

VOTES FOR WOMEN

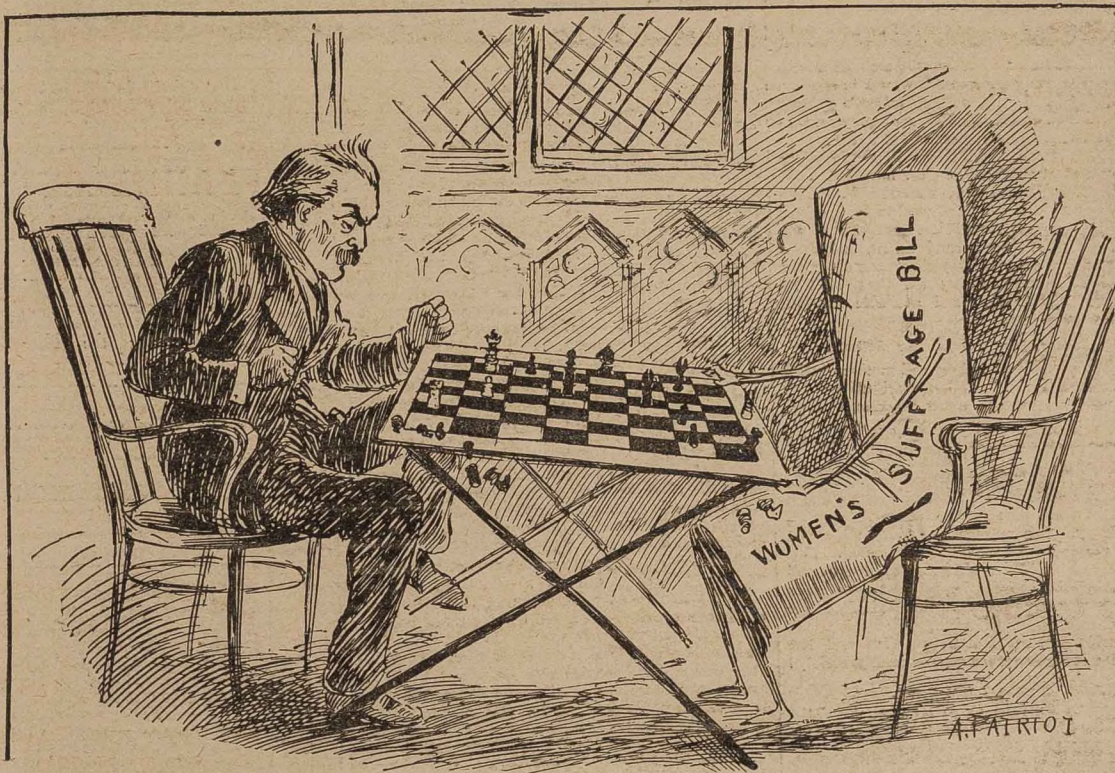
EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

VOL. V. (New Series), No. 192.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1911.

Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free.)

A GAME OF CHESS.



WOMAN SUFFRAGIST: "Check!"

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE (upsetting the board): "What about that for the next move?"

[But Mr. Lloyd George will find that the Umpire does not give the game to him.]

CONTENTS.

| PAGE | PAGE | | |
|---|------|---|----|
| Our Cartoon | 81 | Men's League Meeting | 85 |
| The Outlook | 81 | A Coventry Meeting | 85 |
| Treasurer's Rule | 82 | Impressions of an Ascot Meeting | 86 |
| Contributions to the £250,000 | 82 | The Coming Order. By K. Douglas Smith | 86 |
| Fund | 82 | The World We Live In | 87 |
| A Manhood Suffrage Bill Next Year | 83 | The Manhood Suffrage Bill. By Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B. | 88 |
| Press Opinions | 83 | Liberal Prime Ministers and Woman Suffrage. By F. W. Pethick Lawrence | 89 |
| Mr. Philip Snowden's View | 84 | The Mother of the Man. By Hal Caine | 89 |
| Announcements | 84 | Our Post Box | 90 |
| Meeting at Woolwich Town Hall | 84 | Christmas Fair and Fete, December 4-9 | 90 |
| Nurses and the Insurance Bill | 84 | Campaign Throughout the Country | 91 |
| The Albert Hall Meeting | 84 | General News | 94 |
| Irish Women and the Vote | 84 | | |
| The By-Elections | 84 | | |
| "A Bold Policy" | 85 | | |
| Miss Sima Straya | 85 | | |
| Woman's Point of View | 85 | | |

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.

On Tuesday last the Prime Minister made the announcement that it is the intention of the Government to introduce a Franchise Bill next session. This Bill will sweep away the existing qualifications for the franchise and will substitute the single one of residence. It will be confined to adult males; women will be excluded. It is therefore to be a Manhood Suffrage Bill.

Anti-Government Policy Resumed.

From this announcement it will be seen that the Government have decided to range themselves definitely

in opposition to Woman Suffrage. In spite of the fact that there is an agitation for giving votes to women which is national in its scope and unprecedented in its magnitude, and that there is no agitation for Manhood Suffrage, the Government are proposing to give more votes to men and none to women. In consequence of this attitude of direct hostility on the part of the Government, the Women's Social and Political Union have decided to resume immediately their militant anti-Government policy.

Deputation Fixed for November 21.

In our leading article this week Miss Christabel Pankhurst deals fully with the whole situation, and announces that a deputation of women, headed by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, will proceed to wait upon the Prime Minister and Mr. Lloyd George on Tuesday, November 21. Further particulars of this deputation are given on page 82. In addition the W.S.P.U. will oppose all the Government candidates at by-elections, and will take every other means in their power of making their opposition to the Government effective.

Adult Suffragists on the Situation.

The Prime Minister's statement has provided a test by which the sincerity of so-called adult suffragists can be judged. When it was proposed to secure an extension of the franchise to a million women, this party professed to see in the suggestion a false move; the "half loaf" was in their opinion worse than "no bread." Now that the Government have announced their intention of adding 2½ million male votes and of

leaving women out altogether they are apparently satisfied, and propose to await with complacency the fate of a private member's amendment on the question of Woman Suffrage.

Views of the Press.

We give at considerable length on pp. 83 and 84 extracts from the London Press of Wednesday upon the pronouncement. The *Daily News* says that adult suffrage becomes a "moral certainty," while its Lobby Correspondent points out that the proposal "goes one better than the adult amendments to the Conciliation Bill." The *Morning Leader* frankly describes the Government Bill as "Adult Suffrage," and decides that with or without women the passing of the Bill will be a great advantage. The *Daily Chronicle* says:—

The Government's policy may on the one hand cut the ground from under the Conciliation Bill, while on the other reducing the support at present available for woman suffrage.

The *Daily Mail* describes the attitude of the Government as the "abnegation of leadership." Both the *Evening Standard* and the *Globe* see in the announcement a trick to dodge the woman suffragist, and the latter adds:—

Already she has begun to protest, and quite rightly, against the project, under which she will be left to the tender mercies of a private amendment. We are no friends of female suffrage, but anything more contemptible than the attitude assumed by the Government, it is difficult to imagine.

The *Times* says it gives Members of Parliament an excuse for breaking their pledges.

The "Manchester Guardian."

The *Manchester Guardian* has not yet declared its attitude, but the London letter of Wednesday contains

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THE COMING ORDER.

Mrs. Re-Bartlett is of the opinion that all the evils of our life in this world may be traced back to the false relation in which men and women stand to one another. In the ten essays which compose her recent book, she treats of woman's life in all its various aspects, but particularly that of wife, mother, and friend. Although the whole subject is taken from the standpoint of an idealist, common sense, reason, and practical experience are the dominant notes on which her ideas are built. And this makes the book all the more readable. It is essentially a book for the person who bores us to weariness by the ever-repeated cry that "women want to be like men." Harmony of the masculine and the feminine is that which is needed to-day, in order that we may move towards a more perfect race, not *sexlessness*, the author insists on; and in the whole movement for their further emancipation, this is really what women are striving after. "The equality which may and must one day be established between man and woman is the equality not of similarity, but of interchange."

There are those who are for ever crying from the housetops that women are "sexing themselves," that the birthrate is falling, and that every evil under the sun is due to women. This, of course, we have also heard before! And for every one of these trumpeters Mrs. Re-Bartlett has something to say; things which many women have thought before, but which it is not given to everyone to express so clearly, and with so much sound judgment and charitable common sense, at the same time driving the points home with logic and precision. For instance, on the question of the falling birthrate, the author writes:—

"Much more serious is the quality of the population; and the problem before the world, as a whole, to-day, is the creation not of a more numerous, but of a better and more human race. And this will come only when we have nobler and freer women for our mothers."

In the fine essay entitled, "Sincerity in Social Life," it is made clear that the first real step upward in the spiritual progress of the race can only be made when the double standard of morality is done away with. If Mrs. Re-Bartlett does not altogether spare women on this point, she speaks very strongly and very sternly to men. "And since women are undoubtedly the greater sufferers under the present order, it is perhaps not unjust that, in speaking of the failures of both one should hit men a little harder than the two."

If men wish to marry pure women, and yet their own lives have not been blameless, do not let them hide the fact; let them be sincere and straight about it. "Why cannot man play fair?" she asks, "and state himself for what he is to woman before he marries her? . . . And is there no rudimentary sense of honour in women, who are so conscientious, and in society to demand it? If in any other relation a man procures what he desires on false pretences, it is called by a very ugly name, and becomes even a penal matter. But that he secures into his keeping a woman's whole life on false conditions—this is not penal, not even severely judged by society." The author does not touch directly on the military element, but the following, taken from a fine passage, reveals her sympathy and understanding of the meaning underlying much that may have been superficially incomprehensible.

"They are the wrongs and insults of centuries that are working in women to-day, and in many who can only feel, not think, the sense of injury producing one instinct only—to cast off—cast off a yoke. The instinct is holy, only its expression sometimes crude, and would it not be wonderful if all could work itself out in gentleness and dignity alone? . . . There has, perhaps, never been a war so far-reaching in all history, and in a cause so great there is scarce anything worth calling shame or error save the one great shame and error of supineness."

In conclusion, the author sets a high standard for the would-be reformer. How high and how hard that standard is only those who have made some attempt at the heroic life, probably, can fully realise; and these, too, will understand the writer when, with bold pen, she speaks of the terrible loneliness of the life which is endeavouring to follow a private law of being.

Readers of **VOTES FOR WOMEN** will be well advised to read this inspiring book, and lend it to their anti-friends! It needs no further words of praise, for it can well be left to stand on its own merits.

K. DOUGLAS SMITH.

VIEWES OF COLONIAL STATESMEN.

It is very important for Suffragists to be able to refute the many untruths that are told regarding the effect of Woman Suffrage in the colonies, and to have at their fingers' ends the list of just and progressive laws which may be directly traced to the woman's vote. Such a list, together with the opinions of eminent colonial statesmen on the effect of Woman Suffrage, will be found clearly printed in a useful little pamphlet issued by the Women's Freedom League, and obtainable at the Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C.2., price 1d.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"The Rise of the Democracy." By Joseph Clayton, M.A. London: Cassell & Co. 2s. 6d. net.
 "Blackburn's Study of Words." By E. M. Blackburn, M.A. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 3s. 6d.
 "No Surrender." By Constance E. Maud, London: Duckworth & Co. 6s.
 "The Women of Shakespeare." By Frank Harris. London: Methuen. 7s. 6d. net.
 "Hannah More." By Annette M. B. Meakin. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 14s. 6d. net.
 "The Art of Effective Public Speaking." By Ernest Pertwee. London: George Routledge & Sons. 3s. 6d.
 "Cross-in-Hand Farm." By Viola Meynell. London: Herbert & Daniel. 6s.
 "The Human Compass." By Bart Kennedy. London: Sampson, Low, Marston & Co., Ltd. 6s.
 "The Man-Made World." By Charlotte Perkins Gilman. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 4s. 6d. net.
 "Pixie Pool." By Edmund Vale. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 2s. net.
 "Woman at Work." By M. Mostyn Bird. London: Chapman & Hall. 5s. net.
 "Welsh Members of Parliament on the Conciliation Bill." The Woman's Press. 1s. 6d. per 100. Post Free.
 "Barn Aledan Senneddol Cymreig am y Mesur Cymmod." The Woman's Press. 1s. 6d. per 100. Post Free.
 "The Coming Order." By Lucy Re-Bartlett. London: Longmans Green. 2s. 6d. net.

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THE WORLD WE LIVE IN.

An organization of Frenchmen has just been formed with the special object of agitating for the extension of the franchise to women. It is called the "Voters' League for Woman Suffrage," and includes, says the *Standard*, many eminent names, among them those of President Fallières and M. Anatole France.

A note of the women's movement has even been struck at Heliopolis, one of the most ancient cities of Egypt, where, says the *Standard*, a Moslem Congress listened to Mme. Badiah, the daughter of Hafin Bey Nasif, vice-president of the Kautah Tribunals, who made an eloquent plea for women's rights. Her specific demands, which were heard with deep attention, were women's right of admission to the mosques, compulsory primary education for girls, the reform of the divorce laws, the prohibition of polygamy, and the admission of women to schools of medicine.

From the *Woman Teacher* we learn that the Surrey Education Committee have noted with satisfaction that since 1904, 117 instead of 78 boards of managers include woman members, and the number of woman members has increased from 101 to 156. It is felt that their assistance is valuable in the provision of instruction in domestic subjects and in questions of medical inspection.

The fascinations of aviation continue to capture women as well as men, and it is interesting to note that the Women's Aerial League includes among its members prominent suffragists. In order to promote the interests of the League, financially and in other ways, we hear that a dance will take place at the Chelsea Town Hall on Tuesday, November 23. Those who are interested in the subject of aviation, and more especially in this event, may be glad to know that particulars can be obtained from Miss Cobby, at the offices of the League, 227, Strand, W.C.

In an amusing article based on the recent confession of little Pu Yi, the Chinese Emperor, a writer in the *Nation* draws an analogy between the condition of China and affairs at home. He imagines confused voices from the Front Benches of the House of Commons, and says: "People are grumbling, especially the women and the railwaymen, and I don't know what to do." Another voice says, "Even if all unite to support my Insurance Bill, I still fear falling, and then the future of the Empire is unthinkable!"

An excellent point was scored by Miss Lena Ashwell at the meeting of the Women Writers' Suffrage League at the Criterion on Thursday in last week. Referring to Mr. Rudyard Kipling's poem, "The Specimen of the Female," Miss Ashwell pointed out that while Mr. Kipling was insisting on the fighting quality of the female as a reason why she should be kept in a state of subjection, most anti-suffragists took an exactly opposite line, and would withhold political freedom because, they say, women cannot fight. Miss Ashwell delighted her audience with her recitation of Mr. Sidney Lewis's answer to Mr. Kipling, which we published in *VOTES FOR WOMEN* recently. Other speeches were made by the Rev. Claude Hinscliff, Mrs. Ismet Zangwill, and Mrs. Balleie Reynolds in the chair. Mrs. Zangwill, in a touching appeal, reminded her audience that a year ago women were in prison and undergoing forcible feeding, and that two women had died for conscience' sake, and called upon those present to prevent, by generous financial support, the necessity for a repetition of the events of last year.

Berlin's first woman director of opera, Mme. Aurelie Revi, opened the Komische Opera on November 1, with Giordano's work "Siberia."

The *Times* notes with interest that the returning officer for the Oldham by-election is Mrs. Lees, Mayor of Oldham. *The Standard* comments:—The position is that a woman by becoming mayor of a town may be compelled to exercise the parliamentary franchise, with more than the average effect. Thus one section of women, while working to prevent women getting the parliamentary vote, are promoting women's enfranchisement. Euclid's conclusion might have been—Which is absurd."

Judge Lindsay states that Colorado, where women have for some years had the vote, will soon become the most ideal Commonwealth of the nation.

Mrs. Ellen Bernsten, the Danish Premier's daughter, is reported to have become a joiner's apprentice, at which trade she intends to earn her living.

Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House, Chicago, recently addressed a meeting of business men at the Board of Trade, on "What Woman Might Accomplish with the Franchise."

M. Gaston Laumont, professor at the Chaptal College in Paris, in his address to a girls' school, said: "I hope that you will be good housewives, tender mothers, and perhaps excellent electors, when we have done away with the iniquity which forbids you to vote, while we generously allow you to pay taxes."

The French Legion of Honour, has just been awarded to Mlle. Malmarche, who for many years has worked on behalf of young girls, and through whose efforts many commercial careers have been opened to them.

We have to congratulate two of our young branches on very successful reports. The first year, as everybody knows, is very uphill work. In Walthamstow, where a Union was formed as the result of a by-election, the first year's working shows a balance of over 85, in addition to a contribution of 22 9s. to the war-chest. The Greenwich, Deptford and Woolwich Union has also had a most active year, and the balance in hand is over £22.

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VOTES FOR WOMEN

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FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1911.

THE MANHOOD SUFFRAGE BILL.

War is declared—declared by the Government upon women! That is the meaning of the announcement of a Manhood Suffrage Bill for next Session.

We call upon men to reject a gift so dishonouring to them. This offer of a Manhood Suffrage Bill is an insult to women, but it is also a deep and wounding insult to men.

can be moved to the Manhood Suffrage Bill is futile and absurd. It is put forward both as a trap for Woman Suffragists, and also as a means whereby Members of Parliament pledged to support Woman Suffrage can escape from their obligations.

The reasons why this amendment is doomed to failure are plain. The majority already recorded for Woman Suffrage in the House of Commons is composed of members of all political parties.

There was no Woman Suffrage Bill before the House of Commons in 1909, and at the end of the year Mr. Asquith called upon the King to dissolve Parliament.

LIBERAL PRIME MINISTERS AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

A Record of Postponement and Evasion.

At the present juncture it is worth while to look back over the last thirty years, and enumerate the utterances of Liberal Prime Ministers on Woman Suffrage.

MR. GLADSTONE IN 1884.

In 1884 a Franchise Bill was introduced into the House of Commons by the Liberal Prime Minister, the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

The question of women's enfranchisement was one which required to be thoroughly sifted to the bottom and which ought to be entirely dissociated from every notion of party and every element of political consideration.

In consequence of this pronouncement 104 Members pledged to Woman Suffrage, including Mr. Morley (now Viscount Morley), voted against the amendment and secured its defeat.

In November of the same year a separate Bill for Woman Suffrage was introduced, and this is how Mr. Gladstone kept his promise to allow his supporters to follow their own convictions.

Shortly after the commencement of the work of the W.S.P.U. in London, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman consented to see a joint deputation of suffrage societies on May 19.

That is where you and I are all agreed. It has been very nice and pleasant hitherto, but with regard to the actual enactment of a Woman Suffrage Bill I have only one thing to preach to you, and that is the virtue of patience.

MR. ASQUITH IN 1908.

In February, 1908, the Woman Suffrage Bill, introduced by Mr. Stanger, was carried through its second reading by 179, and Mr. Asquith was approached by a deputation of Liberal M.P.'s on May 20.

Subsequently questioned as to by what means he proposed to ascertain whether the proposal had behind it the support of the women of the country, Mr. Asquith replied: "There are a variety of ways in which opinion may be expressed. It is not for me to say which way is likely to be most effective."

MR. ASQUITH IN 1909.

to carry out the intention announced in the previous year of introducing an Electoral Reform Bill, Mr. Asquith made a statement at the Albert Hall with regard to the policy which he proposed to adopt if returned to power.

MR. ASQUITH IN 1910.

The Government have considered this matter, and recognize that the circumstances of the case are exceptional, from the fact that under the conditions which govern private members' proposals the House of Commons has never had an adequate opportunity of discussing so momentous a change.

The Government will, if they are still in power, give facilities in the next Parliament for effecting by a Bill which is so framed as to admit of free amendment.

This statement was rejected by the W.S.P.U. as worthless.

MR. ASQUITH IN 1911.

The second Conciliation Bill was introduced in 1911, and was carried through second reading by a majority of 167. In reply to a question asking for further facilities Mr. Lloyd George, on behalf of Mr. Asquith, said:—

In a subsequent letter to Lord Lytton, Mr. Asquith wrote:— "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."

THE MOTHER OF THE MAN. AN ANSWER TO MR. RUDYARD KIPLING. ("THE FEMALE OF THE SPECIES.")

When the Lord of the Creation gave the Woman to the Man, In that best but brief existence ere the rule of ill began, Then He knew, whate'er her conduct, whether innocent or frail, That the female of the species would be scapegoat to the male.

HALL CAINE.

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