime Minister's letter to Lord Lytton sets at rest the grave doubt created by Mr. Lloyd George's recent statement in the House of Commons. Lord Lytton, who, on behalf of the Conciliation Committee, immediately approached the Prime Minister with a view to getting an authoritative statement which should set these doubts at rest, will have the thanks and congratulations of all Suffragists upon the extremely satisfactory

result of his negotiations. The situation is further discussed in the leading article on page 758.

How We shall Get the Vote.

Now that the Prime Minister has given final proof to the enemy that the Conciliation Bill cannot be ousted by a rival measure, Suffragists can give undivided attention to the task of guarding against amendments which would, to use Sir Edward Grey's expression, "seriously divide the friends of Woman Suffrage," and thus wreck the Bill. Many of the most influential Members of the House of Commons have declared their intention to resist such amendments, and every reader of VOTES FOR WOMEN will now ask the Member for his or her constituency to adopt the same line of action. It is by maintaining a united front in the House of Commons and in the country that the supporters of the Conciliation Bill will get it carried into law.

Anti-Suffragists' New Move.

A memorial requesting the Government "to take steps to ascertain the views of the people before there is any imminent prospect of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill being passed into law" has been signed by 124 Anti-Suffragist M.P.'s. This appeal for the institution of a Referendum on Votes for Women is not perhaps surprising in so far as it comes from Unionists, because in the Unionist Party there is a strong desire for the general application of the Referendum to all important questions. It is truly astounding, however, to find that the signatories to this memorial include 22 Liberal M.P.'s, since the Liberal Party is so strongly

opposed to the Referendum as being a mischievous device. Do these 22 Liberal Anti-Suffragists, we would ask, agree with Mr. Lloyd George in the belief that the Referendum is "a costly method of denying justice"? Apparently they do, and that is why they wish it to be used where Woman Suffrage is concerned. Even more startling is it to find that those signing the memorial include five followers of Mr. Redmond. These gentlemen wish the Conciliation Bill to be put to a Referendum. Are they willing that the Home Rule Bill shall be dealt with in the same way? Because we can assure them that if their present demand to the Prime Minister were to be satisfied, it would then be impossible to resist the demand which Unionists would make for a Referendum on the question of Home Rule. The present Government could not possibly introduce the Referendum in the case of Woman Suffrage without applying it all round. As opposition to the Referendum is one of the cardinal points of Liberal policy, the memorialists are therefore doomed to disappointment. The list of their names (printed on p. 755) will be found exceedingly useful as an indication of the strength of the Anti-Suffrage party in the House of Commons, and as a guide to those constituencies in which local supporters of the Conciliation Bill must be particularly active.

Militancy Gives Bargaining Power.

The outstanding lesson which Suffragists may learn from the railway strike is that a militant policy brings to those who adopt it a great access of bargaining power. This bargaining power proceeds from the fact that not only are the opposing forces brought to seek peace as an escape from the difficulty in which they are placed, but third parties (if

JOSEPHINE BUTLER: PIONEER OF SOCIAL PURITY.

By Emily Wilding Davison, B.A.

We now need to call up among us—to pray for and beseech heaven to grant us—more of aggressive and militant virtue than we have yet seen among us. To live purely and blamelessly ourselves is not now enough; we must have the fibre of soldiers; the courage, if need be, of leaders of a forlorn hope, over whose dead bodies our fellow-soldiers will march to victory.

Such were the stirring words addressed in May, 1870, to an audience of young undergraduates at Cambridge by one of the noblest women of the great Victorian era, the history of whose crusade for national purity bears a most striking resemblance to our own great struggle of to-day.

Josephine Grey, born at Milfield Hill, Northumberland, on April 13, 1828, was the fourth daughter of John Grey, one of the Greys of Glendale, a genuinely North Country family. John Grey was a man of wisdom and great political ability, who worked hard for the first Reform Bill of 1832, for the Abolition of Slavery and for Free Trade. He was, in fact, as Josephine wrote, a Liberal in every sense of the word, full of "respect for the rights and liberties of the individual man."

When quite young she began to think very deeply about the position of women, until the call grew so potent that she felt she must listen to it and obey. The chance, however, did not come to her until after her marriage with George Butler, in 1852, at Dilston. He seems in every way to have been a man of remarkable character, a first-rate scholar and a man of the highest aspirations, and possessed with a deep reverence for women. The first years of married life were spent at Oxford, where her husband lectured, and where Mrs. Butler anticipated her life-work by taking into her house a poor woman who had killed her illegitimate child.

After the loss of her little girl in 1854, Mrs. Butler threw herself into philanthropic and educational work, in the course of which she edited a book on "Woman's Work and Woman's Culture." In the preface she wrote: "It has long been my conviction that the cause we advocate, though primarily and more immediately the cause of women, is secondarily, in a yet graver and more weighty sense, the cause of men. Whenever one class or set of human beings has been deprived of whatever just privileges or denied a legitimate share of God's endowment of the world, the class which suffers most eventually is not the class which is deprived, oppressed or denied, but that which deprives, oppresses or denies." It was not until 1869 that she really began her great crusade. From 1864 onwards, attempts had been made in England to introduce the State Regulation of Vice, which was established in France, at first covertly, and then openly. In 1866 she read the debate on the matter in the House of Commons, and was struck by the fact that only two men, Mr. Henley and Mr. Ayrton, opposed the proposal. Filled with horror, she recognised that the call to action had come. She took up her mission with fear and trembling, saying, "If I must descend into the darkness, that Divine Hand whose touch is health and strength would hold mine fast in the darkness." She joined the National Anti-Contagious Diseases Acts Association, urged by some noble medical men that it was women's work. She went forward, strengthened by her husband's support. She made a tour in such working-class districts as Crewe, Leeds, Sunderland and Newcastle, and met with such a splendid response that at the end of the year the Ladies' National Association for the Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Act was formed, of which the principles were an equal standard of morality between men and women, and equal treatment of men and women by the law of the land.

A magnificent protest appeared in the Daily News on December 31, 1869, with 120 names attached, among them being those of Harriet Martineau, Florence Nightingale, Mary Priestman, and her own. The effect was tremendous. A Member of Parliament said of it:— "We know how to manage any other opposition in the House or in the country, but this is awkward for us—this revolt of the women. It is quite a new thing; what are we to do with such an opposition as this?" In a pamphlet which she published in 1870 called an "Appeal to the People of England," she wrote:— "Now it is revolt and rebellion, a consecrated rebellion against those in authority who have established this accursed thing among us. We are rebels for God's holy laws. We declare on whose side we fight; we make no compromise, and we are ready to meet all the powers of heaven and hell combined. She held meetings up and down the country, took part in a by-election with an Anti-Government policy (although a Liberal) in 1870, and the Government candidate, Sir Henry Storks, was defeated at Colchester, through her magnificent work, by over 400 votes. She had a terribly rough time at the hands of the agents of the keepers of bad houses. Hotels refused to take her in, and she went about in constant danger.

In 1871 she was called to give evidence before a Royal Commission on the Contagious Diseases Acts. She wrote that she felt like Paul before Nero, but the effect upon the Commission, hostile as it meant to be, was wonderful. In a pamphlet published in 1871, "The Constitution Violated," she showed that these Acts were a direct violation of Clause 39 of Magna Charta:— "No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned or... any ways destroyed... unless by the judgment of his peers."

In 1872 an insidious attempt was made to side-track Mrs. Butler and her colleagues with a compromise, but she saw through the subterfuge and so powerfully wrote against the new Bill that it was withdrawn.

In another by-election, at Pontefract, she met with very rough usage. In 1873 no less than 250 public meetings and 15 conferences were held, most of which she attended.

In May, 1873, the first debate and division in the House of Commons took place on the Repeal question; 128 Members voted for the Bill, but it was lost by a majority of 137. In 1874 the abolitionists were much depressed, for they had to fight fierce opposition not only in England but also abroad, and both Parliament and the Press were silent. It was decided to carry the war right into the enemy's camp; in 1874 Mrs. Butler went on a great propaganda tour to France, Switzerland and Italy, and the British Continental and General Federation for the Abolition of Government Regulation of Prostitution was instituted. So hard did she work that she fell ill. In 1876 a great newspaper war began against the cruelty of the Police des Moeurs, and the Paris Municipal Council took up the matter. In 1879 Mrs. Butler roused Europe by her revelation



MRS. JOSEPHINE BUTLER. Elliott & Fry.

of the iniquities of the White Slave Traffic in Brussels, which led to the formation of a Committee to put it down, and to the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885.

In the spring of 1873 Josephine Butler reaped her reward. Her Bill came before the House of Commons. The excitement up and down the country was tremendous, "unprecedented in the history of any agitation." She and her colleagues awaited the result of the division at a great prayer meeting in the Westminster Hotel, where women, rich and poor, knelt side by side. An old American lady said:— "Tears are good, prayers are better, but we should get on better if behind every tear there was a vote in the ballot-box."

Mrs. Butler herself said of the twenty-one years' fight:—

We have been knocking at the door of the Constitution all these years, and there are men who even now tell me that they would give us anything in the way of justice except the Parliamentary vote. . . . Give the women the vote and see what would be the result.

The Bill was postponed, but on April 20 a resolution was moved condemning compulsory examination, and the C. D. Acts were suspended. This was a great step, but much more work had to be done, till at last, on April 16, 1886, Mrs. Butler received in Naples the wonderful telegram message: "Royal Assent has been given this day to the Repeal Bill." Although her cause was won, it is instructive to notice that Mrs. Butler wrote in "The Constitution Violated" passages which show her appreciation of the need of the vote as the only effective lever:—

It is only by means of the joint action of men and women that the great social questions of the present day can ever be satisfactorily settled. . . . The country will only fall into new errors unless the voice of the women of the country, now raised from without, receives that permanent means of expressing itself shortly, easily, and effectually, which is given

by the franchise and by that alone. . . . Until women have votes, that which stands between the nation and the evil consequences of violating this principle [representative government] is only the precarious barrier of agitation. . . . So long as one sex undertakes to consider those [social] questions alone, we shall be hurried into error similar to the Contagious Acts, and into legislation based upon the neglect of the interests of women.

From the time of that grand victory she worked in the cause of social purity at home and abroad, attending many conferences, one very notable one being at Brussels in 1899, which affirmed that State Regulated Vice was a great evil. She published many works, including "Reminiscences of a Great Crusade," and "Winged Seed," even after the death of her beloved husband, and saw many victories won in the cause for which she worked right up to her peaceful end at Wooler on December 30, 1906.

THACKERAY ON WOMEN.

Thackeray's women! What type of women do these words call to our mind? "The women we are learning to admire in this present, or those of whom we already say with scorn, "Ah, women are not like that nowadays"? Without a doubt it is these latter of whom Thackeray's name makes us think; we have a vision of a mass of simpering creatures, ruled, guided, led entirely by Society's laws and conventions, scheming, working, and caring only for what Society can give them, or too scared and down-trodden to trouble to scheme at all.

All the same, I am not inclined to admit that Thackeray thought all clever women were Becky Sharps, and all women with consciences no more interesting than Rose Mackenzie. He showed us what Society had made of women in his day relentlessly enough, but he showed us also that in his heart he thought women were capable of filling a very much higher place than that which they were allotted.

We call Meredith a true champion of women because he shows how fine a woman really may be, and we are inclined to think Thackeray looked down on them because he drew simpering dolls and feeble puppets, reserving brains for the most worldly and selfish only. But really we might almost as well say that Ibsen looked down on women; Ibsen, who has shown us so wonderfully the unhappy tangle of social nets in which women grope and stumble, has drawn weak and stupid women too. Thackeray railed just as loudly against that hideous web of life which surrounded him, though his hatred of it is perhaps not so absolutely on the surface. Into the mouth of that favourite of his, Ethel Newcome, he puts his bitterest words: "Oh," she cries, "What a life is ours, and how you buy and haggle and sell over your children." Through this girl he shows how strong were those dreadful laws he hated. "No, there is no freedom for us," she says to Lady Kew. "I belong to the world like all the rest of the family. It is you who have bred us up; you who are answerable for us." That his heart was very sore for Ethel Newcome he clearly shows by leaving her tale unfinished. He could not spoil the realism of his story by giving her the life he wished for her. What future did he weave then in his own mind for her, giving her freedom and letting loose her soul? "Did he create for her a world where men thought as he thought? Did he see ahead at all, I wonder?"

There are many more clever women in the world than men think. Our habit is to despise them; we believe that they do not think because they do not contradict us; and are weak because they do not struggle and rise up against us. A man only begins to know women as he grows old; and for my part my opinion of their cleverness rises every day.

These words are from a little essay on "Love, marriage, men and women," a sketch which is, I fancy, little known; it will be new to many to learn his views on the "struggle and rise" which had in his days hardly been thought of. After his description of woman as man has moulded her—a wonderful hypocrisy, astonishing in her schemes and wiles—he says:

If I die for it, I must own that I don't think they have fair play. In the bargain we make with them I don't think they get their rights. And as a labourer notoriously does more by the piece than he does by the day, and a freeman works harder than a slave, so I doubt we get the most of our women by enslaving them as we do by law and custom. There are some folks who would limit the range of women's duties to the kitchen range—others like them to administer to our delectation in a ball room, and permit them to display dimpled shoulders and flowing ringlets—just as you have one horse for the mill, and another for the Park. . . . In whatever way we like them, it is for our uses somehow that we have women brought up; to work for us, or to shine for us, or to dance for us, or what not. As I grow older and consider things, I know which are the stronger, men or women; but which are the cleverer I doubt.

These words make me wish we had Thackeray with us now. No doubt he would have poked fun at us often enough, for the seekers of liberty are not yet too perfect to be amusing, but I am sure we should have had him loyally on our side. I am sure that at heart Thackeray was women's friend, and that he would have been truly the friend of the Suffragette.

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THE PATIENCE OF WOMEN.

Perhaps if Oliver Lantley had realised that something more than a lively imagination and a "temperament" are required to make a great novelist, his troubles would not have overtaken him so completely. He went blundering on, thinking himself a clever "literary man," when he was in reality just a purveyor of that kind of fiction the turning out of which has no more to do with literature than has the selling of potatoes. Oliver's poor old father had to work overtime in order to make allowance for his "brilliant" son, and Oliver's kind women, beginning with his mother and ending with his wife (or perhaps with his daughter) spent themselves in helping him over stiles of his own making.

Not that Oliver is a person to be despised. By no means. He is handsome, has "wicked" eyes, and, in the words of his landlady, "can talk the hind leg off a donkey," surely an attractive personality enough! But his "temperament," which requires a great deal of nourishment of an expensive kind to keep it going, leads him to do things which no man of pride or self-respect could do, and one cannot help agreeing with Virginia Garland that he needed a severe lesson.

Virginia herself is a curious and complex character. How she acts when she has discovered her young husband's guilty secret is typical of this complexity. Many women—perhaps most—would have forgiven Oliver, if only to avoid a public scandal. But not so Virginia. The scene of the discovery takes place at night, in the country house which has long been Virginia's home, and in which they settle after their marriage.

The truth has just come out; Oliver has confessed. "Strike me dead!" he said. "You know that I cannot strike you, because I am a poor, weak invalid. And I do not wish your death. I wish you to live and be brave and honourable, so that I may love you as I used to love you—as I love you now, as God knows." She put her hand on his head as he knelt before her. Perhaps she was unconscious of her caressing touch, for she said, without any weakness: "I shall turn you out of my house. Then you will have to work like an honest man." He started to his feet and cried out that she could not mean those words. "By our dear Lord, I vow that I mean them!" she said, "I cannot breathe the same air with you. Your lies and deceit poison me. Your miserable hypocrisy sickens my soul. I should call myself a vile woman if I let you stay inside my life. I swear that I will turn you out, if I have to call in the police or set my dogs on you. They, poor beasts, have been faithful to me." "You are mad," said Oliver. "Yes, I am a little mad."

Then Oliver leaves her, and after standing for half-an-hour meditating in the library he quietly leaves the house. How he leaves it is typical of the man:—

The moon was coming up behind the bank of cloud. It cast an inky shadow behind him. He did not go straight to the gate, but moved about the small square lawn under his wife's bedroom window. He was searching for something. He was looking for the purse which he had slung out of the window. He was puzzled, and unless he found the purse he would have to walk away somewhere, anywhere. What did it matter?

Later there is a scene on the Embankment, which Mr. Gibbs paints with his own masterly brush. Oliver has sunk very low; he is one of a sad procession of derelicts, dependent on free soup to keep off starvation. Here he is discovered by another of his kind women, who thrusts him into a taxi, and feeds him at a Soho restaurant. This kind woman, Katherine Goldstein, brings about a reconciliation between Oliver and his wife, and we leave our hero in a velvet coat purveying fiction from a prosperous London residence.

Of all Oliver's kind women, the kindest in the end is his wife, and one is glad also to think that she is the sort of woman who would seek out and take care of the unhappy girl whom Oliver had self-indulgently wronged. Mr. Gibbs does not tell us that Virginia did this, but a friend to whom I said, "He doesn't tell us what became of the girl," said at once, "Oh, Virginia would be sure to look after her." I hope she did, because the consequences of his action do not seem to have afflicted Oliver except in so far as that they helped to bring about his downfall.

G. V.

THE NATIONAL INSURANCE BILL.

A dramatic attack upon the National Insurance Bill has lately been published by certain Fabians. The pamphlet bears the imprint of the Executive Committee of the Fabian Women's Group, but it covers far wider ground than the special interests of women.

The Bill is drastically criticised on its merits, as a national health measure, and a passionate appeal is made on behalf of the voiceless poor, who will, it is contended, be injured rather than benefited by Mr. Lloyd George's well-meant efforts. Vivid examples of the actual wages and expenditure of poor families, collected and carefully verified by Mrs. Pember Reeves during two years of health visiting in South London, give an insight into the lives of men and women who, it may be feared, will gain little or

* "Oliver's Kind Women," by Philip Gibbs. London: Herbert and Daniel, 6s.

† The National Insurance Bill: A Criticism. With a Preface by Mrs. Bernard Shaw. Published by the Executive Committee of the Fabian Women's Group, Prince 1d., Fabian Office, 3, Clementina Inn, W.C. National Labour Press, St. Bede's House, Salisbury Square, E.C.

nothing by enforced contributions levied at the cost of their daily bread.

The effect of the Bill upon women, as insured and as uninsured persons, is also forcibly dealt with, and the thorny question of their economic position treated in a novel and striking manner. The pamphlet has been hurriedly compiled from the work of several writers, and we fancy that we detect in some of its paragraphs the hand of one or more well-known Fabian writers. Taken as a whole it is a stirring appeal from Socialist Forwards for the policy of frontal attack upon the Insurance Bill in its present contributory form, a policy which has now been publicly adopted by the Fabian Society and the London and South-Eastern Division of the Independent Labour Party. All who desire to become acquainted with the inwardness of that policy should read this pamphlet.

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53, Berners Street, W.

WOMEN

SANITARY INSPECTORS, HEALTH VISITORS and LECTURERS

SPECIAL TRAINING LECTURES for LADIES, SEPTEMBER, 1911.

For Particulars apply to the Secretary, NATIONAL HEALTH SOCIETY, 53, BERNERS STREET, LONDON, W.

The Women's Social and Political Union.

OFFICE 4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND, W.C. Telegrams: "WOSPOLU, LONDON." Telephone: Holborn 2724 (3 lines) Bankers: Messrs. BARCLAY & CO., Fleet Street.

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"We demand the Vote on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men."

VOTES FOR WOMEN

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 25, 1911.

THE CONFLICT WITH MR. LLOYD GEORGE.

I have no hesitation in saying that the promises made by, and on behalf of, the Government, in regard to giving facilities for the Conciliation Bill, will be strictly adhered to, both in letter and in spirit.

By these words, written in reply to Lord Lytton, the Prime Minister removes the anxieties and uncertainties created by Mr. Lloyd George's recent statement in the House of Commons. We thus revert to the condition of tranquillity which prevailed from the time when the Prime Minister first made his promise of facilities for the Conciliation Bill until the moment when confidence was so seriously shaken by the Chancellor of the Exchequer's reply to Mr. Leif Jones.

The substance of that reply was that although the Government had originally promised facilities for the Conciliation Bill, they would, in the coming Session, give facilities to any Woman Suffrage Bill which secured a second reading. This meant that anyone who happened by luck to secure a sufficiently early place in the ballot could introduce some sort of impracticable measure, and having by the aid of disingenuous foes secured a second reading majority, could then successfully lay claim to the facilities which had originally been won for the Conciliation Bill.

This interpretation of the Government's attitude entirely left out of account the fact that their undertaking, as Mr. Lloyd George himself reported to the House on May 29, provided that if no day for the second reading of the Conciliation Bill should be secured in the ballot the Government would set apart a day for this purpose. Indeed, Mr. Lloyd George's answer to Mr. Leif Jones was wholly inconsistent with the letter and with the spirit of the promise of facilities

made by the Government earlier in the year, and now repeated with renewed emphasis and decision by the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister informs us that the Government adhere absolutely to their promise, and in order that the already sufficiently obvious may never again be called in question the Prime Minister expressly states that this promise relates to the Conciliation Bill, to which he refers by name. Thus disappears finally and completely the hope which in certain quarters had been cherished that the facilities intended for the Conciliation Bill could be stolen for the purpose of promoting a rival measure.

The divergence between the Prime Minister's letter to Lord Lytton and the statement of Mr. Lloyd George makes it clear that where the question of Votes for Women is concerned Mr. Lloyd George has detached himself from the main body of the Government, and has constituted himself the leader of the opposition forces. It is advisedly that we use the words "opposition forces," because we know that Mr. Lloyd George will have the assistance of Anti-Suffragists in his attempt to carry in Committee amendments which would divide the supporters of Woman Suffrage, and thus bring about the defeat of the measure at the third reading.

Let us trace the efforts which in this present year Mr. Lloyd George has made to prevent women getting the vote. First of all, while the matter was under discussion by the Government, he opposed the grant of facilities for the Conciliation Bill during the Session either of 1911 or of 1912. This he did in order to deprive the Conciliation Bill of the protection of the Parliament Act. Beaten on this point, he has twice (on May 29 and on August 16) so misrepresented the attitude of the Government as to make it appear that the facilities promised for next Session were altogether illusory, and were, for practical purposes, no facilities at all. Once more defeated, as a result of the explicit statement made on the first occasion by Sir Edward Grey and by the Prime Minister, and on the second occasion by the Prime Minister in the letter which appears above, Mr. Lloyd George will now, we are well aware, fall back upon the plan of attempting to wreck the Conciliation Bill by means of widening amendments whose adoption would, as Sir Edward Grey has expressed it, seriously divide the friends of Woman Suffrage.

We are confident of being able to secure his defeat on this point also, and to ensure that the Bill shall triumphantly overcome this final danger, the only one by which it is menaced. But we shall not succeed by mincing matters or by harbouring illusions of any kind as to who is our enemy.

Our enemy is Mr. Lloyd George. We do not at all understand the attitude of those who counsel us "not to show too openly our distrust of Mr. Lloyd George," and to deal with him in a manner different from that which we should adopt where any other opponent of Woman Suffrage is concerned. The safest and wisest policy for Suffragists is to speak and act without fear or favour. Mr. Lloyd George deserves no more mercy or consideration from us than does any other enemy of the Conciliation Bill. His attack upon the Bill cannot be repulsed by hesitating or timid methods, but must be met by good, hard fighting.

The members of the Women's Social and Political Union decline to allow Mr. Lloyd George to hypnotise them into inaction while he destroys the Conciliation Bill. Some politicians seem to be obsessed by the idea that resistance to Mr. Lloyd George's will is futile. Assuredly he can achieve much when he steers a straight course and when his action is prompted by zeal for the public good, but any success which he may have when he proceeds on opposite lines comes not from his strength, but from other people's weakness. Suffragettes are not under the spell which Mr. Lloyd George's Celtic temperament has enabled him to cast upon so many people. Perhaps this is because the Suffragettes also have their share of the Celtic strain. And they are women into the bargain. Accordingly, they feel that they are as well equipped for the approaching battle as is Mr. Lloyd George himself.

Above all, their cause is just. What women have learnt during this militant movement is the all-conquering power of right and truth when championed by those who will be faithful to their trust. Therefore we face the future and its perils with high hope.

Christabel Pankhurst.

BEFORE AND SINCE WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

By Vida Goldstein, President of the Women's Political Association of Victoria. II.—HOW THE WOMEN WON IN VICTORIA.

In 1899 our movement had sustained a deplorable loss in the death of Mrs. Bear-Crawford. Deprived of her leadership, the United Council became an effete body. Its policy became academic instead of political; it trusted to the high sounding promises of so-called friends in Parliament who would do everything for Woman Suffrage except fight for it in the Lower House when it suffered its annual rejection by the Upper House. The younger spirits in the movement chafed at the drift in the United Council, and in 1903 formed the Women's Federal Political Association, whose object was to organise women in connection with Federal politics. Out of loyalty to the old pioneers they hesitated for two years to take full control of the movement for securing State Suffrage, but in 1905 the situation had become so desperate that it was plain that the whole movement could not be sacrificed to the Moloch of loyalty. It was therefore decided to make the winning of the State Suffrage the chief work of the younger organisation (whose title was changed to the Women's Political Association), and to inaugurate a campaign directed mainly against the Anti-Suffrage Premier, Sir Thomas Bent, with the object of compelling him to make Woman Suffrage a Government Measure. A strenuous campaign was conducted, which, but for a further betrayal by Liberal friends at the formation of a Coalition Government, would have succeeded in attaining its object in 1906. Eighteen months' more work was necessary, and in August, 1908, with the chivalrous assistance of a recently formed Men's League for Woman Suffrage, a promise was wrung from the Premier to make Woman Suffrage a Government Measure. The bill was introduced in October. It had its usual triumphant passage through the Lower House; as a Government Measure it secured the two votes in the Upper House which it had been impossible to get for a private member's Bill, and passed without a division being called for on November 18, thus completing the last link in the electoral chain that encircles Australia.

I have related with some detail our experience in Victoria, because it was the only State where a prolonged fight was necessary, and because it offers many curious and interesting parallels to the movement in England. Here as there is the will of the people (as declared time after time through their returning representatives pledged to Woman Suffrage) thwarted by the "never ending audacity of elected persons" in flouting the popular will once they get safely inside Parliament, and succumb to the party policy of huckstering, which enables them to set aside first of all the claims of the votes.

Leaving to a subsequent article an account of the results achieved by Woman Suffrage in Australia, we may proceed to make a comparison between Australia and other countries.

Our Policy of Concentration.

In some respects the women of other countries are more advanced than we in Australia. In eligibility to public offices, for instance, and they wonder that we should have the national suffrage and the right to enter the National Parliament, yet be debarred from election to the Municipal Councils. The reason for this disability is the secret of our comparatively rapid progress in securing the wider reforms, and is due to a valuable lesson learned by Mrs. Bear-Crawford soon after she began her suffrage work in Victoria. She had returned from England full of determination to work not only for Woman Suffrage but also for the protection and prevention of degraded womanhood. She formed the Vigilance Association, and with Mrs. Isabella Goldstein, brought before the Chief Secretary such convincing testimony of the necessity of making the Age of Consent the same as in England, that he introduced a clause in the Crimes Act raising the age to 16, which was passed in the teeth of fierce opposition. Later a surreptitious attempt was made to reduce it again to 14.

About the same time the Municipal Councils throughout the country were circularised as to whether they favoured an amendment of the Local Government Act enabling women to be members of the Councils. The great majority were opposed. These two events convinced Mrs. Bear-Crawford and her colleagues of the futility of working piecemeal for the emancipation of women, without the vote. Every question turned on that. Without the vote there was no security for reforms already won, and the arguments against the removal of the lesser barriers against sex were precisely the same as those against the removal of the greatest barrier of all, and the advance guard carried the United Council with them in determining to concentrate on working for the right that covered all other rights—the right to the Parliamentary vote.

It would be well if Women Suffragists everywhere adopted this policy of concentration. It is waste of time for Suffrage Societies to dissipate their energies by trying to get little bits of reform here and there, and if the women in the Temperance Societies, in the Vigilance Associations, in Rescue Societies, in societies

for the Protection of Children, in the Trade Unions, had made Woman Suffrage the leading plank in their platform, the reform would have been won sooner. As long as Suffragists do not put the foundation stone of social reform—political principle, the vote—above every other question, they have none but themselves to blame for the delay of which they complain. It is not to be expected that politicians will put Woman Suffrage first, when so many of the women who ask for it put it last on their own programmes.

Prophecies Falsified.

Not one of the prophecies against Woman Suffrage has been fulfilled. Our public men who fought against it have become its warmest advocates. The interest shown by the women has amazed them. At the last Commonwealth election, in 1910, the women's vote shows an increase of 12 per cent. on the election of 1906; the increase in the men's vote was only 8 per cent. On November 17 of last year, the Commonwealth Senate passed the following resolution unanimously:—

That this Senate is of opinion that the extension of the suffrage to the women of Australia for States and Commonwealth Parliaments, on the same terms as to men, has had the most beneficial results. It has led to the more orderly conduct of elections, and, at the last Federal elections, the women's vote in a majority of the states showed a greater proportionate increase than that cast by men. It has given a greater prominence to legislation particularly affecting women and children, although the women have not taken up such questions to the exclusion of others of wider significance. In matters of Defence and Imperial concern they have proved themselves as farseeing and discriminating as men. Because the reform has brought nothing but good, though disaster was freely prophesied, we respectfully urge that all nations enjoying representative government would be well advised in granting votes to women.

A similar resolution was passed a few days later in the House of Representatives, and both were cited to Mr. Asquith. No greater tribute could have been offered to the women of Australia.

Our young Australian nation is bound to achieve greatness; it is the first nation to make Justice the foundation of its Constitution.

(To be continued.)

THE SONG OF THE SHIRT.

A fragile-looking woman, mother of a large family, apologised for not being able to cease stitching whilst she spoke to me. She said: "You know I have to keep hard at it or I cannot make any money." She was engaged on the lower class of shirts, for which she was paid 8d. and 9d. per dozen! In former days she had been able to follow the comparatively lucrative occupation of laundress. Besides attending to her family she works nine or ten hours a day at her machine; her weekly earnings average 5s. 6d. Like all other shirt makers, she has to find her own cotton (3d. for every four dozen shirts). She makes for the shipping trade, and the shirts are known as "run-ups." I wondered as I looked at this brave woman whether, if she lived to experience the happy time when her children are able to help her, they would remember her sacrifices for them!

Near by a much younger woman, in a delicate state of health but with an abundance of good spirits, is engaged on a better class of shirts, but though she is an expert and is paid on an average 11s. per dozen, her earnings are very little more than those of her neighbours.

"Some people say that we can earn £1 per week. Well, I would like them to try it! To make 2s. for every hour a woman sits at the machine she must be a first-class shirt maker and work at top speed. I don't care what sort of work you get, you cannot earn 7s. per week. Besides the time you spend on your machine there is the time it takes to go to and from the warehouse with the bundles, and as you have to wait your turn you may sometimes be away from home for hours. And, mind you, we are not paid for that! I reckon with my housework I do ten hours a day. But," pointing to her room, "you see I cannot do much housework if I am to earn the money I do. The result is my home gets neglected, I cannot give my children the attention I would like, and all because of what? Because my husband is not paid a living wage!—He is a carter earning £1 a week. If he could get only another 5s. there would be no need for me to do this; and then people lecture us on our thriftlessness and improvidence!"

This woman complained bitterly because out of her earnings she had to pay 6d. for cotton and 1s. 6d. for hire of sewing machines. Asked if the machine would not become her own some day she replied, "The shirting is heavily sized, and in two or three years your machine wants to go to the doctors. You cannot afford to pay the cost of repairs, so you get a new machine. You forfeit your old one and what you have paid, and have to get a new machine so you are always paying your 1s. 6d. a week." Inquiries showed that these victims of sweating are really geniuses in the way of household management, and that in the spending of money to the best advantage they can give points to many better off women. It was struck by the energy which they throw into their work, as well as by the fact that comparatively young women were getting old before their time.

J. B.

TREASURER'S NOTE.

The thanks of the Treasurer on behalf of the Union are heartily given to "Non-Party Sympathiser" for her splendid contribution of £260 to the Campaign Fund. Generous gifts from individuals during the holiday month of August have made good the loss of the regular income accruing through the ordinary channels of work. Last week a sum of over £360 was subscribed, and this week the total is £332. If anything like this figure is realised during subsequent weeks, we shall begin our autumn campaign with a good balance in the bank. I have received within the last few days the following letter from one of the keenest and bravest members of the Union. She says:—

Mr. Lloyd George's statement in the House with regard to the Conciliation Bill suggests that members will be wise in contributing to the funds of the Union. I therefore enclose a cheque for £1, and my mother encloses one for £12.

Our colleague is right. While open enemies and secret foes are working and watching for the opportunity of destroying the Conciliation Bill, the utmost vigilance and untiring zeal must be shown by those who have become the trustees of women's enfranchisement. We must guard our organisation at every point, extend our educational campaign till it covers every part of the country, and hold ourselves ready at any moment to resume, if necessary, the militant struggle for our political liberties.

E. P. L.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £250,000 FUND.

August 14 to August 19.

Already acknowledged	£102,468 5 8	Miss Forrest	0 1 0
A. Member	0 0 0	A. Member	0 0 4
Mrs. Basse	0 4 0	A Friend	0 0 3
Mrs. W. H. Everett	0 0 0	A Sympathiser	0 0 6
Mrs. M. Scobie	0 0 6	Mrs. M. Scobie	0 0 6
Mrs. V. F. W. (sold)	0 1 3	Mrs. B. Gorrie	0 0 3
Miss Von Donop	1 0 0	Adm.	0 0 0
Adm.	0 10 6	Mrs. Charlton (rede.)	0 0 3
Miss D. A. Bowker (birth-)	0 2 6	(fare)	0 0 9
Mrs. Turner	0 2 0	Miss McFarlane	0 2 0
Miss Hinton	2 0 0	Miss Mitchell	0 1 0
Miss Anne Erskine	1 0 0	Miss J. C. Methven	0 5 0
Miss Rose Farmer	1 0 0	Mrs. J. C. Methven	0 5 0
Petersfield Women's Suffrage Society (part prof.)	2 10 0	Mrs. Brook Edwards	0 1 0
C. L. Green, Esq.	0 2 0	Mrs. Grieve	0 1 0
Mrs. Louise P. Stevens	1 1 0	Mrs. Downing	0 1 0
Nurse F. Low	0 1 0	Mrs. E. Adams	0 1 0
Mrs. M. E. Adams	0 1 0	Miss F. A. Crenin	0 1 0
Mrs. C. Mildred Skipwith	5 0 0	Irish Sympathiser	0 2 0
Miss C. Riorden	0 2 0	Miss Fave	0 5 0
"Non-party Sympathiser" (per Mrs. Pankhurst)	250 0 0	Mrs. H. Smith	0 2 0
For Mrs. L. Ainsworth	0 2 6	Mrs. Oates	0 1 0
Miss Eden	0 2 6	Extra on "V. F. W."	0 0 6
Mrs. Watson	0 10 0	Miss Montiegh	1 0 0
For Mrs. G. Allen	0 7 9		
For telephone	10 10 0		
Profit on Shop	9 0 0	By-Election.	
Working Jumble Sale	0 5 0	For Mrs. Dove-Williams	
Mrs. Browning	0 5 0	Mrs. Leslie Blanche	0 10 0
Miss F. E. Cobb	0 13 0		
Miss E. Clark	0 2 6	Organiser.	
Mrs. Aldred	0 6 0	For Mrs. L. Mitchell	0 4 0
Mrs. Woolly	0 5 0	Mrs. Gillie	0 4 0
For Mrs. A. A. Flatman	0 10 0	Sale of Flags	2 2 6
Mrs. Ainsworth Davis	0 14 3	Membership Fee	2 2 0
and Literature	0 14 3	Collections, etc.	5 5 0
"Cornish Widow"	1 0 0	London	0 4 7
Mrs. Powell	0 1 0	For Mrs. L. Ainsworth	20 12 0
"Liverpool True Friend"	0 3 6	For Mrs. G. Allen	1 13 1
For Lady Constance Lytton	0 6 0	For Mrs. S. A. Flat-	1 5 0
Miss Marie Hamilton	0 3 6	man	1 5 0
For Mrs. C. A. Marsh	0 5 0	For Mrs. J. C. Gorrie	1 5 0
Good March	0 8 3	For Mrs. L. Mitchell	0 8 3
Miss C. A. L. Marsh	0 10 0	For Mrs. G. Roe	13 9 0
For Mrs. L. Mitchell	0 1 0	For Mrs. J. Mitchell	13 9 0
Miss I. C. Gorrie	0 1 0	Total	£102,501 11 0

Note.—The item in last week's issue "A. W. Revey, Esq., 6s." should read "A. W. Paton, Esq., 5s."

Cheques should be made out to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and crossed "Barclay and Co."

THE DEPUTATION.

Mr. Lloyd George's recent statement in the House of Commons came as a fresh reminder of the importance of being prepared for militant action until the Conciliation Bill actually becomes law. Those who have volunteered for active service during the past week have been welcomed with especial gladness to the ranks of the Deputation. Here follows an interesting letter from a volunteer:—

As the result of a brief holiday in an element of leading "Anti-Suffragism," I am compelled to inform you that I am resigning, not my membership of the W.S.P.U., but my intention to undertake no militant action for an indefinite time. This intention was due to purely personal reasons, of course, and not to any shadow of doubt as to the righteousness or the value of militancy. It has, however, been made abundantly clear to me during the past week that the day of argument is ended, having left a residuum of prejudice that will not be convinced, and that can only be conquered by action. It is quite illogical of course to base any contention against the right of Suffrage on the methods of "these dreadful women," but the fact that this appears to be the leading "Anti" line nowadays is a wonderful tribute to the W.S.P.U. I and obviously the only answer to make to it is to go on being "dreadful." For which reason, to put shall all this—I beg to send in my name for the next Deputation, if and whenever one may be necessary.

We believe that the example of the writer of this letter will be widely followed by others who in the past have also, for one reason or another, refrained from militant action, and that they will write to Clements Inn announcing their intention to co-operate with those who have already joined the deputation.

C. H. P.

W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Have you remembered to tell that new friend you met on your holiday that she can always have the latest news of the woman's movement at the weekly free meetings held in all centres where the Union is represented?

Mrs. Pankhurst's Scottish Tour. During the past week most successful meetings have been held at Keswick and Larags.

Table listing various events and their times, including Pitlochry, Dingusie, Grantown, Lossiemouth, Forres, Nairn, Turfiff, Fraserburgh, Peterhead, Ballater, Dunchuch, Perth, etc.

All inquiries, offers of help, hospitality, and contributions towards the "Scottish Tour Fund" should be addressed to Miss Una S. Pankhurst.

Mrs. Goldstein's Engagements. During the past few weeks Miss Vida Goldstein has addressed a series of most successful seaside meetings.

Every Suffragette knows the importance of getting outsiders interested in the woman's suffrage movement, especially at this critical time.

Miss Hilda Gargett wishes to point out that baskets will not be sold on the Parcel Stall, and that bags must not be sold on the Parcel Stall.

Mr. Noel Buxton and Mr. Morrell, representing the Parliamentary Committee, who are interesting themselves in the case of Miss Malecka.

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MISS THOMPSON'S TRIUMPH. At the Royal Automobile Club's Gala Day and International Club Meeting at Brooklands recently, Miss Muriel Thompson, a member of the W.S.P.U., won two first prizes and was fourth in the obstacle race.

One of our most energetic workers writes that to complete the six new subscriptions which she promised (though it will not end her efforts) she has arranged to supply the Linen Hall Library, Belfast, with a copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN for six months.

CHRISTMAS FAIR AND FÊTE.

December 4 to 9.

Preparations for the Christmas Fair and Fête to be held in the Portman Rooms, Baker Street, from December 4 to 9, are going ahead.

STALLS ALREADY TAKEN.

Table listing stalls already taken, including ARTS AND CRAFTS, BASKET AND LEATHER, BOOTS, CHRISTMAS FAIR AND FARM PRODUCE, CUSHIONS AND MATS, CHILDREN'S CLOTHING, etc.

The following appeals have been received from local unions: Hamstead Secretary writes:—Arrangements for the stall are proceeding apace.

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Table listing names and addresses of donors, including Miss M. Lindsay, Miss G. S. Pritman, Miss A. B. Burch, etc.

DRAWING-ROOM MEETING AT EASTHAMPTON PARK.

On Wednesday in last week Lady Downshire held an At Home at Easthampton Park, at which Miss Christabel Pankhurst spoke.

A Moral Cause.

Mrs. Mansel said that in times of unrest, conflicting counsels, and dissolving views on the political scene one thing did not change: the determination of the Suffragettes to get the vote.

It was a moral cause for which they were working and fighting. Its principles were based on justice and human evolution, and in their hands the moral cause was a living thing.

Some "Anti" Arguments. Miss Christabel Pankhurst dealt chiefly with the arguments of the Anti-Suffragists. It was said that women could not have the vote because any who has put his finger upon this vital truth, which surely accounts for it—Yours, &c.

PUNISHMENT OF CRIMES AGAINST WOMEN. Dear Editors,—I have the hospitality of your columns to call attention to what is, I conceive, a grave blot upon the administration of criminal justice in this country.

It is strange, but none the less true, that the miscreant who, by violence, despoils a woman of her honor, or robs a girl of her purity, is often more severely punished than a man who commits a comparatively trivial offence against property.

"Physical Force." Then the women were told that took no part in the defence of the country. Well, many men would not do that, and many of them could not do it.

No article should be sold from any stall except as clear profit to the funds of the Union, and no agreement with manufacturers or others as to percentage can under any circumstances be allowed.

Members who have obtained new readers who take the papers locally: Miss M. Lindsay, Miss G. S. Pritman, Miss A. B. Burch, etc.

OUR POST BOX.

THE MOROCCAN CRISIS.

Dear Editors,—The London papers report that the Moroccan situation remains unchanged, and those of us who are interested in the future of that country, now being decided by France and Germany, have moments of anxious apprehension for the European war may ensue.

Moorish women of the upper classes are kept like caged and pampered beasts. Utterly uneducated and debased from all healthy exertion, they have no occupations save bearing children, quarrelling amongst themselves, and gossiping with their slaves.

All these offences were tried at Assizes or Quarter Sessions before juries. Before courts of summary jurisdiction there were 165 convictions for indecent assaults upon young persons—it is safe to assume that the great majority were little girls—and in no case did the punishment exceed 6 months' imprisonment.

K. E. MANSELL PLEYDELL. Dear Editors,—I have the hospitality of your columns to call attention to what is, I conceive, a grave blot upon the administration of criminal justice in this country.

"WAGES FOR WORKING WOMEN." Dear Editors,—I wish to enter a strong protest against the use of the term "wages" as applied to a share of the husband's income due to the wife.

TAKING ADVANTAGE OF WOMEN. On March 15th the Camberwell Borough Council asked whether it was desirable to pay their women sanitary inspectors at the same rate as their men sanitary inspectors, though acknowledging her splendid work.

For Attemped Rape there were 7 convictions and 5 acquittals. In no case did the punishment exceed 18 months' imprisonment. In three of these cases the terms were between 3 months and 1 month.

Members who have obtained new readers who take the papers locally: Miss M. Lindsay, Miss G. S. Pritman, Miss A. B. Burch, etc.

Members on their holidays are loyally keeping the flag flying. Some are holding meetings, others selling the paper, and yet others are doing an amount of quiet propaganda work by wearing their badges and interesting New Friends in the woman's cause.

For Deftment of Girls under 13 there were 67 convictions (and 15 acquittals). The sentences awarded in 15 of these convictions were terms of penal servitude, and in but 6 cases did the punishment exceed 5 years.

For Deftment of Girls under 16 there were 71 convictions (and 5 acquittals). The sentences awarded in 15 of these convictions were terms of penal servitude, and in but 6 cases did the punishment exceed 5 years.

For Deftment of Girls under 16 there were 71 convictions (and 5 acquittals). The sentences awarded in 15 of these convictions were terms of penal servitude, and in but 6 cases did the punishment exceed 5 years.

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HOLIDAY CAMPAIGN.

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EAST ABERDEENSHIRE. Organiser—Miss Mitchell, 8 Melville Place, Queensferry Street, Edinburgh.

LAKE DISTRICT. Organiser—Miss Davies, 11, Renshaw Street, Liverpool.

NORFOLK AND SUFFOLK COAST. Organiser—Miss Grace, 11, Renshaw Street, Liverpool.

YORKSHIRE. Organiser—Miss Annie Williams, Croft, Marion Mackenzie, 7, The Valley, Scarborough.

CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

W.S.P.U. General Offices: 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

WIMBLEDON. Shop and Office—9, Victoria Crescent, Broadway, Wembley, Middlesex.

BRIGHTON, HOVE AND DISTRICT. Office—8, North Street, Quadrant, Tel. 4883 Nat.

CANTERBURY AND SOUTH KENT COAST. Organiser—Miss E. M. Macaulay, 30, Boulevard West, Folkestone.

LEWISHAM. Organiser—Miss E. M. Macaulay, 30, Boulevard West, Folkestone.

LONDON MEETINGS FOR THE FORTHCOMING WEEK. August. Friday, 25. Harrow Road, Prince of Wales.

Friday, 25. Harrow Road, Prince of Wales (outside). Saturday, 26. Harrow Road, Prince of Wales.

Wednesday, Aug. 30.—Cromer, Town Hall, Miss Vida Goldstein, Miss Kathleen Jarvis, Chair: Miss Margaret West, 8 p.m.

NORTH WALES: RHYL, PRESTATYN, AND ABERGELLY. Organiser—Miss Bertha Ryland, Pontydrâ-Town, near Abergel.

PEMBROKESHIRE. Organiser—Miss Rachel Barrett, Vine Cottage, Tenby.

PLYMOUTH. W.S.P.U. members and friends are asked to meet at Crenell on Saturday, September 2, at 2.30, to walk through Mount Edgecumbe Park, and have tea at Cawsand.

WEST AND NORTH KENT, AND THANET. Organiser—Miss Evelyn Billing, 1, Dundonald Road, Ramsgate.

YORKSHIRE. Organiser—Miss Annie Williams, Croft, Marion Mackenzie, 7, The Valley, Scarborough.

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FOLKESTONE.—"Trevanna," Bouverie Road, West. Board-residence; excellent position, close to sea and Leas' hand-stand, and overlooking pleasure gardens; separate tables.—Proprietress, Miss Key, W.S.P.U.

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MEMBER, W.S.P.U., will let daintily-furnished four-roomed, airy, top floor, self-contained flat, opening on to leads, for September. Six minutes Oxford Circus; attendance can be arranged. 25s. per week.—Apply, T., Votes for Women Office, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

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WANTED.

WANTED by mother and daughter, three rooms, one fitted as kitchen. Near Hampstead or Boleise Park Tube Stations preferred. Rent must be moderate.—Write Box 926, Votes for Women Office, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

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