

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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CUCKOO TACTICS.



"Cuckoo tactics will not succeed. The Suffrage bird is not so easily dislodged."

—Miss Christabel Pankhurst, in "Votes for Women," July 28, 1911.

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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.

As we anticipated last week, Mr. Masterman has retained the Liberal seat at Bethnal Green, but by a majority cut down to one quarter of the figure by which it was held by his predecessor. The Socialist candidate only polled 134 votes altogether, so that even on the erroneous assumption usually made by Liberals that the whole of this vote would have been given to the Liberal if there had been no Socialist candidate in the

field, there is still a considerable reduction (over 350 votes) to account for.

Why the Liberal Majority was Reduced.

What was the reason for it? It was not due to the staleness of the register, for the register was more up-to-date than it had been at the General Election. It was not due to the extra popularity of his opponent, for the same candidate, Mr. Hoffgaard, fought the seat on both occasions. It was not due to any special prejudice against Mr. Masterman, for a member of the Government has always an advantage in an election over a mere private man. It was not due to a change in the general political situation, for this is practically the same as it was in December last, nor to any change in public opinion, for other by-elections have not shown any similar tendency. It was due entirely to the damaging attack of the Woman Suffragists.

Opinions of the Liberal Press.

Any one who was present in Bethnal Green during the election campaign cannot fail to have realised the important part which the Suffragists played in the contest; and we are glad to see that, since the result, this has been publicly acknowledged by the principal Liberal papers and by Mr. Masterman himself. Thus the *Daily News*, in a leading article, after referring to the personal popularity of Mr. Pickersgill, says:—"The presence of a third candidate, and the concentration of powerful Suffragist forces, also made a difference," and proceeds to dismiss other suggested causes as ineffective. The *Daily Chronicle*, in its descriptive account, says:—

Tariff Reform counted for nothing at all, and the House of Lords for very little. But the Akbar reformatory scandal, the presence of the military in South Wales and the Women's Franchise Bill for a great deal.

In its leading article the same journal has the following sentence:—

The militant Suffragists, with that lack of political prescience for which they are conspicuous, fought hard to prevent the election of a Member of a Government friendly to the women's claim.

We are not quite clear whether the *Daily Chronicle* wishes us to believe that it is the Government who are friendly to Woman Suffrage in spite of the Prime Minister's opposition, or whether the friendship they refer to is that of Mr. Masterman himself who avowed his intention of supporting a procedure which the leading advocates of Woman Suffrage in Parliament declare would certainly wreck the women's Bill. We shall return to that question later; for the moment we are interested in the statement as an indication of the importance attached by the *Daily Chronicle* to the Suffragist opposition. The *Morning Leader*, though it does not refer specifically to the Suffragists, evidently includes them indirectly in the "motley array of allies," who, it says, "scraped together" a few hundred votes against the Liberal.

Mr. Masterman on the Woman Suffrage Opposition.

Mr. Masterman himself made frequent admissions of the damage which had been done him by the women's campaign. He did not of course acknowledge that his views on the suffrage were unpopular, but he abused the women for the manner in which they had fought the contest. Thus the correspondent of the *Morning Leader* writes:—

Mr. Masterman had not heard of a single vote being won away from him on the Suffragist question, but he charged the Suffragist ladies with using in their canvassing all the personal matter which his other singular opponents manufactured to his

Injury. The Morning Leader has shown how various, irrelevant and malignant these attacks were.

Candidates do not abuse people unless their opposition has proved embarrassing.

The "Manchester Guardian's" View.

The best answer to Mr. Masterman's charge, and a striking acknowledgment of the part played by women in the contest, is to be found in the following extract from the letter of the Special Correspondent of the Manchester Guardian, written on Thursday night, shortly before the poll took place:—

The really big meetings—the ones that overflow into the main road and make the buses swerve—you find where the women are in possession. These meetings are not only the largest, they are the quietest and most attentive for Londoners have long got past the stage of jeering at the spectacle of a Suffragette. It is absurd to suppose that the enormous output of work at this election will not affect votes.

Ho then proceeds to deal with the personalities employed in the election against Mr. Masterman, proficing his remarks by saying, "The Suffragettes apart, it is perhaps true, as people are saying with a touch of cynicism, that you hear anything but politics in this strangely tangled election."

Why Women Opposed Mr. Masterman.

But perhaps there will be among the readers of this paper some who do not thoroughly understand why Woman Suffragists came into the field in opposition to Mr. Masterman, in spite of the fact that he had declared himself in favour of Woman Suffrage.

When discussing the woman question people usually start with the premise that her character is due to physical inferiority, whereas we may well question whether the exact opposite is not the case, and whether many of the physical disabilities by which women are supposed to be handicapped may not be caused by the physical state we have brought about.

The One Hope of Anti-Suffragists.

The one possibility of defeat lies in a compact between avowed enemies of Woman Suffrage and hypocritical friends so to alter the Bill in its Committee stage that it will be thrown out on third reading.

A Question for Candidates.

The question submitted to Mr. Masterman and to Mr. Hoggard was the simple one whether they would consent when the Bill comes on next year to follow the lead of the Conciliation Committee who (as the Government have declared their intention of remaining neutral) will be the sole parliamentary sponsors of the Bill.

At the London Pavilion.

The final meeting for the season of the W.S.P.U. at the London Pavilion on Monday last attracted a large audience to listen to Sir William Lyne, the distinguished Australian statesman, and Mr. Walter Roch, M.P.

THE POWER OF SUGGESTION.

By Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck.

I am tired of Votes for Women! Sick to death of it . . . Why? Well, just because I know full well that everything worth striving for hinges on that. Therefore let us get it, and have done with it—and then full steam ahead on to all those other things that await the doing and yet cannot be done by—slaves!

Now let us consider what are the suggestions which we bring to bear upon our girls. From infancy they are beset by a prickly desire of "can't" be, or do this or that, and we do our best to choke all initiative by suggestion.

QUESTIONS ON THE INSURANCE BILL.

5. If a working woman pays in—say, from the age of 15 to 35 years—and then marries, what becomes of the accumulated money? May she draw it out? May she have the benefit of it, if sick, after marriage?

She cannot draw out the balance on marriage, nor can she have the benefit of it if sick after marriage, so long as her husband is alive and she works at home.

6. If she wishes, after marriage, though not a wage-earner, to go on paying in her 3d. alongside of her husband's 6d., so that she, in the event of sickness, as well as he, can receive benefit, would she be allowed so to do?

7. If the skilled working woman (wage-earner) wishes to pay in 4d., so as to draw 10s. in the event of sickness, is she not allowed?

8. I have (presumably) two maid-servants. Is it compulsory on me to pay 3d. per week per head (as it is also compulsory on the maids to pay their 3d.)? In such case, will this do away with the present system of "domestic insurance"? Will this be included in rates, or will it be levied on an altogether different system?

9. Will women in the sweated industries, who work in their own home, have to pay the employer's as well as their own 3d. per week?

10. If the women are married and do sweated work in the home, will they be able to insure at all?

11. In the event of an insured employee meeting with an accident (the result of which made them ill) would that man or woman derive benefit from the National Insurance Scheme as well as from the Employers' Liability Act?

ITEMS OF INTEREST.

The Portuguese Government has appointed Senhora Domina Leonor Amelia da Silva as Sub-Inspector of Public Health in Oporto. This is the first time in the history of Portugal that so public and important a position has been held by a woman.

The Senate of New York has rejected the Suffrage Bill by the narrow majority of 1 vote (17 to 16).

The Weybridge Urban District Council at a recent meeting passed a resolution urging the Government to grant facilities at an early date for extending the Parliamentary franchise to woman ratepayers on the lines of the Bill now before the House.

Miss Gwynneth Bebb, St. Hugh's Hall, Oxford, who recently obtained a First Class in the Honour School of Law, is, we are informed, the first woman to gain this distinction.

W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

The weekly At Home, which have been discontinued for the summer recess, will be resumed on the first Monday in October.

Mrs. Pankhurst in Wales. Mrs. Pankhurst will speak to-night (Friday) in the Assembly Rooms, Gate House, Tonby, at 8 p.m.

Albert Hall Meeting, November 16. Members of the Women's Social and Political Union will be delighted to hear that Mr. Ellis Griffith, M.P., the Leader of the Welsh Party, who has already given splendid help to the Woman Suffrage movement, has kindly consented to speak at the great meeting in the Royal Albert Hall, on Thursday, November 16.

Members will be glad to know that the Woman's Press is not closing for the holidays, but will be open during the whole of August, as usual.

Miss Pankhurst at Wokingham. Miss Pankhurst will address a meeting at the residence of Lady Downshire, near Wokingham, on August 16.

Mrs. Pankhurst's Scottish Tour. Arrangements for the above tour are nearly completed, and dates are now fixed as follows:—

Table with 2 columns: Location and Date. Includes Keswick (Aug. 15), Wemyss Bay (17), Helensburgh (18), Carnoustie (21), St. Andrews (23), Blairgowrie (24), Pitlochry (26), Kingussie (28), Grantown (29), Forres (Sept. 1), Lossiemouth (2), Fraserburgh (5), Peterhead (8), Danerch (9).

There will be further meetings after September 9, but of these the date has not yet been fixed. Will any friends in Strathgordon and Nairn work up meetings there? It is hoped that all members and friends in or near the above centres will do their best to advertise the meetings, and that they will help by giving hospitality or by contributing to the "Scottish Tour Fund."

THE W.S.P.U. CALENDAR.

With a view to the special W.S.P.U. Block Calendar, which will be as usual on sale later on in the year, I am making an appeal to literary members to send as many appropriate and suitable quotations as they can discover, to be used for this purpose.

DOES A MAN SUPPORT HIS WIFE?

The question as to whether a man keeps his wife or whether she earns more than earns and living continues to excite a great deal of interest. Mrs. Pankhurst's article on the subject which was published in the Daily News on July 21 has put before many people a point of view which had never occurred to them before.

"A GOOD TACTICAL MOVE."

Especially enthusiastic and well attended was the last of the Monday free meetings of the summer season, held last Monday afternoon at the London Pavilion. Miss Christabel Pankhurst, who took the chair, said the commencement of the holidays found the cause in a more hopeful position than ever it had stood before.

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Further letters were published in the Daily News of Aug. 1, among them being one from Mr. Harold Peake which admirably summed up the whole and hammered home the point made by Mrs. Pankhurst in her original article.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Dear Editors,—I am glad you have brought the question to the front, at the present crisis, as to whether a working man, or, indeed, any man, supports his wife.

WOMAN AND THE RACE.

The relations between the various nations of the earth was the subject discussed at the Universal Races Congress held last week in London. The object of the congress was to bring about a full understanding and friendly feeling between all the nations.

THE CASE OF THE PIT BROW WOMEN.

The girls and women employed at the pit brow are threatened with abolition by an amendment to clause 93 of the Coal Mines



The Suffrage Procession at Stratford-on-Avon. (See p. 725.)

universality of the races. "The keynote of the recent international conference at Stockholm was universal peace."

CHRISTMAS FAIR AND FÊTE.

The holiday season forms an unparalleled opportunity for collecting all kinds of ornamental and useful articles, suitable for decorating the fête stalls at Christmas.

The following stalls are already taken:— Christmas Fare and Farm House Linen. Produce. Children's Clothing. Flowers. Old Folk's Stall. Curio and Bric-a-Brac. Toys. Arts and Craft. Welsh Stall. Antique Stall. Books. Ladies' Gaze.

Among the side shows will be "Guessing and Competition," Lightning Sketches, and Palmistry.

The Birmingham W.S.P.U. has taken over the Toy Stall, and will be glad to exchange articles (such as baby clothes), unsold to this stall, for dolls and toys.

man had a stain on his character out he went. The enfranchisement of women had made for nothing but good, and legislation was now—so the use an Australian expression—framed "in the interests of flesh and blood and not of gummies."

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THE LATCHKEY VOTER.

A decision in the Court of Appeal practically reversing the supposed state of the law with regard to "latchkey voters" has been used in certain quarters as a fresh stick with which to beat the Conciliation Bill.

MISS MALECKA.

The Russian Foreign Office has handed to Sir George Buchanan, the British Ambassador, the reply of the Russian Government in the Malocka case, says the Times St. Petersburg correspondent.

A BRILLIANT SUCCESS.

A splendid triumph in the world of art has just been achieved by Miss Lucienne Heuvelmans, who has recently won the much coveted Grand Prix de Rome for sculpture.

MISS NELIGAN AND TAX RESISTANCE.

Last Tuesday, under the auspices of the "Women's Tax Resistance League," an old silver teapot and other pieces of plate belonging to Miss Neligan, for many years head-mistress of the Crofton Girls' High School, were sold by public auction at East Croydon.

THE SUFFRAGE PROCESSION AT STRATFORD-ON-AVON.

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MR. MASTERMAN NARROWLY ESCAPES DEFEAT. Liberals Acknowledge Reduction of Majority to be Due to Woman Suffrage Opposition.

BETHNAL GREEN (SOUTH-WEST). Result. Mr. C. F. G. Masterman (L.) 2,745 Mr. Eric Hoffgaard (U.) 2,589 Mr. John Scurr (Soc.) 134 Lib. Maj. 159

After the meetings the drive back to the committee rooms was just like a triumphal progress: after the first two nights we were greeted all along the route. Griny hands were held out to us, and the cry of "Hold your hand, Miss," was heard in their windows; Conservatives wished us "Good luck," and Socialists were "afraid the women had the right of it."

HOW THE MEN HELPED. Members of the Men's Political Union and the Men's League did yeoman service, and Mr. Masterman was well helped at all his meetings.

WHAT THE PRESS SAYS. THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN. Very interesting and illuminating are the comments of the Liberal Press on Mr. Masterman's reduced majority.

THE CHILDREN'S CRUSADE. Of course it is disappointing. The reduction of a majority, no matter how large a reduction, is not the same as victory.

THE DAILY CHRONICLE. Tariff Reform counted for nothing at all, and the House of Lords for very little. But the "Akbar" reformatory scandal, the presence of the military in South Wales, and the Women's Franchise Bill for a great deal.

THE MORNING LEADER. In a report of an interview with Mr. Masterman the Morning Leader says: "It is disheartening, he (Mr. Masterman) admitted, that in a place like Bethnal Green there should be so many votes cast for Toryism."

THE CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH. Probably nothing contributed more to bring Mr. Masterman so near to defeat as the opposition of the Women Suffragettes, who, by general consent, in argument simply knocked the Liberal candidate about like a football.

THE PRESS. That women are becoming a force in politics was amusingly illustrated at Castleton in the dinner hour yesterday. Both Tariff Reform and Free Trade Union speakers took up pickets, but they failed to gain a single auditor.

THE PRESS. Although they have, for the time being, stopped militant tactics, the Suffragettes are making their power felt at the by-elections.—M.A.P.

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THE W.S.P.U. KIOSK.

"That's 'Votes for Women'; I know by the colours," says a woman, as she calls her companion's attention to the W.S.P.U. Kiosk at the Crystal Palace Festival of Empire.

Men, women, and children pass in countless streams, and hardly one who does not glance at the white building and its bright display of colour.

Then comes the pompous patronising man, who quite approves of our claim, but is "so glad you have changed your tactics," and, in a reproving tone o



Campbell-Gray. Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Lawrence, and Mrs. Tuke at the W.S.P.U. Kiosk.

voice, "I hope there won't be any more shaking of Prime Ministers." We assure this gentleman that we are only too thankful that militancy is not necessary at present, but we do not add that, in another sense of the word, we hope those slow-moving specimens of humanity called "Prime Ministers" will be very effectively "shaken" when women have the vote.

Children, country folk, and people who have lost their bearings find us an excellent bureau of information, and anxiously enquire where they can get tea, but a ticket for the pageant, or "Which is the way to Canada, please?" for, of course, the Suffragettes know everything, and are so friendly and ready to help if they can.

So they come and go, this innumerable throng of sightseers, and to one who can remember the days of our first stall holding at Earl's Court Exhibition in 1908, the change in the public tone and feeling is marvellous and significant. Still, our faith in our cause was great, and in vision we saw ourselves strong as we are to-day, and time has proved us right.

Excidentally staffed, and managed by a small band of willing helpers, this kiosk is doing a good work, for even at their play, the nation at large must ever be reminded of "Votes for Women"; and what better place could be chosen than this great Festival of Empire, showing as it does so much of the marvellous achievements wrought by men; but not always showing that these works were only made possible by the sacrifice and co-operation of the mother half of the race.

EARTH-HUNGER SATISFIED.

"Born with earth-hunger," the author of "A Few Acres and a Cottage" was driven, he tells us, to seek some escape from the tortures of city life.

By some means I should have to wrest a living from the soil for myself, my wife, and my child. There was no nest-egg to fall back upon, no private income to butter my bread.

The adventure has been justified by results, and Mr. F. E. Green tells the story of his life on his holding not with the idea of writing a text-book of agriculture, but to stimulate those few who share his earth love and earth hunger to a similar quest, and to quicken that movement which is leading many to turn away from our overgrown cities in order to nourish the heart of England with their labour and win their sustenance for themselves.

The story is told in twelve chapters, one for every month of the year, and the daily routine of life on a small holding is described from the dawn of the New Year to the last snow-shrouded day of December.

The touch of the artist and the philosopher is discernible as well as the touch of the craftsman. There are hints of Thoreau, suggestions of Edward Carpenter and Whitman, yet the style is all the author's own.

Mr. Laurence Housman is writing an article for next week's VOTES FOR WOMEN, called "No Truce to Tax Resistance." Miss Beatrice Harraden is writing for the following week "Some Memories of Miss Beale."

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