

# VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

VOL. IV. (New Series), No. 183.

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Old Man: "I'm thinking that before we see you next year amongst us you'll have the vote."

## CONTENTS.

Our Cartoon .....	777	The Woman's Century. By P. W. Pethick Lawrence .....	782
The Outlook .....	777	The Economic Position of Frenchwomen. By Mrs. Belloc Lowndes .....	783
The Masque of Women. By Margaret Kilroy Kenyon .....	778	Contributions to the £250,000 Fund .....	783
Political Pickpockets. By Laurence Housman .....	778	A Dream .....	783
W.S.P.U. Announcements .....	778	Our Post Box .....	784
A Highland Meeting .....	779	Christmas Fair and Fête .....	784
Some Press Comments .....	779	Nearing Another Thousand .....	784
Women's Tax Resistance League and Mr. Lloyd George .....	779	Women Heroes .....	784
The Written Law .....	779	Holiday Campaign .....	785
Outlying Departments of the W.S.P.U. Offices .....	780	Campaign Throughout the Country .....	785
Miss Margaret Kelly .....	781		

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.

One of the most significant features of the present day is the new spirit that has arisen in women. No longer are they content to sit down under injustice, but with growing solidarity and courageous enterprise they are protesting actively against it. Quite apart from the merits of the case or the wisdom of the measures taken, the women's recent strike in the East End for better wages, and the "House-

wives' Strike" in France against dear food, are in themselves remarkable evidence of this new spirit.

### The Rising of Women.

In the East End the women obtained certain concessions, although they do not yet receive anything like equal pay for equal work, as compared with men. In France the riots are still going on. In one town twelve hundred women seized provisions from the shops and paid for them what they considered a fair price; in another a crowd of women are reported to have pillaged the market; at Douai a procession of indignant housewives was led by a woman carrying a banner; at Roubaix eight women with children entered the Town Hall and insisted on having an interview with the mayor. Everywhere it is women who are protesting against dear food. In history men have often rioted when the price of living became impossible. But men are now organised in trades unions and have the lever of the vote. When a country becomes civilised enough to grant votes to its women, and they learn how to use them, methods of riot and pillage will no longer be resorted to.

### Women's Deputation in Turkey.

The East is awakening! That is shown by one piece of news after another. Last week we referred to Persia, where the suggestion that women should have votes was actually raised in Parliament. This week the news comes that for the first time in the history of Turkey a deputation of women has been received by the Sultan. The chief demands were greater freedom for the leaders of the Women's Reform Movement, and permission to carry on clubs for women. The Sultan, remembering, no doubt, how much the Young Turk Movement owed to women, promised to do all he could to improve their lot.

### Woman's Interests in Men's Hands.

The position of women taxpayers—apart from the fact that they are unrepresented—is, in some cases, a peculiarly unjust one. There are many special and technical

disabilities (see p. 779) which are not generally known, and to put these before the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the one person who should be ready to listen to them, the Women's Tax Resistance League asked Mr. Lloyd George to receive a deputation, and, at his request, sent him details of specific cases. Five months have elapsed and so far Mr. Lloyd George has not troubled to hear the voice of voteless women.

### Interested Philanthropy.

Women have often been inclined to doubt the pure philanthropy of the tendency to restrict their labour. "For the sake of the women and children," the married woman is to be kept at home with no power to earn, and therefore often no money to buy food. It is interesting to have, on the authority of Dr. Greenwood, the opinion delivered at the Royal Sanitary Institute's Congress that, "As a result of investigation I came to the conclusion that no case had been made out for the further restrictive legislation in the prohibition of employment of women in the cotton mills of Blackburn."

### Two Suffragist Cardinals.

We alluded recently to Cardinal Moran's inspiring words on Woman Suffrage. His belief in it was shared by the late Cardinal Vaughan, Archbishop of Westminster, who said:—

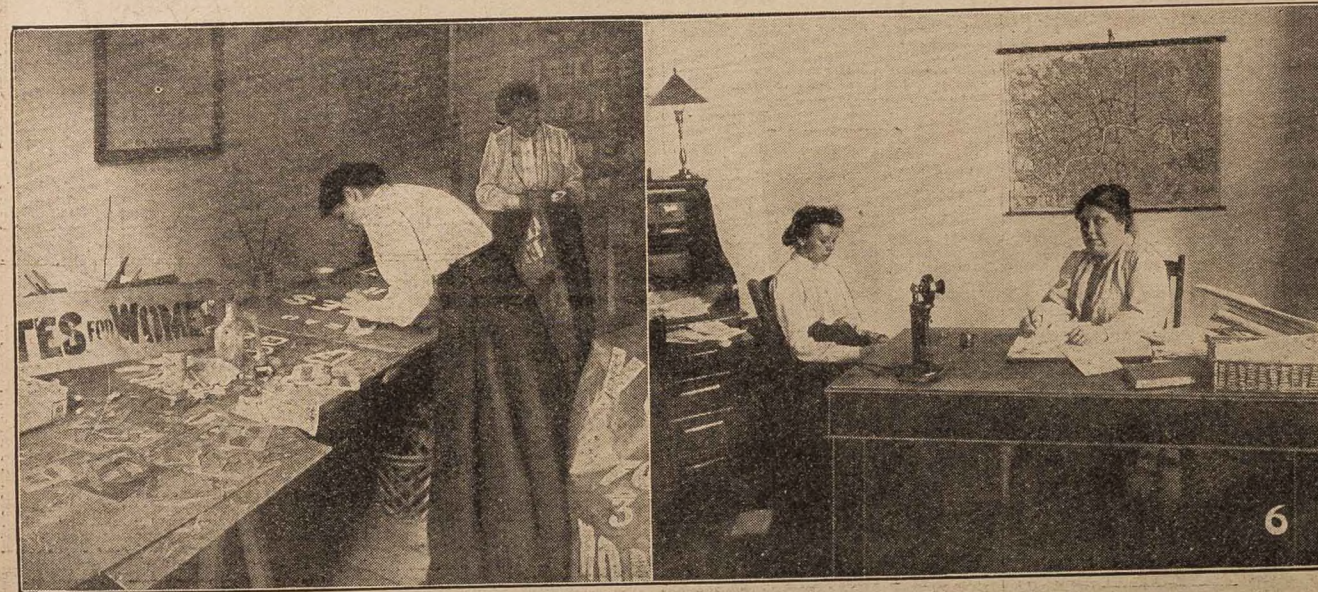
I believe that the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to women upon the same conditions as it is held by men would be a just and beneficial measure, tending to raise rather than to lower the course of national legislation.

### Item of Interest.

The Senate of Illinois (U.S.A.) has passed a Suffrage Bill which provides that any town or city may, by referendum, allow women to vote for all offices save those of police magistrate and justices of the peace.



OUTLYING DEPARTMENTS OF THE W.S.P.U. OFFICES.



Photographs specially taken for the W.S.P.U. by F. Kehrbaum & Co.

Last week we gave a description of the growth of the offices at Clements Inn, illustrated by photographs of some of them. This week we give a selection of six more, representing the Outlying Departments.

No. 1 shows the Financial Secretary's office on the second floor, shortly to be removed to the floor above.

No. 2 gives the Christmas Fête and Fair Department, accommodated in a room in Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's

flat, which was the original home of the W.S.P.U. in Clements Inn.

No. 3 is a photograph of a room in the Woman's Press, showing Miss Birnstingl (a voluntary worker who devotes her whole time to the Union) engaged in preparing a stencil advertisement.

No. 4 is that of one of the rooms in the record office where the files of newspapers are kept.

No. 5 is a photograph of a room in the Banner Department, where the Banner Secretary and a number of voluntary workers are constantly employed in making and repairing and despatching to various places the banners which are accommodated in the cupboards which line the walls.

No. 6 shows Mrs. Drummond at work in her office at 5, Clements Inn.

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MISS MARGARET KELLY.  
Director of the U.S. Mint.

Within one of the handsomest apartments of a great, many-pillared mansion in the city of Washington there may be seen sitting at five o'clock every week-day a young woman. She is dressed in a suit of spotless white, and every detail of her toilet marks the wearer as one possessed of a delicate feminine judgment in matters of taste. She is seated before a rosewood table, and when the visitor, after sending in his card, is ushered by a well-trained waiting-man into her presence, she graciously greets him and invites him to be seated.

From the hour, the environment, and the charming feminine personality, one might well fancy that the next move will be an invitation to a cup of "five-o'clock tea."

But no Sherlock Holmes could make a guess wider from the facts. This pleasing young woman (says the New York Times) is no tea-pouring hostess welcoming gilded beaux to her hospitality. She is to-day the director of the United States Mint, and the apartment into which she welcomes her visitors is her private office in the Treasury building. She is still there at five o'clock, long after all her subordinates have left, because she always remains and checks over the day's work of the bureau—and she always stays until the check is satisfactory.

The young woman in question, Miss Margaret Kelly, occupies the enviable position of being the highest-salaried female official in the employ of the United States Government. But this fact does not so much entitle her to distinction as that, in her present position, she holds a place of responsibility that is second only to those of the Cabinet officers, a place that is so far above any other official position held by a woman that it may be said it is first—and there is no second.

From Stenographer to Director.

Miss Kelly, who has for years been employed in the Bureau of the Mint in the Treasury Department, has recently been promoted to be Assistant Director of the Mint. Almost immediately upon this appointment Director Roberts left for an absence of two or three months—during which time he will be thousands of miles from his office—and all its duties and responsibilities are being assumed by Miss Kelly. Miss Kelly's appointment was due to merit. After leaving her native hills of New Hampshire and obtaining the best education that the private schools of Boston could give her, she determined to make her own way in the world, and turned to the Civil Service.

Passing the examination for stenographer fifteen years ago, she was at once appointed to a place in the office of the Appointment Clerk of the Treasury Department at Washington. After a year's service she was transferred to work as a stenographer in the Bureau of the Mint in the same department. Since that time she has remained in that bureau advancing steadily until she has now reached the highest point in it.

"In the fourteen years I have been in the Mint Bureau," she said, "I have held the position of stenographer, private secretary to the Director, adjuster of accounts, examiner, assistant director, and now that Director Roberts is absent I am Acting Director of the Mint—surely a most admirable record for one who fifteen years ago entered the service as a stenographer without inducement to aid me."

Facts Concerning Her Work.

Her training has thoroughly qualified her for the duties she has assumed. "When I was private secretary to the Director, I had to know—well, had to know everything about the bureau, from auditing accounts to how to coin gold ingots into eagles," she said in discussing her schooling for her position. "Then, when I was examiner, my duties took me travelling all over the country to the various mints; sometimes I would go out to the Pacific Coast; oftentimes I have gone to the Philadelphia mint half a dozen times a month."

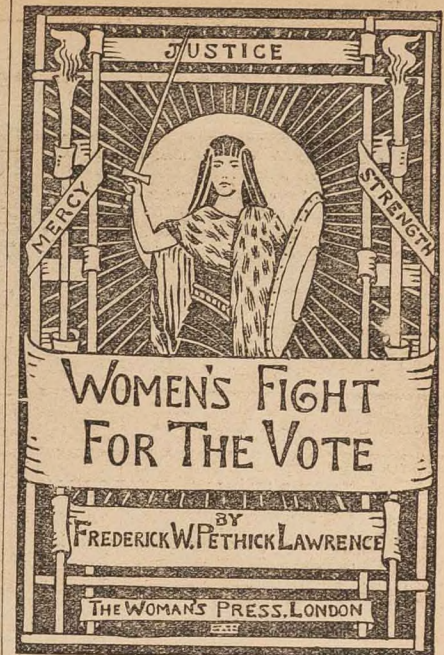
A cursory glance at the details of the bureau will make one more appreciative of the burden that is on this young woman's shoulders. There are three coinage mints, with their complicated business mechanism, and nine minor mints, where bullion is brought but no money coined. There are employed in the mint service more than 1,400 people, many of them experts detailed in a high class of scientific work, whose individual salaries are 5,000 dollars a year or more. Miss Kelly's salary is only 3,000 a year.

There was purchased by the various mints of the country last year about one hundred and fifty millions of dollars worth of gold and about one hundred and twenty-five millions of dollars coined. Of course there is a thorough system of book-keeping and accounting, the details of which Miss Kelly must keep at her fingers' ends, but there is in addition a "yearly settlement," as it is called, which she must closely superintend.

In this settlement everything pertaining to the mint, including not only the great hoards of gold coin and bullion stored away but every small instrument and utensil used in the mints must be accurately accounted for, lest Uncle Sam be the loser by small particles of gold dust, invisible to the naked eye, adhering to this or that utensil of humble wood or iron.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- "The Foundations of Morality." By T. M. Nathubhoy, J.P. London: T. M. Nathubhoy. 1s.
- "Woman at Home," September. 4d. net.
- "Vocations of the Trained Women." By A. F. Perkins, A.M. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 6s. net. Vol. 1.
- "Labour Laws and Their Enforcement." By Susan M. Kingsbury, Ph.D. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 9s. net. Vol. 2.
- "The Living Wage of Women Workers." By Louise Marion Besworth. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 5s. net. Vol. 3.
- "A Blood Moon." By Irene Osgood. London: Everett and Co. 2s. net.



The above is a facsimile of the cover of "Women's Fight for the Vote," by F. W. Pethick Lawrence. The new edition has been thoroughly revised and brought up to date, and new chapters added.

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VOTES FOR WOMEN 4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND. FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1911.

THE WOMAN'S CENTURY. We have only to look back a little over a hundred years, to the beginning of last century, to find a world totally different from that which now surrounds us.

indulged in by the mass of the people only once or twice in a lifetime. In all these matters and in many others the nineteenth century produced a change far greater than had been effected in any previous thousand years.

In the new century, on the other hand, the part which women are destined to play is a very great one. For though further conquests over nature of far-reaching importance may be gained, yet it will not be for these that the twentieth century will be remembered in history, but for the solution of the great problems of human life, and this will be in the main the work of women.

Hitherto, while the genius and energy of men have been allowed free scope to develop in the interests of the progress of the race, the genius and energy of women have been cramped and prevented from being applied to reality.

In the case of the care of the family, the man's work is mainly that of production, the woman's mainly that of distribution. It is she who sees to it that each member has a fair share of the common stock and that the weak do not go to the wall.

It would be difficult to over-estimate the effect on French womanhood of this economic independence. It means that all the men brought in contact with women regard them quite differently, and what is more to the point, treat them quite differently from the way the Englishman or the American considers and treats women in the mass.

Money is power. Frenchwomen possess that power; and if they lack it they are aware that they had best try and acquire and store it. Every French woman servant has savings, often very considerable savings, and if you talk to her you will find that she hopes in time to start some kind of business in her native place, where, as often as not, "les vieux," as she calls her parents, are already running some prosperous little concern of which she will, of course, in time inherit her share.

Finally, it is to women that we look individually for care and attention when sick in mind or body or when we have fallen out in the great race of life. How absurd it has been, therefore, to attempt to settle the great problems concerning these questions on a national scale without their advice, and without the driving power which their votes alone can give!

The Woman's Movement of to-day means that women have decided that the time has come for them to tackle these and many other problems, and that in order to do so they must first win the weapon of the parliamentary vote. With this in their hand they will see to it that the historian of the twentieth century shall describe it as a "romance of progress" not merely in the world of material things, but in that vital and essential world of human and social life.

F. W. Pethick Lawrence.

THE ECONOMIC POSITION OF FRENCHWOMEN.

By MRS. BELLOC LOWNDES.

At the present moment there is an epidemic in our Press of articles dealing with the Frenchwoman and French life, but very seldom is it that a French reader would recognise the picture presented as being a true one.

In all those superficial accounts of what is, after all, a very peculiar and most un-English civilisation, the writers scarcely ever allude to the one out-standing fact which governs the position—social, sentimental, religious and moral—of the average Frenchwoman. That is her economic independence, an independence not only secured to her in so far as such a thing can be secured by the laws of her country, but also, and this counts perhaps even more, by public opinion.

Consider the vast accumulated and widely distributed wealth of France—and when you think of it, remember that as regards inheritance the young women of France stand on exactly the same footing as do their brothers. No French father can make an "elder son," and public opinion forbids him to spend on his boy's education three times that which he spends on his girl's. Once we get above the very poorest, that is, the improvident class, every woman brings a dowry, small or large according to her own possessions, to her husband. That means that as a general rule—and the rule in these matters is so general that you might meet many an educated Frenchwoman who had never heard of an exception—husband and wife start equal in money, the woman, by reason of her property, being the man's partner in everything concerning the material side of their joint lives. This fact—and facts are stubborn things, as we all know—has led to various modifications of the French marriage laws. These laws are not fair or just to women. Napoleon, in his famous code, wished to limit the married woman's power, but owing to the fact that every bride brings money with her, the great majority of French marriages are entered into under the régime de la communauté, which means "share and share alike," and makes the wife sole mistress of the joint fortune—subject, of course, to her children's ultimate rights—should her husband pre-decease her.

Money is power. Frenchwomen possess that power; and if they lack it they are aware that they had best try and acquire and store it. Every French woman servant has savings, often very considerable savings, and if you talk to her you will find that she hopes in time to start some kind of business in her native place, where, as often as not, "les vieux," as she calls her parents, are already running some prosperous little concern of which she will, of course, in time inherit her share.

I notice with amazement that English writers imagine that the French girl has only lately taken to work. That is far truer of her English sister. The French girl, if born in an industrious home, always worked, not always, or perhaps not generally, away from her parents, but invariably at some money-making occupation. If there is land, the sons and daughters both labour, taking equal shares in what is often very hard work; if the parents, on the other hand, are engaged in business in a town, the daughter is generally trained as a book-keeper or to become "first hand" in one of the departments of the shop.

This being so, it makes a French reader smile to read of a "demoiselle" obtaining her dear papa's permission "to work as English girls do." It is true that most French parents would make a sacrifice to prevent their cherished daughter from going out to earn her living among complete strangers, but that, fortunately as I think, has not yet become a custom of the country, partly because, strange as it may seem to us, it is the married woman and the widow who are, as a rule, engaged in public Government and office work. French public opinion considers that a young girl—say any girl under twenty—is better at home than among strangers, the majority of whom are likely to be men. English people, both men and women, have an impression that sex plays an extraordinary part in French life. It has become a truism to say that this impression is due to the general trend of French fiction. The

French writer, unlike the English writer, finds set up no barrier of public opinion, still less any censorship, as to his possible choice of subject. This being so, he not unnaturally almost invariably chooses what is, after all, the greatest drama-producing factor in civilised life, that is—sex.

But if we are dealing with life as it is lived day by day in France, and not with the imaginary creations and dramatic visions of artists, who are all more or less abnormal human beings, it is singular how free is French life from the pervading influence of sex. The woman, however young and pretty she may be, who is engaged in any kind of business in Paris is seldom made to feel by the man with whom she comes in contact over that business that she is a woman and he is a man.

In saying this I do not wish it to be thought that the question of sex obtrudes itself unpleasantly in English business circles, but I do assert, and I do not think any woman who has ever done business in this country is likely to contradict me, that in England the business woman is almost invariably treated as an amateur. An Englishman, when he is about to do business with her, seems to think that she will either try to "best" him because she is a woman, or, more often, that he will find it easy to "best" her for the same reason—all in a friendly and pleasant way, of course!

In Paris the business woman is treated as a brain, and no one inquires whether the brain in question is a masculine brain or a feminine brain. This, no doubt, is why French women are so successful in every kind of money-making work to which they apply their minds, and why the best business partner a Frenchman can have is generally accounted to be his wife.

When the harbour-master of Honfleur died many years ago, his widow succeeded him to that important post without a single protest being raised, though her promotion must naturally have disappointed a good many Honfleur men.

The homage paid to feminine all-round ability in France is shown in a thousand ways affecting the daily life of the woman worker. In England the girls employed in shops are obliged to live in. In France that system—to my mind a hateful and unnatural system—is unknown, in a great measure because most of the "young ladies" working in such establishments as the Bon Marché, the Louvre, the Galeries Lafayette, and so on, are married women.

This brings us again to the delicate question of married women's work. The young Frenchwoman, if she has worked before marriage—ay, and often when she has not worked before marriage—goes on working, or begins to work, after it. A husband and wife are constantly employed in the same business house (for employers encourage marriage among their employees), and this is an excellent thing, for the slave-driving French overseer or shopwalker knows that his victim has an ally close by who will take his or her part as only a husband or a wife can take it.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £250,000 FUND.

Table with columns for names, amounts, and totals. Includes names like Mrs. H. Hamilton Gordon, Mrs. Maud Tscholim, etc., with various monetary contributions.

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

A DREAM.\*

"I thought I stood on the border of a great desert, and the sand blew about everywhere. And I thought I saw two great figures like beasts of burden of the desert, and one lay upon the sand with its neck stretched out, and one stood by it. And I looked curiously at the one who lay upon the ground, for it had a great burden on its back, and the sand was thick about it, so that it seemed to have piled over for centuries.

And I looked very curiously at it, and there stood one beside me watching. And I said to him, "What is this huge creature who lies here on the sand?"

And he said, "This is woman; she that bears men in her body."

And I said, "Why does she lie here motionless with the sand piled round her?"

And he answered, "Listen; I will tell you! Ages and ages long has she lain here, and the wind has blown over her; the oldest, oldest, oldest man living has never seen her move; the oldest, oldest book records that she lay here then, as she lies here now, with the sand about her. But listen! Older than the oldest book, older than the oldest recorded memory of man, on the Rocks of Language, on the hard-baked clay of Ancient Customs, now crumbling to decay, I found the marks of her footsteps! Side by side with his who stands beside her you may trace them; and you know that she who now lies there once wandered free over the rocks with him."

And I said, "Why does she lie there now?"

And he said, "I take it, ages ago the Age-of-dominion-of-muscular-force found her, and when she stooped to give suck to her young and her back was broad, he put his burden of subjection on to it, and tied it on with the broad band of Inevitable Necessity. Then she looked at the earth and the sky, and knew there was no hope for her; and she lay down on the sand with the burden she could not loosen. Ever since she has lain here. And the ages have come, and the ages have gone, but the band of Inevitable Necessity has not been cut."

And I looked and saw in her eyes the terrible patience of the centuries; the ground was wet with her tears, and her nostrils blew up the sand.

And I said, "Has she ever tried to move?"

And he said, "Sometimes a limb has quivered. But she is wise; she knows she cannot rise with the burden on her."

And I said, "Why does not he who stands by her leave her and go on?"

And he said, "He cannot. Look—"

And I saw a broad band passing along the ground from one to the other, and it bound them together.

"He said, "While she lies there he must stand and look across the desert."

And I said, "Does he know why he cannot move?"

And he said, "No."

And I heard a sound of something cracking, and I looked, and I saw the band that bound the burden on to her back broken asunder; and the burden rolled on to the ground.

And I said, "What is this?"

And he said, "The Age-of-muscular-force is dead. The Age-of-nervous-force has killed him with the knife he holds in his hand; and silently and invisibly he has crept up to the woman, and with that knife of Mechanical Invention he has cut the band that bound the burden to her back. The Inevitable Necessity is broken. She might rise now."

And I saw she still lay motionless on the sand, with her eyes open and her neck stretched out. And she seemed to look for something on the far-off border of the desert that never came. And I wondered if she were awake or asleep. And as I looked her body quivered, and the light came into her eyes, like when a sunbeam breaks into a dark room.

I said, "What is it?"

He whispered, "Hush! the thought has come to her, 'Might I not rise?'"

And I looked. And she raised her head from the sand, and I saw the dent where her neck had laid so long. And she looked at the earth, and she looked at the sky, and she looked at him who stood by her; but he looked out across the desert.

And I saw her body quiver, and she pressed her front knee to the earth, and veins stood out; and I cried, "She is going to rise!"

But only her sides heaved, and she lay still where she was.

But her head was held up; she did not lay it down again. And he beside me said, "She is very weak. See, her legs have been crushed under her so long."

And I saw the creature struggle; and the drops stood out on her.

And I said, "Surely he who stands beside her will help her?"

And he beside me answered, "He cannot help her; she must help herself. Let her struggle till she is strong."

And I cried, "At least he will not hinder her! See, he moves farther from her, and tightens the cord between them, and he drags her down."

And he answered, "He does not understand. When she moves she draws the hand that binds them, and hurts him, and he moves farther from her. The day will come when he will understand, and will know what she is doing. Let her once stagger on to her knees. In that day he will stand close to her, and look into her eyes with sympathy."

And she stretched her neck, and the drops fell from her, and the creature rose an inch from the earth and sank back. And I cried, "Oh, she is too weak! She cannot walk! The long years have taken all her strength from her. Can she never move?"

And he answered me, "See the light in her eyes!"

And slowly the creature staggered on to its knees.

\* From "Three Dreams in a Desert." By Olive Schreiner. Reprinted by the Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C. Price 1s.



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