

"The Suffragette," February 13, 1914.

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# The Suffragette

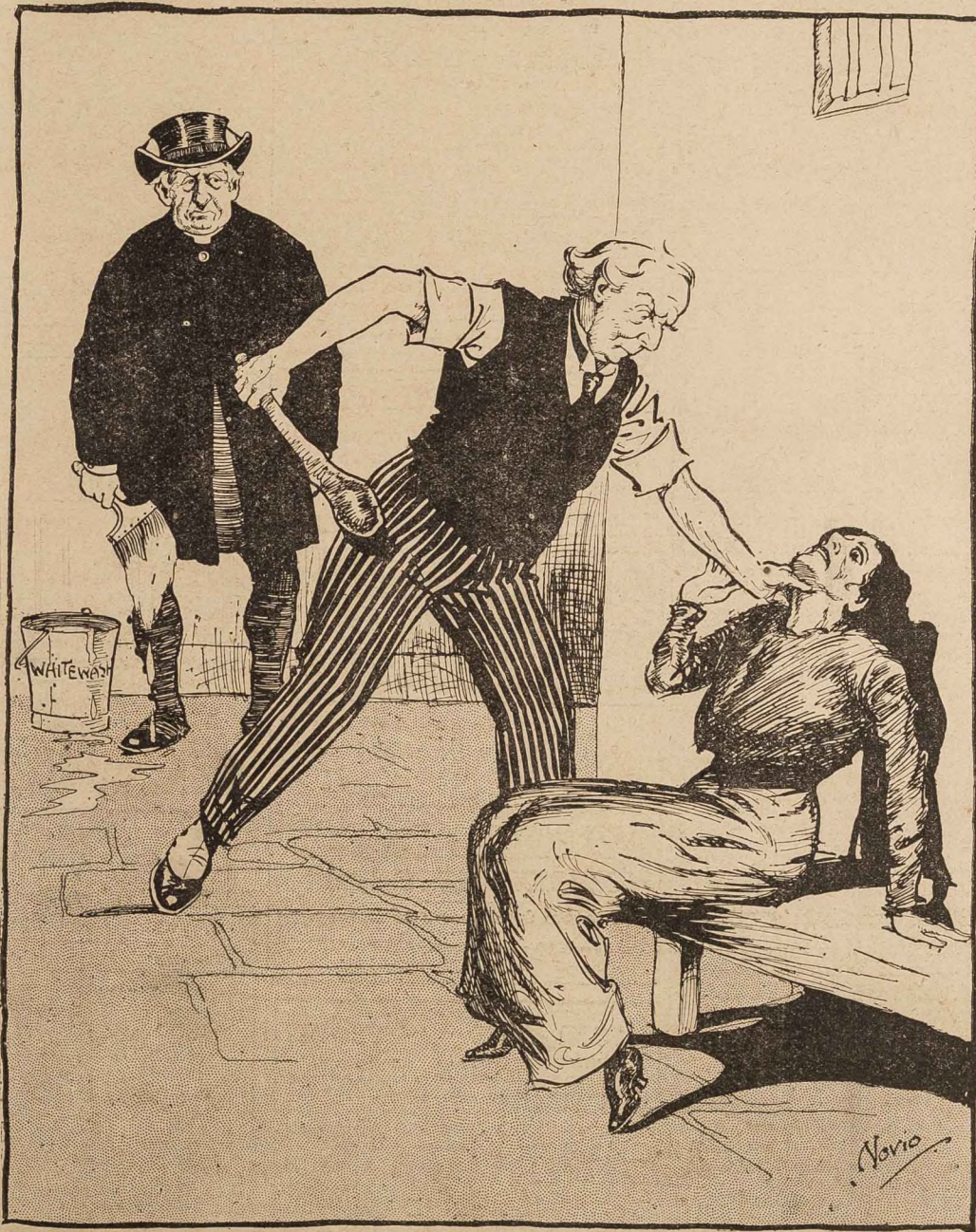
Edited by Christabel Pankhurst.

The Official Organ of the  
Women's Social and Political Union.

No. 70—Vol. II.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1914.

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"A Whitewash Brush, my Lord Bishop, has been placed in your hands."



The "Daily News" and the Government, of which it is a mouthpiece have rejoiced in vain. The faith of the W.S.P.U. in militancy is even stronger to-day than it has ever been before.

The W.S.P.U. Phoenix.

Over and over again since militancy began, the W.S.P.U. has seen in the newspapers the announcement of its impending demise. Announcements such as these give comic relief to the situation and serve to advertise to the public the extraordinary and invincible strength of the W.S.P.U., this phoenix which so often and so triumphantly rises from its own ashes.

The greatest alarm is felt by the chief organisers of the Women's Social and Political Union regarding the probable consequences of the recent split in their ranks, of which I made exclusive announcement in the "Yorkshire Post" a fortnight ago.

This paragraph has reference to a new Suffrage organisation in which militants and non-militants (most people are either for or against militancy and the precise definition of a non-militant we have never seen) are to join hands.

The Question of New Societies.

Of the formation of new Suffrage Leagues there is no end, and some people are asking whether or no this is a desirable thing. The answer to such a question would seem to be this: There are certain reasons which may make the formation of any new Suffrage organisation expedient.

What answer have the anti-militant Suffragists to give to such arguments as these and how do they justify their alliance with the Labour members who are the Government's subservient tools?

to convince the anti-militant Suffragists that by supporting the official Labour Party, they are strengthening the hand of the anti-Suffragist Liberal Government.

Injuring the Cause.

Every woman who sincerely wants the vote and has the smallest political intelligence strongly condemns the arrangement whereby Mr. Arthur Henderson, one of the leading members of the Labour Party, and an ally of the Government, is to be a speaker at the big demonstration to be held by the anti-militant Suffragists at the Albert Hall next Saturday.

Labour Party Shares Government's Disgrace.

The "Christian Commonwealth," by no means violent in its views concerning Suffrage policy, strongly criticises the Labour Party's refusal to oppose the Plural Voting Bill for the sake of votes for women and says:

If the Government is assured of the support of the Labour Party in seeking to abolish plural voting, we may rest assured that other franchise reforms will receive scant attention in the lifetime of this Parliament.

To the extent to which the Labour Party further (the Government's) design by voting for such a Bill, they share in the disgrace and shame of the women's betrayal.

Monuments to Vice.

The gravity of the problem of venereal disease finds illustration in the order recently issued by the Local Government Board making Ophthalmia Neonatorum (the purulent discharge from the eyes of an infant beginning within 21 days from the date of its birth a notifiable disease).

The £250,000 Fund.

Contributions December 11 to 15.

Table listing contributions from various individuals and organizations, including Mrs. Wolfe Levy, Mrs. Alice Singer, Mrs. Aram, etc., with amounts in pounds and shillings.

Collections, Tickets, Membership Fees, etc. ... £162,086 5 10

CHURCH AND STATE IN UNHOLY ALLIANCE.

By CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

If the Church's disestablishment means the end of the servile pandering of the Church to the party in power, who will not support the disestablishment of the English Church!

At present, the Church is in league with the State for the purpose of repressing women. The State disfranchises women; the Church condones it. The State tortures women; the Church connives at it. An unholy alliance indeed!

The Church which should be holding high the lamp of the spirit to light the way of the civil power, is helping to keep ill deeds in darkness.

The Church is rendering unto Caesar not those things which are Caesar's, but those things also which are God's. The Church snarls at the State like a dog with a bone, when endowments are threatened—but then makes up for it by sycophancy displayed at women's expense.

The Whitewash Brush.

Its money-bags the Church guards against all comers but nothing will it do to vindicate the rights of women or protect them from persecution. When women are insulted—assaulted—tortured in prison, the Church, whitewash brush in hand, rushes to the rescue of the Government's reputation.

The heads of the Church when it is a question of human honour and freedom, speak not as pleasing God, but as pleasing man. So we have the heads of the Church aiding and abetting the Government in the hateful work of woman-torture, by helping to maintain an atmosphere in which this horror can be committed and by counter-signing and spreading abroad the lies on this subject which the Government have to tell.

The Archbishop of Canterbury asked to speak in condemnation of torture, answers that he cannot be pressed and tries to take the odium from the Government and cast it upon tortured women by complaining of their methods as one who should say "This Paul is a pestilent fellow and a mover of sedition among all the Jews throughout the world."

Government Blinker.

The Bishop of London, asked to visit the tortured women in prison and to let in the light upon their suffering, fits himself out with blinkers supplied by the Government and issues a report of Government manufacture. This report is a cruel misrepresentation of the case and is an attempt to destroy public sympathy with the prisoner whom he visited, Miss Rachel Peace.

a few days' respite she has with marvellous heroism renewed it, and again come under forcible feeding torture.

Shameful to say, the Bishop made himself the agent of Government temptation and dangled before her the bait of final release from prison and from torture as an inducement to her to forswear her principles and desert her cause.

Miss Kitty Marion's Cries.

The Bishop's report having been indignantly and utterly repudiated by the W.S.P.U., he went again to Holloway Prison, and this time saw two other tortured Suffragists—Miss Kitty Marion and Miss Phyllis Brady. A fellow-prisoner, since released, had heard issuing from an adjoining cell shrieks and moans of uncontrollable, terrible pain. They were the cries of Kitty Marion.

But what does the Bishop in his second report say of this matter? Miss Kitty Marion, he says, told him that she "always gave as a protest four or five screams (and this the authorities had previously told me) every time." As a "protest" these cries were uttered, so the Bishop prompted by the Government would have us believe. Not as the expression of dreadful pain, but as a protest. By means of such lies are the public drugged and dosed into the toleration of the crime of torture. Fortunately, this false statement circulated by the Bishop has been instantly refuted by the message that has come from Miss Marion's fellow-prisoner, Miss Phyllis Brady. She says: "On Saturday morning the Bishop of London saw Kitty Marion and myself. He said that I need not be alarmed about Miss Marion as she only screamed as a form of protest rather than anything else. When I told her this afterwards she said it was quite wrong, as the screams were only to relieve her feelings until the operation was over. She was afraid otherwise she would go mad." From Miss Marion herself we have a statement concerning her suffering in January, 1913, when she endured this same torture of forcible feeding. She then said "The tube was put up my nose; it twisted and part of it came out of my mouth. The pain was so horrible that I felt as though my nose was being pulled off and I struggled violently and was violently sick, and when the operation was over I cried with relief and pain."

And why his failure to witness the operation of forcible feeding for himself!

Both the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, although they will not condemn the Government's attack upon human life, are not sparing of their condemnation of women's attacks on mere property. To break a window or to burn a house seems to the Archbishop of Canterbury a far greater sin than for the Government to set their servants upon a helpless woman in a prison cell and torture her. Only the other day, however, the Archbishop was speaking at a dinner in celebration of the Hundred Years' Peace between the United States and our own country, and yet not one word did he say in rebuke of the violence and bloodshed by which the American people resisted the attempt of the British Government to tax them without giving them representation. The Archbishop even quoted with approval and sympathy the lines of Frederick Myers in which the spirit of Washington addressed the late King Edward, then Prince of Wales, on his visit to America:

I craved no pardon, prince, that led by me This land revolted from your father's rod it was not I who set the people free. It was not I but God.

So the Archbishop believes after all that God speaks in revolution! Why then does he condemn the Suffragettes?

God's Will and God's Way.

And in the light cast by the Archbishop's approving quotation of the militant words of the poet, we may review the Bishop of London's message to his militant countrywomen: "You are in my opinion doing evil that good may come. You will forgive my reminding you that God's will can only be done in God's way."

It would seem that according to our episcopal critics, God wills one thing in Great Britain and another thing in America, and that He has one way where men are concerned and another way where women are concerned! Against this impious doctrine we militant women protest with all our might, and we marvel that even the Bishop of London (whose text when he preached one day to the women prisoners at Holloway, some of them Suffragists, was "Your Citizenship is in Heaven") should maintain it. Though men's will and way may be to disfranchise and torture women, and to have one law for themselves and another law for women—God has for men and women alike one and the same will and one and the same way.

Those at the head of the Church are on their trial, and sanctimonious time-servers, if they will not and dare not deal faithfully with the sins of those in high places, will find that henceforward women display an utter and absolute contempt for their false teaching and false leading.

Even the Bishops, even Archbishops, must meet the Great Judgment which they tell others is prepared for them, and when that time comes, they will stand accused of sharing in the crime of torturing prisoners and captives. They will be told "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these ye have done it unto Me," and when they protest "Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in Thy name," then it will be said unto them "I never knew you. Depart from me, ye that work iniquity."

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## The Suffragette.

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## For the Sake of Peace.

"Englishmen will never surrender to force, and they will never surrender to threats." How often have we been told this! And how utterly false it is! The Suffragettes have always known it to be false, and now they can point, as proof, to certain definite political transactions.

The Government's capitulation to Ulster's force—or, rather, threats of force—is the

greatest encouragement and the greatest incitement ever offered to women of the militant movement. This capitulation, announced in the King's Speech and in the speeches of Ministers on the opening day of Parliament, is not only an encouragement and an incitement to the militant women, it is a blow in the face to the anti-militant women led by Mrs. Fawcett.

As the price of peace, the Liberal Government has offered concession to Ulster; as the price of peace, and at no other price whatever, will the Liberal Government offer votes to women.

For the sake of peace, the Government will yield to Ulster's importunity; for the sake of peace, and only for the sake of peace, will this Government of greedy, narrow-minded, obstinate, and cruel men give way to the just demands of women.

Women of a strong and free spirit are ashamed of the cringing methods some of their sex employ to win the Vote. To appeal any longer to such men as the Prime Minister and his colleagues and allies is degradation. Only by fighting them, not by appealing to them, can women maintain their self-respect. Besides, as they themselves, by their conduct and policy in regard to Ulster admit, they will grant the Vote only as the price of and for the sake of peace.

The case for militancy thus stated, is unanswerable. The Government's offer of the olive branch to Ulster, and the terms in which that offer is expressed, mean the final destruction of every argument against Suffragist militancy.

All this is obvious, and yet in some people's minds will be found lurking the thought that militant methods, though successful when employed by men, cannot be successful when employed by women. This is a great fallacy. Even if it be true that men's militancy may be more violent than the militancy of women, the difference is, after all, only a difference of degree; and far truer still is it that the State, with its armed force and all the peculiar advantages which it enjoys, especially in modern times, is more formidable from the point of view of brute force than either men or women rebels can possibly be. Sir Edward Carson himself does not dream of being able to overcome the Government in armed conflict, because he knows that the regular Army is larger, better equipped, and more highly trained than is his volunteer army. The utmost that he aspires to accomplish—and for his purpose it is accomplishment enough—is to create so big a problem for the Government, and to make them pay so dear for governing Ulster in the way that Ulster hates, that they will renounce the very attempt. It would appear, from the statements by and on behalf of the Government when Parliament opened, that the very threats and preparations of Ulster have created the desired situation.

The task, then, which awaits fulfilment by women who want the Vote is not to overpower the Government, and the police and military forces which they command, but simply, by dint of fighting, to make the task of suppressing militancy so difficult and costly as to be unpalatable to the Government. Already the Government are hard-pressed by women's militancy. They cannot ignore it as they are able to ignore the anti-militarist movement or the peaceful propaganda of the anti-militant women. They have therefore, as a first expedient, resorted to coercion, and have pressed coercion to the point of torture. That proves no bar to militancy, and the horror and indignation excited by their policy of torture has increased the very effect of militancy, by aggravating or intensifying the problem which it creates. Torture again has brought into operation, and driven women to employ new forms and varieties of militancy. The "Cat-and-Mouse Act," which involves the repeated imprisonment and torture of the active militants, has roused their comrades to fight in their defence. The Government cannot nowadays rearrest a prisoner with impunity. The womanhood of her comrades is revolted by such an act, and as happened the other night, when they attempted to rearrest Mrs. Pankhurst, the police, agents of oppression, met with a fierce resistance.

The very fact that it is women who are now preparing themselves in order to protect and rescue a prisoner, to come to blows with the police, makes the difficulty from the Government's point of view all the greater. That men should in this manner defy the forces of law and order is nothing new, and means comparatively little, compared to such resistance made by women. It is notorious that the Government and Government officials are particularly dismayed by the prospect of having to face the attack of a detachment of the Women's Army every time they wish to rearrest a militant woman.

Women have been taunted with being the weaker sex, and therefore unable to work out their own salvation, and depend upon the good pleasure of men for their enfranchisement. The real truth is, as shown by the facts of the present day, that women's very weakness, or supposed weakness, makes them more formidable opponents of the Government, and more formidable as opponents of the law. Because if these weak ones, as men like to think them, defy the law and hold it in contempt; and if they can make the Government pay dear for coercing them, how very weak the law must be, and how very weak the Government!

More and more clearly women are realising their power to force the Government to give them political freedom for the sake of and as the price of peace.

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

## WHY WOMEN WANT THE VOTE.

By MILDRED E. MANSEL.

(This article will be continued in our next Number.)

To maintain the *status quo* and to see evil violently oppose all attempts at change, as if the millennium had already arrived, has ever been the way of Antis at every succeeding stage of human evolution. Like Canute ordering back the waves they would bar the forces of progress by a decree. It is strange, however, that at this moment they cannot see how, whilst they are trying by the old-time methods of persecution and torture to put back Woman Suffrage, the ground is steadily being gained from under their feet. Reading the signs, Suffragists might exclaim of the world of women, like Galileo before the Antis of his day who wished to keep the earth stationary, "And yet it moves." More and more the coming of the women is making itself felt, and already the results achieved thereby are adding a new chapter to human experience.

### Social and Moral Standard Raised

Why will not our opponents face facts? We sometimes ask ourselves in a kind of despair of the world's being governed by reason. For Woman Suffrage has passed the experimental stage and examination can now be made of the effect, both direct and indirect, of the woman's vote. The quality of the women's programme everywhere, and its similarity in States so widely separated as Australia and New Zealand, America, Norway and Finland would, one might imagine, shame any anti into acquiescence as to the inevitability of the woman's movement as a new factor in social progress. In every case Woman Suffrage has been immediately followed by a general keying up of the laws protecting child life, motherhood and the home, and has had the effect of raising a new social and moral standard of life.

### The Case of California.

The most strikingly direct instance of this, perhaps, is the case of California. For twenty years preceding their enfranchisement women had worked there by "indirect influence" to get certain Bills passed. In 1911 they gained the vote, and in the one Legislature which has sat since then they won them all. They include Acts making houses of prostitution a nuisance, and providing that the penalty falls, not only on those who conduct such houses, but on those who own, lease, or let them; an Act making both parents equal guardians of their children; one requiring fathers to support their illegitimate children; a Minimum Wage Act for women and children, and another limiting the hours of women's labour to 48 per week; an Act regulating the employment of children; one raising the age of consent to 18 years and defining the crime of rape; another raising the minimum penalty of rape from five to ten years' imprisonment, and the maximum from ten to fifty years; an Act establishing a State training school for delinquent girls, and

granting an appropriation therefor (200,000 dollars); an Act establishing civic centres at every public school-house in the State and providing for their free use; an Act making kindergartens part of the public-school system, and providing for their support; another creating a public-school teachers' pension fund; an Act establishing a standard of weights and measures, and providing for a State superintendent thereof; an Act requiring food containers to show the net food contents; an Act establishing the State registration of nurses; and an Act providing for cases in which a married woman may sue and be sued separately from her husband. This splendid list reads almost like a manifesto of the general aims inspiring the woman's movement.

### The Age of Consent.

In all Suffrage States the age of consent—the age at which a girl can consent to her own seduction—has been raised to 18, and in Wyoming it is said to be 21. Acts improving the condition of illegitimate children have been passed in New Zealand, South Australia, Victoria, Norway and Finland. In Norway a Bill recently introduced recognises equal rights of legitimate and illegitimate children, full right of inheritance and the right to bear their father's name for illegitimate children. In these columns we have seen the announcement of the Bill Mr. Castberg, Chief of the Ministry for Social Reform in Norway, is about to introduce to still further improve their position, by which the word illegitimate is to be legally suppressed, and the father's responsibility brought home to him more closely by the enforcement of payments on a raised scale to the mother both before and after the birth of the child. In New Zealand a Legitimation Act enables a child to be legitimised on the marriage of its parents, to receive equal shares of property, equal rights and the status of a legitimate child. A provision is also made for the distribution of the estates of illegitimate children to the mother and her relatives, to the exclusion of the father and his relatives. In Victoria children are legitimised on the marriage of the parents, also in South Australia, provided that no impediment existed at the birth of the child.

### Woman Suffrage in Finland.

Women Deputies in Finland have introduced Bills to the same effect. In fact, Baroness Aletta Rorff states in an interesting paper in the "National Geographic Magazine" for June, 1913, on the experience of Woman Suffrage in Finland that 50 per cent. of the Bills by them in three successive Diets have been framed with the view of improving the conditions of children. The Destitute Persons Act in New Zealand (1894) makes the father of an illegitimate child liable to pay from 4s. to 20s. a week for its maintenance up to the age of 14, and he may be compelled to pay an additional sum of £20 for its education (the mother is also liable for its maintenance).

The Inter-Parliamentary Union, "a globe-encircling organisation of men and women who play important parts in the public affairs of their various countries," as Judge Lindsey calls it, has declared that Colorado has the most progressive, most scientific laws relating to the child to be found on any statute books in the world. Not one of these, we are told, but has come into operation since Colorado adopted Woman Suffrage in 1893. These include laws establishing equal guardianship of children, making it a criminal offence for parents or other persons to contribute to the delinquency of children, a law providing that at least 2,000 dollars of the estate of a deceased parent shall be paid to the child before creditors' claims are satisfied, and above all the institution of the juvenile courts on which our own are modelled.

### Responsibility of "Illegitimate" Fathers.

Women initiated the first measure in any country to make an "illegitimate" father recognise his responsibility to the mother of his child by contributing maternity expenses, and incorporated this principle in the Affiliation Act of Australia. They are further showing their appreciation of the fact that the protection of motherhood and its conditions is of first importance to the race. A children's Act passed in Victoria in 1903, gives power to issue a warrant for desertion on the father of the unborn child. Wife deserters in Utah are forced to pay a certain sum for the support of their families. Colorado makes it a criminal offence to fail, refuse or neglect to provide food, clothing, shelter and care in case of sickness of wife or minor child. In New Zealand the Destitute Persons Act, passed in 1904, enables a magistrate to make an order on an employer to pay part of a man's wages for his destitute wife or child. Public attention has recently been drawn in this country by Dr. F. Truby-King, in lectures delivered in London and Manchester, to the working of a New Zealand organisation for the health of women and children, which has had the splendid result of reducing infantile mortality in New Zealand from 8 per cent. in 1907 to 3.8, at which figure it now stands. This society spreads information as to the care of children, an object the importance of which, as Dr. Truby-King said, cannot be too strongly insisted upon. It works hand-in-hand with the Department for Public Health, by which it is subsidised. Almost simultaneously with the report of these lectures there appeared in the Press an account of "mothercraft classes," which have been started in Wales with the same intention. Unfortunately, however, says the writer of an appeal on their behalf, under existing regulations it is impossible to secure grants for this work. "Fireside" politics need driving power, from women behind them to make them a reality in the State.















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(Continued on page 407).