

The War Paper for Women

VOTES FOR WOMEN

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

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THE STATE WITHOUT THE WOMAN



JOHN BULL (distractedly): "If only they would let the women help me!"

(Mrs. Bramwell Booth, in a New Year's message to the "Daily News," deplors the absence of woman's voice from the Councils of Europe, and, comparing the State to the home, says: "A home without a woman is a collection of confusion.")

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3, Adam Street, Strand, London, W.C. Telephone, Regent 5150
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AT WORK AGAIN

The offices of the United Suffragists reopened on Monday last, and work is again in full swing, having received a fresh impetus from the rest and inspiration of the Christmas holidays. A great many schemes and enterprises are on foot, and all will be welcome who care to call at 3, Adam Street and inquire about these and the work generally.

Two New Year Suggestions

We call our readers' attention to the membership card on page 128, and the subscription form for VOTES FOR WOMEN on page 123. Our suggestion is that an effort should be made this week by every one who reads these words to get both these forms filled in and returned to us.

U.S. MEETINGS

At the Kingsway Hall
The speakers for the Kingsway Hall meeting, to be held by the United Suffragists in February, will be announced in next week's VOTES FOR WOMEN, with the date and time of the meeting and particulars of the prices of seats.

At Manchester

The meeting in Manchester, to be held towards the end of this month by the United Suffragists in conjunction with the Manchester Men's League for Women's Suffrage, will not take place on January 20, as previously announced, as it was found that another Suffrage meeting was already arranged for that date.

REMEMBER THE TWENTY-FOURTH!

Trafalgar Square Demonstration
A fine group of speakers will represent the U.S. on Sunday afternoon, January 24, in Trafalgar Square, when the United Suffragists, Women's Freedom League, East London Federation of the Suffragettes, and Northern Men's Federation will hold a great demonstration to protest against the Government's treatment of soldiers' wives and also against their attempt to revive the principle of the Contagious Diseases Acts by emergency legislation giving military authorities power to regulate the movements of women, as at Cardiff and elsewhere. All members of the U.S. should keep this date free, and should urge soldiers' wives and others to do the same, in order to show the authorities that women do not intend to allow a mean advantage to be taken of the truce that has been called to militancy.

Among the U.S. speakers will be Mr. Henry W. Nevinson, Mr. George Lansbury, Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Mrs. Elaine Whelen, Mr. John Scurr, Miss Kitty Ennis, Mr. Charles Gray, Miss Evelyn Sharp.

U.S. WOMEN'S CLUB

92, Borough Road, Southwark, S.E.
Christmas has been a time of anxiety for those with husbands or others at the front, and so the Club has been specially appreciated as a place in which to cheer one another up. It has been well patronised, and we are opening the New Year well with several new members. Thanks are due to all the workers who have helped during the holidays to keep the Club open.

Miss Somers and Mr. Mackinlay were the speakers at the first Tuesday evening meeting after Christmas. The audience included several young girls—workers, most of them, for wages that barely keep them out of the ranks of sweated workers. They were keenly interested when they understood just how votes for women would help them, in the ways in which they most needed help—by making it possible to improve the conditions of their work and their pay.

Miss Walford has started a weekly sewing party for girls on Friday evenings, from 8 to 9, which promises to be useful and popular. The girls bring their own work, they have the pleasure of doing it in company, and the advantage of the practical hints Miss Walford is able to give them on the best way to do it. Mrs. Barry, a member of the Amersham U.S., is another valiant helper who gives much of her time to the Club.

Gifts Much Wanted

Contributions of cakes, jam, tea, sugar, &c., are constantly needed, and some plants in pots, bulbs, or a supply of cut flowers would be very welcome.

ANOTHER POSTER UNDERTAKEN

Mrs. F. Williamson has sent us twenty-five shillings from herself and two or three friends, to pay for a poster to be shown at Canterbury Station for a year. This is the kind of New Year card we really like to receive! Will not other groups in different parts of the country, or of London, follow the example of our Canterbury friends? We can think of no better bond of union for a U.S. friendship than to be united by a VOTES FOR WOMEN poster!

AMERSHAM U.S.

Hon. Sec., Mrs. Drinkwater, Fieldtop, Amersham-on-the-Hill
The Amersham U.S. gave the New Year a splendid send-off at their "Social" held at the Amersham Common schools on the afternoon of January 1. The steady downpour of rain seemed to

have kept no one away, and it certainly failed to damp the spirits of everyone present and their high hopes for 1915. A fuller report of the proceedings will be given in next week's VOTES FOR WOMEN. We hope great things in the New Year from the appointment of Mrs. Frank Exell as our paper secretary here.

BOLTON U.S.

Hon. Sec., Mrs. Jessie Crompton, 68, Hilden Street, Bolton
At a meeting of our members and friends on December 21 Miss Holden read a paper on "Internationalism and War," in which she contended that women were the truest Internationalists, and that all efforts to bring about a really international movement would be futile unless women had a direct voice in national and international councils. At the close, Mrs. Almond proposed and Mr. Dawson seconded the following resolution, which was strongly supported and carried unanimously:—"That this meeting of Bolton U.S. send greetings of goodwill and sympathy to the German Suffragists, through Frau Martha Stern and Frau A. Rief, as witness of our unity with them, of heart and ideals."
The "Social" on December 26 was a great success. Songs were capably rendered by Miss Moore and Mr. Dawson, Miss Costello kindly contributing a violin solo. The recitations of Mrs. Almond and Miss Waite received great applause. Our best thanks go to Mr. Moore for presiding at the piano. Altogether the Bolton U.S. have cause to be proud of their union.
January 18, 7.30 p.m.—Borough Hall, Members' meeting. These meetings take place on the first and third Mondays in the month.



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DEDICATION

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 House of Lords reassembled on Wednesday as we went to press. Unlike the Commons, who seem but to meet in order to make laws for the oppression of women and then to adjourn lest they should be questioned about them, the Peers in thus assembling a month earlier than the Lower House show some sense of their obligations to the nation. Remembering their drastic criticism of the Defence of the Realm Bill when it came before them, we trust that there is truth in the rumour that the matter will again be brought up, in which case it is of the first importance that their attention should be drawn to the use that has been made of that Act in the coercion and persecution of women.

Victory for U.S. in Cardiff

It will not have been forgotten that when the news first leaked out of the court-martialling of five Cardiff women, said to belong to what was described as "a certain class," both the United Suffragists and the Women's Freedom League at once instituted a vigorous campaign of protest. The United Suffragists held a public meeting in the Cory Hall, Cardiff, and went on a deputation to Colonel East, Commanding Officer of the district, who was responsible for issuing the order constraining certain of these women to remain within doors at night. A week after the U.S. protest, two women, charged with disobeying the order, were tried by the civil instead of the military authorities, and discharged with a caution; and we now hear that the order has been withdrawn altogether, and the women who were previously court-martialled and sentenced to sixty-two days' detention have all been released.

No Guarantee for Women but the Vote

This is something gained; and United Suffragists may congratulate themselves on having had a hand in quashing this attempt to revive the State Regulation of Vice—at all events in Cardiff. But we must not fall into the error of supposing that the danger to women is over. The Defence of the Realm Act, under which the order was issued, is still on the Statute Book; and there are other districts under military rule besides Cardiff. Colonel East was an officer who showed himself ready to receive representations and suggestions from the woman's point of view; all officers are not like that. Further, we are still without particulars of what is being done, in place of the abandoned measures, to stem the effects of immorality on the health of the troops; and the stigma that rests upon all women (the temperate sex) by their exclusion from public-houses during certain hours while men are not so excluded, remains. In fact, now as at all times, there is no guarantee that women's liberties are safe, because women do not count in the State. There is no remedy but to agitate more vigorously than ever for the protection of the vote.

New Acts of Parliament

Among the new laws timed to come into effect on January 1 was one which, though shorn of

much of its effectiveness in debate, is certainly aimed at the preservation of infant life. Owing largely to Suffragist agitation, especially to that carried on in these columns, the Milk and Dairies Bill, after being shelved Session after Session, was at last passed in 1914, and by its provisions the sale and distribution of tuberculous milk is constituted an offence, though subject to certain conditions protective, not so much of life, as of property. Such as it was, we were glad to have it. And now the *Manchester Guardian* informs us that advantage is to be taken of a clause in it empowering the Board of Trade to alter the date of operation, and this has been done by an order postponing it until October 1. We think, if the Government and its departments were responsible to women as well as to men, the Act to be postponed would rather have been the new British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, which also came into operation on January 1, and in which the shameful clause forcing a woman to take her husband's nationality stands unaltered.

Peace when there is no Peace

We hope that the moral of the situation in Swansea will not be wasted upon the Government and that they will recognize the expediency—we have lost all hope that any higher motive will influence them—of clearing the woman suffrage question out of the way before it splits their ranks in every constituency. For it is well known that the dishonourable Suffrage record of Mr. Masterman cost him his seat both at Bethnal Green and at Ipswich, last year, and will probably cost him his seat at Swansea in the event of a contest, which is bound to ensue if his candidature is persisted in and a rival Liberal nominee put forward. The situation was still in abeyance when we went to press (there is even a possibility that a place may be found for the outcast in the Shipley vacancy instead!); but if the party truce is broken at Swansea as a result of the electors' reluctance to accept a candidate discredited by the suffragists, we can only say to the Government, in familiar words, "Woe unto them that cry Peace, Peace, when there is no peace!"

The Vice-regal "Anti"

Irish Suffragists have all our sympathy with respect to the appointment of the new Viceroy in succession to Lord Aberdeen. Lord Wimborne is a cousin of Mr. Winston Churchill; like him, he began his political career as a Conservative and continued it as a Liberal, though with this we have no concern; and like him he is an Anti-Suffragist—with which we have every concern. At a moment when the hopes of our Irish sisters are fixed upon the Amending Bill as a means to their enfranchisement before the first Irish Parliament is elected, this appointment of a Viceroy, who has so much contempt for women as to have been the first to organise a Liberal Anti-Suffrage group in the House of Commons, seems to us little short of an insult. A rumour that Mr. Herbert Samuel, a determined enemy to women's freedom, is to succeed Mr. Birrell as Chief Secretary, is equally disquieting. The Government would consider it dishonourable to break the party truce by attempting to fill a Unionist vacancy with a Liberal Member. They do not consider it dishonourable to break the Suffrage truce by appointing Anti-Suffragists to posts which give them power to govern women without their consent.

The Late Chief Whip

The late Chief Whip, Mr. Percy Hlingworth, whose death at the early age of forty-five will be greatly felt in all political and social circles in which he was a familiar figure, was one of those Suffragists who, but for the party fetish,

would have rendered good service to the woman's cause. He voted in every division in favour of the Conciliation Bill, but against the really effective course of sending it to a Grand Committee, for instance. And while his name was absent from the division lists on the occasion of the debates on the earlier stages of the Cat and Mouse Bill, he appears as a teller for the Ayes in the division on the Third Reading. Like many another, if he had but loved his cause as he loved his leader, we had been able to count him among our rare friends. As it is, we are sincerely glad not to have to look back upon him as an opponent.

Interesting Development in America

The news has just reached us that on December 12 the Suffrage Amendment to the Constitution of the United States was reported favourably in the Lower House of Congress, by a majority of four to three, and that the debate in the House on the Bill was to take place, probably, on December 22. When we went to press, the result of the debate, which may of course have been postponed, had not reached us. Success in the House would mean a big step in what is known as the short cut to Woman Suffrage over there, which otherwise has to be won piecemeal in each State.

Items of Interest

The Belgian Commission of Inquiry has issued its seventh report, which proves afresh, in its record of women and young girls shot or outraged by soldiery, the terrible share that women are forced to take in war. Another child of fifteen has died in Hartlepool as a result of the bombardment. Many women were killed in the air raid on Dunkirk last week.

Universal dissatisfaction is being felt with the delay shown by the Pensions Committee in issuing their new scale of pensions for the families of killed or disabled soldiers. The *Times* in a leading article calls for the whole question of payments to soldiers' families to be placed on an intelligible footing.

Mr. R. Wallace, K.C., told the grand jury at the London Sessions last Tuesday that crime had decreased 50 per cent. in this country since the outbreak of war. We cannot help observing that it is not women who have been drawn off to serve their country at the front.

At a meeting in Washington Mrs. Pethick Lawrence suggested practical ways to put an end to war. One was that gun works should all be under Government control, in order to put an end to commercialising armaments of war; another that women should be elected as delegates to Hague conferences.

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FRIDAY, JANUARY 8, 1915.

MR. REGINALD CHADBAND

For its issue on New Year's Day the *Daily News and Leader* kindly collected a considerable number of what it called "Stirring Messages Breathing Calm Confidence in the Outlook for 1915." The messages were sent "to the British people by eminent men and women, leaders of thought, administrators, social workers, and business men," most of whom were then associated for the first and last time of their lives. Nearly all tried to utter the proper and customary platitudes about war leading to everlasting peace, and bloodshed to world-wide preservation. But at the moment we have to do with only two of the messages—one at the beginning of the list, and one at the end.

At the very head of the two columns, next below Queen Alexandra's message, which merely spoke of affection, sympathetic admiration, and prayers for victory, the *Daily News and Leader* placed the message from Mr. Reginald McKenna, the Home Secretary. From his reputation no war and no peace will ever wash the stain of cruelty to women who were striving devotedly to enter upon the rights of common citizenship. He is not a leader of thought, nor a social worker, nor a business man. But because he must, unfortunately, be counted among administrators he was asked for his message, and he bestowed upon the British people the following effusion:—

The New Year brings a message full of hope and encouragement. Inspired by the justice of our cause, a united nation has met a great and unexpected crisis with a courage and patriotism which give assurance of victory. The consciousness of national danger has revealed the deep-seated feelings of citizenship which animate our people, and this signal manifestation of public spirit will remain as a permanent inheritance to sustain and guide us in future years.

"Peace, my friends," said Mr. Chadband, rising and wiping the oily exudations from his reverend visage, "peace be with us! My friends, why with us? Because it cannot be against us, because it must be for us; because it is not hardening, because it is softening; because it does not make war, like the hawk, but comes home unto us like the dove. Therefore, my friends, peace be with us!"

Mr. McKenna's message is described by the *Daily News and Leader* as breathing calm confidence, and the description suits Mr. Chadband's utterance equally well. We only wish our Home Secretary had gone a little further in gathering inspiration from his great exemplar. We wish he had turned the page and discovered the dissertation upon the nature of Truth. "What is the common sort of Terewth—the working clothes—the everyday wear, my young friends?" asked Mr. Chadband. "Is it deception? Is it suppression? Is it reservation? No, my friends, it is neither of these. Neither of these names belongs to it." That is a passage which we recommend Mr. McKenna to get by heart, lest at any future time he should be questioned about his treatment of women as political prisoners. For one might

suppose from his answers in the past that his idea of truth was deception, was suppression, and was reservation.

But though Mr. McKenna appears incapable of acting up to the Chadband idea of truth, his New Year message breathes, as we said, the veritable Chadband spirit. Consider one sentence. After discerning an assurance of victory in the courage and patriotism of a united nation, our Home Secretary continues: "The consciousness of national danger has revealed the deep-seated feelings of citizenship which animates our people." Who would suppose from such words that Mr. McKenna was a member of the Government which has endeavoured by every device of political trickery, bad faith, and violence to succeed not only in crushing down those "deep-seated feelings of citizenship" in half the adult population, but in excluding that half from citizenship itself? Who would suppose that Mr. McKenna had himself been the chosen instrument of the oppression and cruelty with which that Liberal Government attempted to choke the rising demand for a right which forms the very basis of Liberalism and Democracy? It is a mockery for Mr. McKenna and the other Chadbands of the Government to cry "Peace, peace!" or to maunard about patriotism, unity, and citizenship while they combine to refuse the actual right which promotes patriotism, ensures unity, and is the very definition of citizenship.

"Is there liberty without the Vote?" cried Mazzini long ago. "Is not the Vote the stamp of self-asserting human nature throughout the moral world?" Even more definite are the words of Mr. McKenna's own political leader. In answer to the Sheffield Union in February, 1911, Mr. Asquith said: "A man's right to vote depends solely on his being a citizen." Not only did he purposely intend by those words to exclude all women from that right, but by implication and in fact he excluded all women from equal citizenship and from those deep-seated feelings of citizenship which Mr. McKenna says the consciousness of national danger has revealed.

Women have done their best to forget these intolerable insults. They have done their best to forget how cheap Mr. McKenna and his colleagues have held them. They have displayed deep-seated feelings of a citizenship which the present Government denies them, but which the higher powers of nature and justice bestow, in defiance of any Liberal Minister's tyranny. Like the Russian reformers and exiles, even the most persecuted Suffragists are willing to hope that the bond of our common danger may bring the redemption of a changed heart to their worst oppressors. Those who have laboured in the cause of liberty have a right to applaud such generosity, but we cannot allow the oppressors themselves to pour out the unctuous cant of Mr. McKenna without a protest. In contrast, let us read again the noble words of Mrs. Bramwell Booth among the final messages in the *Daily News and Leader*:—

"I firmly believe," she wrote, "that if woman's voice had been heard among the diplomats of Europe, and she had been given a place in their Councils, this terrible and inhuman war had been averted. A home without a woman is a collection of confusion. The State is but the larger home, and there will be confusion worse confounded while woman is deprived of the position which God gave her when He placed her by the side of man, and said it was not good that he should be alone."

"A collection of confusion"—what an exact description of Europe at the present time, and of the diplomacy which led to the war, and of every country in which the position given, as Mrs. Booth says, by God to women is denied them by narrow-minded little "antis" of Mr. McKenna's type!

AMERICA AND ENGLAND

By Mrs. Pethick Lawrence

(Extracts from an article appearing in the "Philadelphia Evening Ledger," December 14, 1914.)

To-day, more than ever perhaps, America is for the Old World the land of hope. During my stay in this country I have found myself again and again formulating silently the prayer that America will keep her eyes toward the future and not towards the past; that she will initiate and not imitate; lead and not follow. There is, indeed, hope for humanity if the New World can lead the whole world out of some of its worst entanglements. As an English suffragist I cannot but be impressed by the way in which America has provided against the kind of impasse that has brought the woman's movement in England to revolution.

As one who believes in the literal truth of those words uttered by the greatest American statesman, namely, "that government should be of the people, by the people and for the people," I am naturally in a condition of chronic amazement at the denial of the right of self-government to half the people on the part of this liberty-loving nation. . . . The raison d'être of America and of her Constitution was the claim that those who pay taxes have a right to a voice in levying them, and that those who obey laws have a right to a voice in making them, and that this right is inalienable to a free people. The pretence that the demand for this right on the part of women, because it has been in obedience for over a century, is, therefore, a new principle, and that it must be subjected to every possible test and difficulty before it is admitted into the Constitution is, in my opinion, unworthy of the splendour of the American idea.*

America's Safety Valve

And yet, in spite of these reservations, I have to recognise the fact that American statesmanship has provided a safety valve against revolution by allowing to the woman suffrage movement in the country a legitimate outlet in the way of constitutional agitation. By setting before it at the end of infinite labours and sacrifices the hope and the possibility of success, it has avoided the worst errors of British statecraft.

Had the political conditions been the same in the United Kingdom as they are in America, there would never have been a militant suffrage movement in my country. And, by the same token, were political conditions in America the same as they are to-day in England, I have enough faith in our common ancestry and our common traditions of liberty to believe that there would have been a second American revolution on this soil—a bloodless one like ours, I hope—in which American women, refusing to submit to political subjection, would have wrung from their countrymen the recognition of their inalienable right of self-government.

I find that an almost total misunderstanding with regard to the militant suffrage movement in England exists in America. This is due to a quite natural ignorance of the political situation that prevails in my country. There are two main causes of this misapprehension. The American public believes, first, that in the United Kingdom women are trying to convert men by violent action rather than by argument and reason, and, second, that in England the people, that is the male people included in the electorate, rule.

Let me say with regard to the first point, that the women in Great Britain are not trying to convert the men to woman suffrage. That has

* Since this was written the Democrats have ceased to block the Bill in Congress, and it was debated in the Lower House last month. See page 123.—Ed. VOTES FOR WOMEN.

been accomplished for a long time. Let facts, not opinions of mine, speak.

(Here follows an account of how the public bodies of Great Britain and Ireland have petitioned Parliament and declared in favour of woman suffrage.)

But it cannot be sufficiently realised that the Liberal and Conservative parties are controlled at the top by a little group of men who possess enormous power so long as they act in concert with one another. It is these men, belonging to both parties, who decide what questions shall be submitted to the electorate for their decision, and what questions shall be withheld from the people and never submitted to them for their judgment. In other words, these men decide what the two parties shall quarrel about and upon what subjects they shall agree.

The Party Conspiracy

There are two questions which they have never allowed to come in any way before the electorate of the United Kingdom. One is the question of foreign policy and the other is the question of woman suffrage. So long as they stand together in agreement, they can keep these two questions for ever from being decided by the electorate.

(Mrs. Lawrence then gives a summary of the Government's betrayal of the woman's cause in this country, and of the various incitements to militancy by Ministers of the Crown.)

Historical precedent, political necessity, and the closing of every other avenue are the sole causes of militancy in England, and until this is understood the movement cannot be rightly apprehended by the American public. The strength of militancy lies entirely in the justice of the cause behind it. But for that it would have been stamped out long ago. Warm congratulations to the American women that they

have not been forced into these methods of agitation!

No one in the world hates militancy half so much as those upon whom the suffering, inconceivable in its weight and intensity, falls. I mean the militants themselves. There has been a long and awful martyrdom of which glimpses can be obtained in Lady Constance Lytton's book, "Prison and Prisoners." One day it will be universally recognised that they have been crucified for a new redemption of humanity. To them belongs the renown of having carried on a new kind of civil war for liberty, a war in which no human being, except the soldiers of liberty themselves, has ever been injured in limb or life. When they are dead they will be honoured. But to-day they are misjudged even by those of their own sex in America for whom, as for all womanhood, they have suffered unspeakable tribulation. I say deliberately, that those who misjudge them, unless they do so in unavoidable, inexcusable, ignorance, are not worthy of them, and that those who deny them shame their own honour.

The Militant Spirit

Rather let American women, while thanking their good fortune that there is no need to adopt similar political methods here, gather fire from their devotion and put into their campaign for winning the vote of constitutional agitation in Pennsylvania and other States the same conviction amounting to religious faith, the same political acumen, the same sacrifice, the same courage, and the same self-regardless devotion. In that case their victory is assured. "When a great moral issue is at stake" said Garibaldi, fifty years ago, "victory never yet failed those who were determined to have it."

WILL DYSON ON WAR

Mr. Dyson's exhibition of satiric cartoons at the Leicester Galleries, Leicester Square, is only concerned with war, it is true, but on the outside pages of the *Herald* he has done such splendid service to our cause that in any case we should urge our readers to visit this magnificent display of his genius. Besides, our cause is involved in this war, as in every other public event or disaster. For, except by the present Government, women cannot be left out from anything that affects humanity, and without wishing specially to illustrate our side of the question, Mr. Dyson touches it very closely now and again. One will remember that drawing called "Europe—August 30, 1914." Death, armed with helmet and sword, knocks at a cottage door. Inside, a mother, hugging her child to her breast, turns to listen in sudden terror. The child also turns—turns in curiosity. One remembers, too, that satire on the prying intruders who started scandals about soldiers' wives and other women almost the moment the war began, and so led up to the order for police supervision. The design shows us foul-minded spies crawling along the ground to peer upon two lovers in a sheltered doorway, the man in uniform. "How this brings home to me the horrors of war!" says one of the gloating intruders to the other.

Among the fine set of drawings more strictly limited to war, we should especially choose out "Wonders of Science—1914" (two uniformed orang-outangs dropping bombs on a city from an aeroplane); "Atheism" (a "fat" German seizing a book from his submissive daughter,

and crying, "Voltaire! reading Voltaire, my child, the enemy of our Kaiser's representative above!"); the "Voice of Heaven" (the Kaiser in armour inscribed with the words, "Necessity Knows no Law," but shrivelling before the might of sun, winds, and waters, whose motto is, "Our Law Knows no Necessity"); "Circe" (the enthroned spirit of war transfiguring men into swine); and "Kultur Protector" (a huge German General dragging on his boots and yelling to a stoutish, muscular, and thoroughly domesticated female, labelled "Culture": "Donner and Blitzen! quicker with mine great-coat and helmet, or must you feel my jackboot, idle schwine-face that you are! Am I not about to cut der throats of Europe to show how much I respect you!") H. W. N.

THE COMPLETE JIJITSUAN

Jujitsu is perhaps one of the few athletic studies that can be made from a text-book; for the Japanese art of self-defence is more a matter of brains than of muscular weight, and for that reason we are surprised that the author of this little book should speak of women in his introduction as the weaker sex. Pre-eminently where Jujitsu is concerned, women are not the weaker sex—agility, alertness, and a quick brain being the qualities needed. Anyone wishing to become an adept in the art could not do better than buy Mr. Garrud's book and make a complete study of it; after which a few good lessons would probably be all that would be required to complete the tuition. The illustrations are excellent and most helpful.

* "The Complete Jijitsuan." By W. H. Garrud, London: Methuen and Co. Price 5s. net.

Articles and News contributed for insertion in *VOTES FOR WOMEN* should be sent to The Editors, *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., at the earliest possible date, and in no case later than first post Monday morning prior to the publication of the paper.

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

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A MASS MEETING

will be held in

TRAFALGAR SQUARE

— on —

SUNDAY AFTERNOON, JANUARY 24,

To protest against the treatment of Soldiers' Wives and the infringement of Women's Liberties under the Defence of the Realm Act.

SOCIETIES TAKING PART.

Women's Freedom League (organizers), United Suffragists, East London Federation of the Suffragettes, Northern Men's Federation.

U.S. SPEAKERS:—Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Mr. Charles Gray, Miss Kitty Ennis, Mr. G. Lansbury, Mr. H. W. Nevinson, Mr. John Scurr, Miss Evelyn Sharp.

DON'T FORGET JANUARY 24!

CORRESPONDENCE

THE TREATMENT OF PROSTITUTES

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—In reply to your comment on my letter in last week's VOTES FOR WOMEN, I also am anxious that the vote may be granted to women before any further social legislation is permanently enacted, because I think it necessary to get the consent of the rank and file of women and not merely the opinion of experts and those having special knowledge; and further because in the matter of prostitution it is essential that the rank and file of women shall face and accept their responsibility before we can hope to get rid of "women's oldest trade"; and the vote, being the "symbol of sovereignty," will signify the recognition by men and the acceptance by women of their share of responsibility for the welfare of the State.

But my proposal at this moment arises from the fact that under martial law a new law has been enacted. Under such circumstances it does not suffice, I think, having regard to the law in question, to say that this law is "not acceptable." Still less is it acceptable to have men resist it on the particular ground urged by Mr. Laurence Housman. When men are busily engaged in the odd moments they can spare from the war in so misgoverning women, it behoves women, I think, to find some way out "until the end of the war," i.e., some method which shall not leave the women handled by martial law more crippled at the end of the war than they are already.

My proposal (4) is not "unthinkable" to me, because what you term "imprisonment" for an indefinite time is already the rule in the case of insanity. You appear to me to be so imbued with the idea of imprisonment as a punitive measure that you cannot grasp the idea which I have suggested, viz., that those girls who have been proved to be living partly or wholly on wages earned by prostitution should be treated as those of unsound mind, and kept under treatment until they have recovered their capacity to manage themselves and their affairs without injury to the community.

I make the suggestion only "until the end of

the war," because it is too far-reaching to be enacted permanently, as a piece of emergency legislation. By the end of the war we hope to have the vote, when the opinion of the rank and file of women as well as others can come into play.—Yours, etc., ERIC EVANS.

23, Dumfries Place, Cardiff.

[We are still unconvinced by Dr. Evans's arguments in favour of any form of repressive legislation for women passed without their consent, and in answer to her contention that it would only be temporary, we would remind her that temporary measures coercive of a voteless class would almost certainly become permanent.—Ed., VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I have read with great interest the report of the protest made by the United Suffragists relative to the imprisonment of the "undesirable" women at Cardiff and the remark made by the military commanding officer that he was acting in the interest of the health of his men and not on grounds of immorality. It is to me a matter of minor significance on what grounds he undertook the responsibility of imprisoning these women, but out of it arises a larger question which has been borne in upon me by an occurrence which has happened in this town within the last fortnight.

A very determined prostitute has been parading the streets for some weeks, and it is said that she has inflicted much harm on the physique of the troops now stationed here. A few days ago I heard that she had been arrested and had been sent to prison for fourteen days. Being one of a deputation to wait on the Watch Committee on the last day of the year, I took occasion to enquire whether I had been correctly informed and whether the girl had been incarcerated, as I had looked through all the papers and could find no notice of it. The chairman said it was quite correct, as he was on the Bench at the time, and he asked whether I did not approve of the sentence. I replied that it seemed to me a very serious thing for a woman, however bad, to be incarcerated for a fortnight and for people only to know by hearsay that such

a proceeding had taken place. The chairman replied that the trial was in open court and anyone had a right to be there, but if the Press did not think fit to report such cases, it was not the fault of the law. I think the chairman's answer was a good one, but at the same time it is a good thing that the Press should discriminate as to what cases it should report and what suppress? In this case a girl known to be of very evil repute is hidden from her fellow-countrymen, and only by hearsay do they learn where she is. When her sentence has expired, she returns without the disgrace of a public trial attached to her name—and she will probably return to her former mode of life (perhaps in another place), but without any stigma attaching to her. Is it in the interests of morality that trials of this kind should be withheld from the public gaze, and would not the open recognition that such trials were taking place be a deterrent, whereas, as things are, no one knows anything about them?

Again, is it fair to the girl that she should not have the advantage of womanly help when she is brought up on a charge of repeated ill-conduct? And where can come in the ministering hand that would pity while condemning if there is no means provided for knowing what has become of her? The courts may be open, but few people are interested enough in police cases to frequent them as a matter of course, and we must not forget that if by any means an unjust sentence has been given, the liberties of the whole sex are endangered. Let us not forget the noble words of Lord Chatham at the trial of John Wilkes:—"I am neither moved by his private vices nor by his public merits. In his person, though he were the worst of men, I contend for the safety and security of the best; and God forbid, my lords, that there should be a power in this country of measuring the civil rights of the subject by his moral character or by any other rule but the fixed laws of the land."—Yours, etc., KATE RYLEY.

46, Grosvenor Road, Birkdale, Southport.

[Our correspondent's letter raises various points of interest. The only answer that covers them all is to say that there can be no guarantee that justice will be done to women, in or out of the courts, until they have won the protection of the vote.—Ed., VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES Cruelty to Children

The *People* (December 20) reports case of a plumber's mate charged before Mr. d'Eyncourt at Clerkenwell with beating his two sons, aged four and six, with a broom and a boot, till they were covered with bruises and abrasions, and were black and blue all over.

Sentence: *Four months' hard labour.*

HEAVY SENTENCES Theft of Harness

The *Kent Messenger and Maidstone Telegraph* (November 27) reports case of a bootmaker charged at the Kent Assizes with stealing a set of harness. There were previous convictions against him.

Sentence: *Twelve calendar months' hard labour.*

Eighteen Years of Assault

The *Morning Advertiser* (December 31) reports case of a man charged at West Ham Police Court with assaulting his wife by turning her out of the house at 1 a.m., kicking and severely bruising her. She said they had been married 18 years, and she had been assaulted every week by him.

Sentence: *Two months' hard labour.*

Sleeping in a Tool Shed

The *Morning Advertiser* (December 26) reports case of a labourer charged before the Stratford Bench with being found on enclosed premises and with being a person subject to the Prevention of Crimes Act. He had been found sleeping in a tool shed, and said he had taken shelter there from the rain. There were previous convictions against him.

Sentence: *Twelve months' hard labour.*

Cruelty to a Horse

The *Morning Advertiser* (December 31) reports case of a carman charged before the Stratford Bench with cruelty to a bay gelding by working it in an unfit state. It was seen to be in great pain, and when examined was found to have an out-sore on the shoulder which had been broken afresh by the harness.

Sentence: *Fined 10s. and costs.*

Stealing Eighteen Shillings

The *Daily News* (December 7) reports case of a nurse charged at the Croydon Police Court with obtaining by false pretences two sums of 10s. and 8s. from a clergyman at Brighton.

Sentence: *Three months' imprisonment.*

A NEW DANGER TO YOUNG GIRLS

For a considerable time we have published, week by week, a table of some of the punishments given in our Courts, comparing the lightness of sentences imposed for offences against the person, especially against the person of women, with the severity of those passed upon breakers of the laws protecting property. The above table again shows this glaring inequality, and emphasises the way it presses particularly upon women and children; and Suffragists know well that the change of public opinion necessary for the readjustment of this distorted sense of proportion will never come about until women, who, as a whole, place a far higher value on life than men do, are raised to an equality with men in the State.

Leniency to Men in Uniform

But a new and very grave danger now threatens the person of women, and especially of young girls, in connection with police-court cases. This arises out of the tendency on the part of some magistrates and some newspapers to take a lenient view of criminal and other assaults upon women and girls, when these are committed by men in uniform, or by men willing to enlist.

We do not bring this indictment lightly, for we have the word both of a judge and of a magistrate to prove the truth of what we say, in regard to cases of theft. At the Salford Assizes, last Monday, the Recorder, referring to a plea for leniency made on these grounds by a man convicted of theft, said he did not believe in this whining plea which prisoners were now in the habit of making. Nor do we.

At Marylebone, says the *Morning Advertiser* (December 12), the magistrate, hearing that the defendant in a certain case of fraud was willing to join the Army if acquitted, said "there seemed to be a general impression abroad that if a man committed felony all he had to do to purge his offence was to join the Army"; and, refusing to accept the excuse, the magistrate sentenced the man, and

wisely added that honest soldiers would not care to associate with a thief.

How much more true should this be of a man convicted of any kind of assault upon women! Can decent soldiers, jealous of the prestige of the British Army, wish its ranks to be swelled by those convicted in the Courts of offences, the mere report of which, as said to be committed on Belgian women and children by German soldiers, is rousing—and justly rousing—a storm of indignation in this country at the present moment?

Some Instances

At Bow Street, on December 28, a sailor was charged before Mr. Hopkins with committing a series of assaults upon women. He followed a young girl into a passage and took hold of her; when a woman came to her rescue he knocked her down. After this he broke into another room and seized another woman by the throat. It was further alleged that he assaulted two more women, one of whom was bitten. The magistrate, as reported in the *Morning Advertiser*, said: "A nice mess you have got yourself into. You look like a decent fellow, and you are in uniform. If it were not for that you would go to prison. You must pay a fine of 40s. and 30s. costs."

Warning the Wrong Person

In other cases where the charge against the man in uniform is dismissed for want of that elusive support known as corroborative evidence, the Bench takes the opportunity of blaming, not the defendant, who has escaped perhaps by a quibble, or his fellows, one of whom must be guilty, but the child to whom the wrong has been done! Last October, a private was charged before the Bench at Berwick with a serious offence against a little girl of 13. He was discharged because the Mayor said there was not sufficient evidence to send the case for trial, although the constable who apprehended the man stated in evidence that, when charged, the defendant pleaded for a chance, and said he thought the girl was 14. The girl admitted that she had told him this. We cannot gather from the report in the *Berwick Advertiser* (October 16) why this evidence was rejected as in-

sufficient that the offence had been committed, but still less can we understand why the Mayor took the occasion to reprimand only the little girl, saying the Bench was convinced she had concealed the truth, and adding that the case was an instance of the want of parental control in the town, and the officers in charge of troops there should give their men a warning! We should have thought it sounder to warn little girls of 13 against soldiers than to warn soldiers against little girls of 13!

The Press Fills Up the Gaps

When the Bench shows a little enlightenment and fails to find excuses for the defendant in uniform, the Press generally supplies the rare deficiency, as in the case of the *Weston-super-Mare Mercury* (December 26), which remarks ingeniously of one of these dismissed cases of assault: "If a word of advice had been given to mothers to check the forwardness of their daughters—some little other than children—in the streets, the effect [of a magisterial censure delivered, for once, to the man] would have been doubly beneficial. The men are not entirely to blame for toying with the girls—far from it." (The italics are ours.)

The case of "toying" in question was that of an indecent assault on a girl of 14 in an omnibus, which was dismissed for want of evidence against the actual man charged, who refused to give the names of his companions. The Clerk of the Court said:

"It is a disgusting thing for men to have anything to do with a girl like this, who is not over-bright . . . Something undoubtedly did happen" . . . in which the Chairman concurred. The latter also spoke of the conduct of other soldiers with little girls, and uttered a warning with respect to a soldier brought subsequently before him against whom a conviction could be obtained; while the counsel for the defendant, basing his defence solely on the plea of mistaken identity, said himself he had seen soldiers with their arms round the necks of little girls, and suggested that some representation should be made by the Bench to the commandant with regard to the matter.

The Suffragist Standpoint

Suffragists yield to none in their admiration for the courage and devotion of the men now giving, or ready to give, their lives for their country; but no one will deny, least of all the majority of the men themselves, many of whom doubtless have little girls of their own, that to encourage the black sheep of the army is to bring discredit, and not honour, upon that army, and that the practice of putting all the blame for these discreditable outrages upon the child or the young woman is an abominable one, and would not be tolerated in any country where women are regarded with honour and respect. The atrocities of war are the outcome of the atrocities of peace; and both result from the political negligibility of women.

THE INNOCENT CORONER

The Southwark Coroner who "supposed" recently that a woman working eleven hours a day in a jam factory, with an hour off for dinner, would earn thirty or thirty-five shillings, must have received a shock when the girl-wife before him stated, in answer to this supposition, that she earned just ten shillings, out of which she had to pay someone three shillings to look after her children. Her husband, she added, was earning seventeen shillings a week. We hope the enlightened Coroner now shares our wonder that inquests are not more common even than they are already.

THE LIGHTER SIDE

Who Pays the Beer Tax?

The story is told of old Tom's absence for some weeks from the warehouse. When he reappeared it was natural to inquire his opinion of the rise in the price of his tipple.

"Well," he said, "just night I couldn't sleep for thinkin' of it. You see, it's not about myself. It's t' wife. It'll be three-an'-eight a week off her wages, and it'll be a bit 'ard on 'er!" —Evening News.

COMING EVENTS

The Women's Freedom League will hold a meeting at the Suffrage Club, York Street, on Wednesday, January 13, at 3.30 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Despard and Miss Boyle. Chair: Mrs. Tamer.

The United Suffragists, in conjunction with other societies, will hold a demonstration in Trafalgar Square on Sunday, January 24, to protest against women being exploited to protect men, and to deal besides with the question of the treatment of soldiers' wives. For speakers see page 122.

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SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE will hold public meetings at the Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, Jermyn Street, Piccadilly, each Wednesday afternoon at 3.30. Speakers January 13: Mrs. Despard and Miss Boyle. Chair: Mrs. Tanner. Admission free.

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