

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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The W.S.P.U. attacks the Lloyd George Dragon and rescues 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.

Two ideas are sometimes formed of the Woman Suffrage movement by those who do not understand it. The first is that it is an attempt on the part of women to be as like men as possible; the second is that it is an attempt to benefit women at the expense of men. Both these ideas are entirely erroneous.

Do Women Want to be Men?

The women of the Women's Social and Political Union are not anxious to be as like men as possible, for the simple reason that they believe in the high destiny of women. They do not regret, as some women are

said to do, that they were not born men, for the simple reason that they glory in being women. What they seek to do is to open up opportunities for natural development of women, so that true womanhood may take its side by true manhood. They believe that where men and women possess human qualities in common those qualities should no more be stunted in women than they are in men, and that where men and women are different, women themselves are best fitted to decide upon the true standard of womanliness.

Men and Women Stand Together.

They do not seek to benefit women at the expense of men—firstly, because they, who are the bearers of men, could not desire to injure that which they have borne, and secondly, because they know full well that nothing which injures men can possibly be in the long run to the benefit of women. In fact, it is just because they realise that the present position of women is injurious to men and women and children at the present day that they feel that a change is so urgently needed.

The Case of Florence Nightingale.

Sometimes people imagine that women can be left out of account in national affairs without injury resulting to the community. Now, if there were one thing more than another which would seem to be specially men's province it would be war. Yet even in war, it has been found by experience, men cannot do without women. In the Crimea, during the first six months of the campaign men tried to conduct war alone, and in that short time 30 per cent. of the British

troops died of disease. Only one thing saved the British army—the arrival of Florence Nightingale with a score of women assistants. And now no army would venture into the field without a body of trained women nurses. The fact is that men and women are necessary to one another in all the principal walks of life, and their double point of view is required to enable the human race to make real and permanent progress.

Nurses under the Insurance Bill.

Much has been heard of the claims of the doctors in connection with the Insurance Bill, and many concessions have been made to them. The Chancellor of the Exchequer admits their right to be remunerated and treated generally as befits the members of an important and highly honourable public service. But there is another branch of the public health service—the nursing branch—whose interests have received singularly little attention. The Insurance Bill affects them both as guardians of the public health and as employees. In the latter capacity they shared, under the Bill in its original form, the special injustice done to domestic servants, shop assistants living in, and all others who in illness are customarily provided for by their employers. This grave defect in the Bill has now been lessened, though not removed by Mr. Lloyd George. The Bill does not, however, assure to nurses, as it does to doctors, adequate remuneration for their services, which are in their own way quite as indispensable as those rendered by medical practitioners. The hard work and underpay of nurses in all grades of the profession are notorious, and the Insurance Bill affords an opportunity of setting the matter right, which the Government ought to utilise. But nurses, unlike doctors—who are most of them men—have no vote, and therefore no power to compel attention to their demand.

THE HOME OF THE W.S.P.U.

When Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughter Christabel founded the Women's Social and Political Union in the autumn of 1903, they gave it a home in their own house in Manchester. It was there that the early committees held their meetings, and it was from there that the "constitutional" campaigns of 1904 and the early part of 1905 were organised. It was there, also, that the determination to put a question to Sir Edward Grey at the Free Trade Hall meeting in October, 1905, was formed which led to the commencement of the famous militant tactics of the Union, and to the first imprisonment of Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney.

When, in February, 1906, Annie Kenney came south with £2 in her pocket "to rouse London," a centre was found for the London movement at the flat of Miss Sylvia Pankhurst at 45, Park Walk, Chelsea, and from there were issued a series of leaflets dealing with the situation.

In March of the same year my wife became the hon. treasurer of the W.S.P.U., and shortly afterwards she and I decided to place at the disposal of the Union a room in our flat at Clements Inn, which would be more central than that in Chelsea. This room has been used by the W.S.P.U. ever since; it is at present the office for the Christmas Fête and Fair, a photograph of which will be given in our next issue.

Meanwhile the centre of gravity of the Union had shifted from Manchester to London, and the rapid growth of the finances enabled the committee in September, 1906, to rent premises of their own. Three rooms were accordingly taken in Clements Inn; which are now occupied by the outer office, into which visitors enter on arrival (shown as No. 1 on the opposite page), by the inner office occupied by Miss Kerr (No. 2), and by Miss Christabel Pankhurst's office.

in the formation of the Women's Freedom League and the reorganisation of the W.S.P.U. In October the paper *VOTES FOR WOMEN* was founded.

By January, 1908, the finances of the Union permitted a further development which had been rendered necessary by the increase of activity. Six additional rooms were taken, and before long were humming with life. Of these rooms one is now my office, a photograph of which appeared a few weeks ago, another is used as a typing room, shown as No. 3 on the opposite page; another is Miss Jessie Kenney's office, which appears as No. 4; another is the ticket office, shown as No. 6, where tickets for the Albert Hall and for other meetings are sold, and where is also the desk of the circulation manager of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*. Of the other two rooms, one is used by Miss Hambling and Miss Cameron; and the other is the large office used by the London organisers, where is held the Speakers' Class and other small meetings; it was the room in which Inspector Jarvis read the famous warrant to Mrs. Pankhurst, Christabel Pankhurst, and Mrs. Drummond on the afternoon of October 13, 1908.

In addition to this great expansion of premises the weekly *At Homes* on Mondays grew too big for the offices, and were moved first to the Portman Rooms; then to the Queen's Hall, and now, finally, to the London Pavilion.

The six rooms added in January, 1908, brought the number in the occupation of the Union up to a total of 13, and extended through the whole of the available space on the first floor of 4, Clements Inn. When therefore, it was found necessary to take additional rooms for the great Hyde Park Demonstration of June, 1908, two rooms on the ground floor were selected, which are still used as the banner rooms of the Union. A

photograph of one of them will be given in a future issue. In 1909 two rooms were added in the basement, which are now used for the publishing office of the paper; two rooms were also taken on the second floor for the treasury, and two others on the same floor for the editorial and advertisement offices of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*; of these, Mrs. Lawrence's office is shown below, while a photograph of the other room in the treasury occupied by the financial secretary's department will be given next week. Photographs of the other rooms appeared in the "Story of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*" given in our issue of July 14.

In the year 1910, owing to the great development of the *Woman's Press*, the whole department was moved to the now famous shop in Charing Cross Road, while the accommodation which that released in Clements Inn was speedily filled by the growing requirements of the Union.



The Hon. Treasurer in her Office.

During the present year two rooms have been taken on the third floor of 4, Clements Inn, for the record office, and two on the first floor of 5, Clements Inn, for Mrs. Drummond and her secretary, while the acquisition of two additional rooms, to be utilised by the financial secretary, is contemplated in the autumn. The headquarters of the Union will then consist of 27 rooms in Clements Inn and 14 at Charing Cross Road.

A description of the offices would be incomplete without a reference to the system of electric clocks which go through every room, and which are electrically controlled from a central clock in Miss Kerr's office, thereby ensuring perfect time, and preventing the waste of valuable minutes in catching trains and keeping appointments. Another noteworthy feature is the telephone system. Three main lines connect the Union with the Exchange, and an "extension" is made to every department in Clements Inn and to the *Woman's Press*, which is also separately linked up to the Exchange. In this way any member of the staff can be "put through" to any other member or to the Exchange without delay, and an immense saving of time is effected. The main telephone instrument is in the outer office, and is a source of great interest to visitors.

F. W. Pettick Lawrence.



Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Tuke at Work.

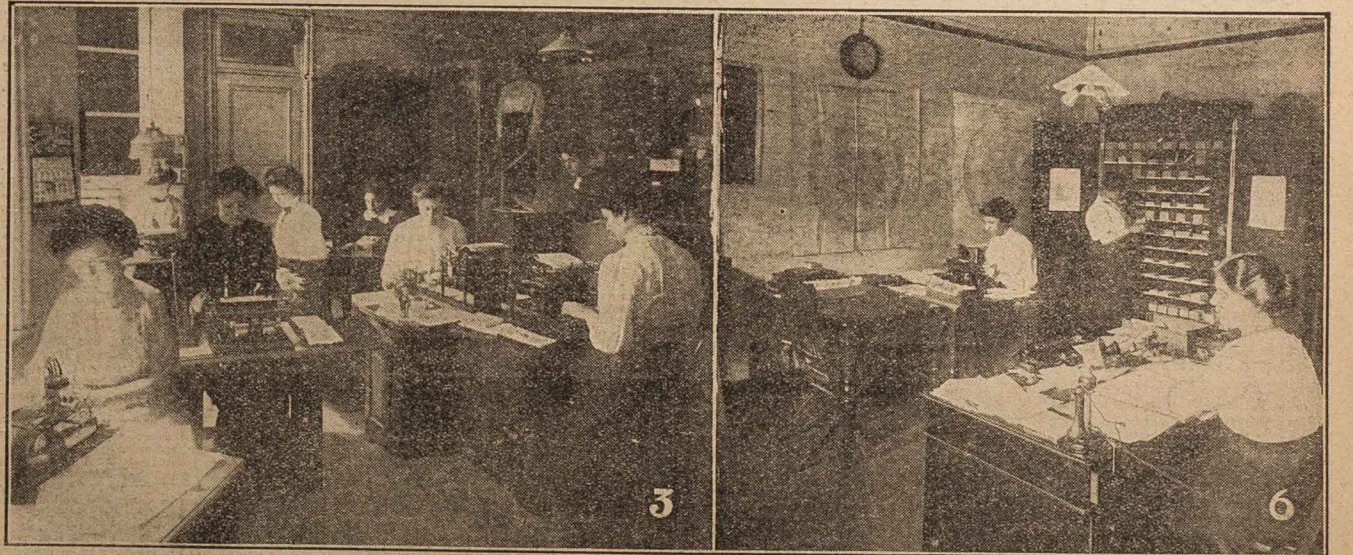
The first use to which these new rooms were put was for the Convention of Women, held on October 23, from which a deputation was despatched to the House of Commons, resulting in the arrest of Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Annie Kenney, my wife, and eight other women. Following upon this deputation the movement grew with astonishing rapidity, and the offices were crowded every day with workers. At Christmas there were further deputations to the House, and further arrests, and at the beginning of 1907 the literature department of the W.S.P.U. was created. This department, which has now become the *Woman's Press*, with a shop and 14 rooms of its own, at that time occupied a single desk in the corner where Miss Kerr now sits. Meanwhile the custom had begun of holding little *At Homes* in the offices on Monday afternoons, to which members brought their friends for discussion and to listen to short speeches.

By February, 1907, the work had grown so large that it was decided to add four additional rooms. These are now used by the W.S.P.U. for the office of Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Tuke, shown above, for the duplicating department (No. 5 on the opposite page), by the filing department, and by the restaurant and voluntary workers' office. Consequent upon this enlargement a readjustment of rooms took place; the weekly Monday afternoons grew rapidly in numbers, and extended throughout the whole of the available space. Thursday evening *At Homes* were also inaugurated. In the spring of 1907 there were further deputations to the House of Commons, and over a hundred arrests; meetings were held all over the country, and branches of the W.S.P.U. were formed in different places. In September a division of opinion resulted



Miss Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B., Dictating.

THE GENERAL OFFICES OF THE W.S.P.U., 4, CLEMENTS INN, W.C.



1. The Outer Offices, Visitors' Entrance, showing the counter and telephone exchange.
2. The Inner Office, showing Miss Kerr at her desk; note the central clock.
3. One of the Typing Rooms.

4. Miss Jessie Kenney's Office: note the large map showing the centres of activity throughout the country.
5. The Duplicating Department.
6. The Ticket Office, with plan of Albert Hall on Wall. (The Circulation Manager's Desk is not shown.)

Articles and News contributed for insertion in VOTES FOR WOMEN should be sent to The Editors, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C., at the earliest possible date...

The Editors cannot hold themselves in any way responsible for the return of uncorrected manuscripts, though they will endeavour as far as possible to return them when requested of stamps for postage are enclosed.

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ALL IS NOT COAL that's black. There's a lot of slag and slate mixed with inferior coal, so that it never burns brightly or gives the necessary heat for cooking...

VOTES FOR WOMEN 4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND. FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1911. MILITANT MEN.

The past month has seen a revolt in the political world organised by a section of the Unionist Party, and a revolt in the Labour world organised by the Trades Unions against the directors of great industrial enterprises. Into both these revolts the policy of militancy of one kind and another has entered.

and the individual moved by a sense of moral conviction has assumed the responsibility of becoming a law unto himself. "I can do no otherwise," said Martin Luther, the rebel against the authority of the Church...

BEFORE AND SINCE WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

By Vida Goldstein, President of the Women's Political Association of Victoria.

III.—RESULTS OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN AUSTRALIA. In this final article I shall touch on some results of Woman Suffrage. The first noticeable effect is educational. Women are quick to respond to any responsibility placed upon them...

In the first place it provided ample evidence to the effect that organised women, as well as the large majority of women who have distinguished themselves in professional or public life, do urgently demand the vote. Moreover, it proved effectually that women are first-rate organisers, and gave the lie to the theory that they are incapable of devotion to causes as apart from persons and cannot combine or sink individual differences of opinion for a common good.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £250,000 FUND, August 21 to August 26. Table listing names and contribution amounts, including Mrs. E. G. Fisher, Mrs. R. G. Fisher, etc.

