

THE WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT

Editor - - SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Vol. II.—No. 44.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 22ND, 1916.

PRICE ONE HALFPENNY.

Donations to be sent to Hon. Treasurer, Dr. Tchaykovsky, Langham House, Harrow, or Hon. Financial Sec., Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.
All parcels to 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

MEETINGS AGAINST CONSCRIPTION.

The E. L. F. S. is organising a special daily series of anti-Conscription meetings, starting on Monday, Jan. 17th, whilst the Conscription crisis is on. They are as follows:—

Tower Hill—12.30 to 2 p.m.
Dog Market, Bethnal Green Rd.—12.30 to 2 p.m.
"Boleyn," Barking Rd.—from 6.30 to 9.30 p.m.
Burdett Rd. & Coutts Rd., Mile End—from 6.30 to 9.30 p.m.
Morning Lane & Well St., Hackney—from 6.30 to 9.30 p.m.

E.L.F.S. FIXTURES.

Friday, Jan. 21st.
Poplar Women's Hall, 3 p.m.
Bow Women's Hall, 8 p.m., "Parliament."
Sunday, Jan. 23rd.
Victoria Park, 3 p.m., Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Mrs. Boyce, Mrs. Bouvier, Miss Esther Roper, Miss Gore Booth.
Poplar Women's Hall, 7.30 p.m., Miss S. Pankhurst. Chair: Mrs. Drake.
Monday, Jan. 24th.
175 Dalston Lane, 3 p.m., Miss Manicom.
Tuesday, Jan. 25th.
Bow Women's Hall, 3 p.m., Miss Lynch.
Poplar Women's Hall, Miss Mary Richardson.
Wednesday, Jan. 26th.
53 St. Leonard St., 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Holloway.
Thursday, Jan. 27th.
55 Fife Rd., 3 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier, Mrs. Parsons.
175 Dalston Lane, 8 p.m., Miss Lynch, Miss Manicom.
Friday, Jan. 28th.
Poplar Women's Hall, 3 p.m., Mrs. McLeod, Mrs. Drake.
Bow Women's Hall, 7.30 p.m., Debate on Poland after the War.
Sunday, Jan. 30th.
Hyde Park, 3 p.m., Mrs. Davies.
Bow Women's Hall, 7 p.m., Mrs. Hobhouse, Miss S. Pankhurst, Mrs. Boyce.

An Anti-Conscription Meeting

WILL BE HELD IN
VICTORIA PARK,
ON
Sunday, Jan. 23rd, 3 p.m.

Speakers:
Miss SYLVIA PANKHURST,
Mrs. BOYCE,
Mrs. BOUVIER,
Miss ESTHER ROPER,
Miss GORE BOOTH,
Mrs. DRAKE.

NEWS FROM THE CLYDE.

Though the Scottish *Forward* has been suppressed its message is given as before. The *Worker*, a penny weekly paper, "guid gears in wee built," as someone says of it, has been published by the Clyde Workers' Committee, to spread the news of the munition workers' fight. The first issue appeared on January 8th, and contained a reprint of the report of Mr. Lloyd George's meeting, for which the *Forward* was suppressed. This report the Clyde workers state to be the fullest and most correct that has yet appeared, but they say that it erred in stating that the Clyde Workers' Committee demanded that "the Government take over all munition factories, etc."

The Clyde Workers' Committee's demand is:—

"That the Government must take over all industries and national resources and vest organised Labour with direct share in the management."

Mr. Lloyd George said, in reply to Mr. Pringle in the House of Commons, that certain quotations of *Forward*, from the interview between Mr. George and the Parkhead shop stewards, were "absolutely untrue." The *Worker* states that four of the Parkhead shop stewards have replied by signing an affidavit before a Justice of the Peace, that the quotations were substantially correct.

The *Glasgow Record*, one of Lord Northcliffe's publications, has charged the Clyde Worker's Committee with being bribed by German gold. The Clyde workers have replied by an effective boycott of the *Record*, that has greatly reduced its circulation. We send our hearty greetings to the *Worker*, which has sprung into being to help in fighting the battle of freedom for us all.

East London Federation of the Suffragettes

A DEBATE

ON
POLAND, FINLAND and ARMENIA
WILL BE HELD AT THE
Women's Hall, 400 Old Ford Rd., Bow, E.
ON
FRIDAY, JAN. 28th, at 7.30 p.m.

The Speakers will be natives of the different countries discussed.
Chair: Miss SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Admission by Ticket 2d.

THE NEXT THREAT!

"Married shirkers next. The single shirkers are to be fetched, and nobody need dwell upon that. The married shirkers will in turn be compelled to realise their duty. The King himself has called to every man of military age. Fetching the single shirker is the thin end of the wedge. The needs of the Army must be met; the Army needs men. Single men are wanted first, because they are less expensive than married men. It is not a matter of sentiment, when the married men are wanted they will be fetched if they do not volunteer."—From the *Regiment*.

DANGEROUS NEWS FROM FRANCE!

The following message from its Paris correspondent is published by the *Times*:—
"A court-martial has sentenced a man to four years' hard labour for desertion in circumstances which are interesting to Great Britain at the present moment.
"The accused had been sent back from his regiment to work in a private factory carrying out war contracts. He absented himself from the factory for ten days without permission, was arrested, succeeded in escaping, and then was rearrested."

The cost of paper and printing is increasing enormously. Will friends of the *WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT* help us to meet this increased expenditure by sending a subscription to the Hon. Treasurer?

MORE ABOUT CONSCRIPTION.

The same old argument that was used against Members of Parliament keeping their pledges to vote for woman's enfranchisement is now being used to kill opposition to the Conscription Bill:—"A vote against the Bill is a vote against the Government."

The Government refuses, in spite of the daily enquiries of M.P.s, to give any more information than that contained in the Derby statement. On Jan. 12th, Sir Alfred Mond asked the Under Secretary of State for War the total number of men canvassed under the Derby Scheme, the total number obtained, and the number of single men who declined to attest. Mr. Tennant replied:—"No figures exist which provide the information." Sir Alfred Mond asked whether the figures exist in any other department, and Mr. Tennant said that he would "have to make very wide enquiries" to ascertain. To others such questions, he replied: "It is not considered desirable, in the public interest to give these figures."

The fact is, of course, that the Derby results are not the reason for the Conscription Bill. Conscription has been introduced to please those who desire it, for its own sake.

Mr. Asquith in reply to those who declare, as we do, that the Conscription Bill will be used for industrial coercion said:—

"In the case of a man who gets his certificate of exemption . . . if he happens, for any reason, to be obnoxious to his employer—if, for instance, he has taken an active part as a trade unionist . . . the employer may take advantage of this or that pretext to dismiss him. Thereupon he loses his certificate of exemption, unless he can get re-employment, at once, in some similar trade, and he becomes *ipso facto* a soldier, and subject to military law."

Mr. Asquith said that the Government did not desire that the Bill should be used in this way, and that it is engaged in devising machinery to meet this case. Whilst noting that Mr. Asquith and his colleagues put forward the Bill without an attempt to

(Continued on page 411, col. 1.)



FIVE CHINESE WOMEN MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

International Women's Franchise Club, 9 GRAFTON STREET, PICCADILLY, W. Subscription One Guinea per annum from date of Entrance.

MATILDA & MARCUS A NOVEL. "With life and the light of life in it." BY MARY RICHARDSON. Published at 6s. SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON & KENT.

The Woman's Dreadnought. Published by the East London Federation of the Suffragettes, 400 OLD FORD ROAD, BOW, E. Telephone EAST 1787.

AGENTS: INTERNATIONAL SUFFRAGE SHOP, 5 Dale Street, Charing Cross, W.C. CITY AND SUBURBAN PUBLISHING Co., St. Bride's Churchyard, E.C. Messrs. HOBART MARSHALL & Co., Temple Avenue, E.C. HAREBROOK, 21 Old Bailey, E.C. A. RITCHIE, Pamberton Row, George Square, E.C. A. RAGGETT, Clark Street, Shoreditch, E.C. HAYWARD, Manchester THE WHOLESALE SOCIETY, 10 Johnson Street, Balloon.

Can be obtained at the bookshops of Messrs. W. H. SMITH & SON & Messrs. WILKING & ALL Newsagents. Annual Subscription Post Free, 9s. 3d. Vol. II, No. 44—Sat., Jan. 22nd, 1916.

Bravely and willingly we bear our share of the World's burdens. Why, then, deny us the right to vote, which would dignify our labour and increase our Power of Service?

WHY WAIT? That serpent in the Garden of Eden was surely a manifestation of the spirit that to-day animates the politician.

The people of Germany fear Russia, the people of England and France fear Germany, and so the populace have allowed themselves to be plunged into war, which brings upon them the very outrage that they have dreaded.

"Suppose the invaders were to come; suppose the War were brought to our own hearstoves," will the elders, and possessed by this fear, they send out to die the youths with their lives before them, who are infinitely more precious to the State than the old, whose day is drawing to an end.

Freedom was never won by fear, but fear is a frequent cause of tyranny and the tame acceptance of oppression.

The pioneers, who have stood out fearlessly for each measure of freedom, are often forgotten when the honours of victory come to be conferred, the laurels falling to the politicians who hung back till the battle had been won.

An old fable used to be current about the working men who were in the habit of asking at public meetings: "Will my wife get a vote under your Bill?" and when told "No!" would answer: "Then I'm with you!"

We have always doubted this story, because the men who have asked it that question have always expressed disappointment on learning that the Bill would not enfranchise their wives. But if men still exist who are specially anxious that their own wives should not vote, there can surely be no woman so foolish as to fancy that those men are possessed of really genuine enthusiasm for the spinsters' vote!

We were always weary by the argument that a woman should have a vote because she paid rates and taxes, and we protest that in the Women's Suffrage Movement much precious energy has been dissipated, in narrowing down our demands to meet the views of half-hearted persons, who cannot bring themselves to agree that every one of us should have a vote.

What tactics did those old franchise reformers use in arousing the great agitation that they needed? Was their demand for something very safe and small, that would be most acceptable to the most timid and moderate sections of those who desired a change and perhaps would placate even some of those who were lined up with the forces of reaction?

No, the old reformers suggested no compromise, they demanded "universal suffrage," and by that claim for absolute justice, they aroused a volume of enthusiastic popular support which would not have been forthcoming for any narrower issue.

The women's suffrage movement, even at its inception, probably lost much popular support, because it asked merely that women should be admitted to the existing restricted franchise, instead of demanding votes for all women.

It has been left very largely to the anti-suffragists to point out that to divide a million and a quarter votes amongst 13 million women would leave the vast majority of women still disfranchised, and would leave women still in a position of great electoral inferiority as compared with men.

But the leaders of the suffrage societies have refused to adopt a wider demand, on the ground that if women were to ask for the vote on more advantageous terms than those on which we get nothing, meanwhile the old demand has brought us nothing!

It has been said that women have no business to suggest alterations in the men's franchise, until we have secured admission to it, and that to ask for a better franchise than the men have got, would be to demand a "fancy franchise."

But the sanctity that is supposed to attach to the claim for the vote "as it is" or may be granted to men "as it is" more than once disregarded by suffrage leaders. In 1890-1, the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies supported Mr. Woodall's Bill, which definitely stated that married women should be allowed to vote, although the women's suffrage movement was violently divided on the question.

Why, then, should we tenaciously cling to the phrase "as it is or may be granted to men," when a wider franchise is proposed? How can those suffragists who accepted the Conciliation Bill refuse to adopt the demand for womanhood suffrage, on the ground that it would establish a new franchise qualification?

It is said that in various Continental countries this is exactly what has happened, the women have agreed to ask for Adult Suffrage for both men and women, but men alone have won the vote. We might ask ourselves in which of those Continental countries has there ever been a votes for women movement, comparable in its widespread organisation to that of the men's franchise movements in those countries, or to the women's movement here. As a matter of hard fact, however, the International Women's Suffrage Alliance and its affiliated Societies have always stood, hitherto, for the enfranchisement of the women of each country on the terms open to the men. It is a fact that in no country have women secured admission to the franchise on any terms until the property qualifications for men had been swept away.

Those who imagine that the granting of Adult Suffrage would make it harder for women to gain the vote should consider this. We must fight for the franchise, not to keep this harsh old world as it is, but as a tool which shall help us to make it new.

Let us step out from the rutts that the politicians have made for us, and strive to see life with new eyes. E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

COUNTRIES HAVING FULL PARLIAMENTARY WOMAN SUFFRAGE. New Zealand ... 1893. Commonwealth of Australia ... 1902 with eligibility.

INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE. 7 Adam St., Adelphi, S.W. President: Mrs. Chapman Catt. Hon. Secretary: Miss Sheepshanks.

CHILDREN'S PARTIES. POPLAR TOWN HALL, Saturday, January 22nd, 4 to 7 p.m. FAIRBAIN HALL, CANNING TOWN, Saturday, February 19th, 3 to 6 p.m.

- List of Publications issued by the National Industrial and Professional Women Suffrage Society. Price 1d. 1. "Women and the Suffrage." By Eva Gore-Booth.

But we wish that we might hear no more of these stories of selling the Women's Suffrage Movement. No movement can be sold if its members will stand true, though any movement may fail, as ours has done again and again in the past, for lack of strength.

Not carping suspicion, not cold, hair-splitting politician's logic, can carry us on to victory in this fight, but the broad refusal to compromise or bargain, and the call to every human being to join in winning equality for us all.

Readers of our paper who wish to send it to friends in neutral countries, can do so by ordering it from the offices of THE WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

On January 14th, in the House of Commons, Mr. Field appealed for a Distress Committee grant to help the Dublin poor, but Mr. Birrell replied that the Treasury has notified the Local Government Board that no grants are to be made to Distress Committees in any part of the United Kingdom this year.

The Newport Education Committee has struck 400 school children off the list of those previously receiving free meals.

The greatest inspiration that the Alliance has in the past given its members has been through the biennial congresses, where women from all parts of the world have met for discussion and mutual help.

The monthly international paper, Jus Suffragii, was transferred to London from Holland in 1913, and a headquarters office established at 7, Adam Street, Adelphi.

HUMAN SUFFRAGE. THE MOTTO OF THE FUTURE.

By ELEANOR BARTON. Human Suffrage is the only just measure, and the only way the married working woman in the home can take her share in legislation.

Because she is the builder of men, she should have the power to exercise her right as a citizen, the married working woman must share the franchise.

There were those who argue that one vote in a household is sufficient, and that as the husband is the one who brings the wage in, he is the one to represent the home. My answer is, that the work in the home is as necessary to its upkeep as any wage that is brought in.

Human Suffrage is surely a battle cry that Walt Whitman himself might have shouted—leading on with invincible power to the "continent indissoluble—the most splendid race the sun ever shone upon."

SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Vote on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men, by means of the organisation of Women's Suffrage Societies on a non-party basis; to affiliate these Societies in one Union which shall bring the pressure of united action to bear in Parliament, and to organise them in Federations which shall carry on the agitation throughout the country by every constitutional means within their power.

The policy of the National Union at elections has hitherto always been to support the best friend of Women's Suffrage, irrespective of his party views. Partly, however, in consequence of the failure of Liberal Members to fulfil their pledges with regard to the Conciliation Bill, but chiefly owing to the fact that the Labour Party has made Women's Suffrage a definite part of its programme, the Union has developed this policy in favour of supporting Liberal candidates, with the exception of tried Liberal friends. It being clear that a candidate who will have the backing of his Party on this question when he gets into the House is more to be relied on than a man who, although personally prepared to support Women's Suffrage, may be ordered by his Party Whip into the Lobby against it.

Each Society sends representatives to the meetings of its General Council, the number of representatives being based on the number of the Society's subscribing members. The Council decides on the policy to be pursued, and neither the policy nor any rule can be altered except at a Council meeting. The Council also elects its Hon. Officers and Executive Committee each year by ballot. The Societies have been, for purposes of organisation, grouped into Federations of Societies, which are so mapped out as to cover every constituency in England, Scotland, and Wales.

Human Suffrage!—all Whiteman's "Song of the Universal"—lends itself to its aid. How long it is since Bernard Shaw made it clear that to deny a woman's right to a vote is to deny the existence of her soul? Human Suffrage! Think of all the disfranchised and disinherited of the earth, of the slaves of the Profit-grinding mill and mine and dock, of the War Demon's drill and drum, of greed and fashion and lust, and men read over the pulsing verses of Whiteman's "Pioneers!"

There was so much noble and true work in your Christmas number that one turned to the central article with a half wonder what special subject could be chosen which would be worthy of its place there. But in the flash "Human Suffrage" had justified itself.

Human Suffrage—for the sake of Humanity—it is a battle cry that unites where others have divided, that sounding high above the noise and confusion of class, sex or race wars proclaims the only certain road to a living Peace.

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