

The War Paper for Women

VOTES FOR WOMEN

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

VOL. VIII. (Third Series), No. 372.

FRIDAY, APRIL 23, 1915.

Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free) 11d.

PAYING THE PRICE



BRITISH WOMAN: "I too have paid for my ticket. Give me my vote and the right to a seat at your Peace performance."

MR. SHOWMAN HARCOURT: "Nonsense! Women only pay the price; they don't get a ticket in return. Walk up, Colonies!"

(The Colonial Secretary, having announced in the House of Commons that the British Dominions Overseas would be consulted when the Peace settlement was made, the "Daily News" comments that the part the Colonies have taken in the war gives them "a right to claim that their own particular interests shall be adequately safeguarded when peace comes.")

UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

3, Adam Street, Strand, London, W.C. Telephone, Regent 5150
Colours: Purple, White and Orange

THE CAMPAIGN

Indoor Meetings

Friday, April 23: 7.30 p.m.—Members' Meeting.—Committee Room, Onward Buildings, Deansgate, Manchester.

Friday, April 23: 4 p.m.—Drawing-room Meeting.—19, Chaven Road, Reading.

Thursday, April 22: 8 p.m.—Public Meeting.—Red Cross Hall, White Cross Street, Borough. Speakers: The Rev. J. M. Maillard, Mrs. Ayrton Gould and Mrs. E. Hayes. Admission free.

Friday, April 30: 8 p.m.—Public Meeting.—The Library, Prince Arthur Road, Hampstead. Speakers: Mr. H. W. Nevinson and Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck. Chair: Mrs. Whelen. Admission free.

Monday, May 3: 3 p.m.—Drawing-room Meeting.—2, Meadow Way Green, Letchworth. Speakers: Mrs. Ayrton Gould and others.

THURSDAY, MAY 13: 8 p.m.—PUBLIC MEETING.—ESSEX HALL, ESSEX STREET, STRAND. SPEAKERS: REV. W. TUDOR JONES, Ph.D., MISS MARY NEAL, AND MISS MARY RICHARDSON. CHAIR: MR. GERALD GOULD. ADMISSION FREE.

Friday, May 14: 3 p.m.—Drawing-room Meeting.—Brandeau House, Headingley, Leeds. Speaker: Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck.

Friday, May 14: 7.30 p.m.—Public Meeting.—Onward Hall, Deansgate, Manchester. Speakers: Dr. Helena Jones and Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck. Chair: Professor Merrick. Tickets 1s. and 6d. from Hon. Sec. at Manchester Friday evening meetings.

Outdoor Meetings

Friday, April 23: 7.30 p.m.—Stirchley, Birmingham. Speaker: Miss Somers.

Friday, April 23: 8 p.m.—Corner of Skipton Street, London Road, S.E. Speaker: Miss Kitty Ennis.

Sunday, April 25: 3 p.m.—Streatham Common. Speakers: Miss Mary Richardson and Miss M. Phillips. Chair: Mrs. Gregory.

Sunday, April 25: 12 noon.—The Flagstaff, Hampstead Heath. Speakers: Mrs. Bouvier and Miss Kitty Ennis.

Wednesday, April 28: 3 p.m.—Corner of Webber Street, New Cut, S.E. Speaker: Mrs. Gow.

A NEW LONDON CAMPAIGN

Miss Mary Richardson, whose service and sacrifices for the cause of Woman Suffrage are well known to our readers, has offered her services as organizer to the U.S., and will work up the S.W. London district, comprising Chelsea, Kensington, and possibly Westminster and Pimlico. Will U.S. members and sympathisers living in any of these districts, and not already engaged in U.S. work, communicate with Miss Richardson at the U.S. offices?

MEETINGS IN ESSEX HALL

Last week's meeting in the Essex Hall was a very interesting one, and the resolution demanding the enfranchisement of women at the earliest possible moment in view of the complications arising from the call for women's war service, was passed unanimously. Mrs. Gould (Chair) gave an account of the proceedings at the Board of Trade Conference, at which she represented the U.S. Dr. Letitia Fairfield followed with an excellent review of the field of unemployment among women during the war, and the Rev. J. M. Maillard spoke forcibly on the need for keeping the Suffrage flag flying. Mr. Charles Gray's account of the provincial work of the U.S. Branches and his stirring appeal for workers must have made every "slacker" in the audience feel uncomfortable.

The Next Meeting

The next U.S. meeting in the Essex Hall on May 13 should bring a great crowd. Miss Mary Richardson will speak at it for the first time on a U.S. platform (indoor); and the other speakers will be the Rev. Tudor Jones (also a new U.S. speaker), and Miss Mary Neal, already well known to our readers, who can be trusted to make one of her characteristic amusing speeches. Mr. Gerald Gould will be in the Chair.

SOUTH LONDON CAMPAIGN

Organiser, Miss Mary Phillips, 92, Borough Road, S.E.

The speech of Mrs. M. E. Davies, dealing with everyday problems of the working-class mother, was much appreciated at the Club. Open-air meetings were good, especially at Webber Street, where papers sold well.

Members are looking forward to the next Red Cross Hall meeting (see Campaign), at which the organised women workers in the printing trades, through their organiser, Mrs. Hayes, are joining with the U.S. in a strong demand for votes for women before prohibitive legislation, for men's pay for women who are doing men's work, and for due recognition of working women's organisations by the Board of Trade.

Each week that passes makes us more sure that we are doing a good work in South London—work that will bear lasting fruit. We are therefore determined to go on. But we must have the help and support of U.S. members everywhere. Money is very urgently needed. Each Red Cross Hall meeting, for instance, costs £2. Who will pay for the next one? Who will help to extend the work and to pay for halls in new districts, or to pay the rent of an office and help to keep it going, or to canvass, or sell papers? Write at once to the Organiser at above address.

Red Cross Hall is quite near the Borough Tube Station and St. George's Church. (Turn up Marshalsea Road; Whitecross Street, where the hall is, is the fourth turning on the right.)

BOLTON U.S.
Hon. Sec., Mrs. Jessie Crompton, Brookdale, Riding Gate, near Bolton

There was a well-attended meeting in the Spinners' Hall on Thursday to meet Dr. Helena Jones, of Halifax, and Mr. John Scurr, of London. Mr. Scurr gave some startling figures showing how women were being exploited, and also proved the necessity for women to safeguard their own interests by demanding immediate enfranchisement. He also pointed out the significant fact that in Dunedin, N.Z., where women have the vote, the infantile mortality had been considerably reduced. Dr. Helena Jones, in a breezy address, criticised the action of the Government in its payment of men and women. It was especially necessary, at this time, for women to secure the rights of citizenship in order that their voice may be heard in the councils of the nation. She spoke very strongly about the adverse conditions existing at home in time of war, showing thereby that if those conditions had to be permanently remedied, women must be called in with their wisdom and help. The following resolution proposed by Mr. John Scurr was seconded by Dr. Jones and unanimously carried: "That this meeting, noting that the Government has recognised the value to the nation of the work of women, calls upon His Majesty's Ministers to take the only logical step consequent upon such recognition by at once granting to women the full rights of citizenship." Copies of this resolution are to be sent to the Prime Minister and the local M.P.'s. On Monday, April 26, a musical lecture recital will be given in the Borough Hall, commencing at 7.30. Subject, "Beethoven: The Man and His Music." Lecture given by Miss Marion Crompton, and the musical part of the programme is in the hands of Mr. Fred Moore. As this recital is in aid of the propaganda funds, will all members endeavour to make it a success? Tickets, 6d. and 1s., may be had from any member of committee.

CHORLEY WOOD U.S.
Hon. Sec., Mrs. Varcoe, Luncheon, The Swillett

The course of winter meetings is at an end, but various drawing-room and other meetings are being arranged by individual members for educating public opinion as to the urgent need for reform in legislation for the protection of women and children. On Thursday afternoon, the 15th, there was a crowded meeting of women at the Chorley Wood Hotel to hear Mrs. Percy Bigland (Hon. Secretary of the Criminal Law Amendment Committee), who came over from Little Missenden to give an address. Mrs. Bigland spoke for nearly an hour, and the audience were keenly attentive. The speaker was a perfect mine of information, and her statements, drawn from experience and from statistics gathered from numbers of other societies, showed a very grave condition of social immorality, and her hearers were deeply impressed.

HAMPSTEAD U.S.
Hon. Sec., Mrs. Hicks, 33, Downside Crescent, N.W.

Hampstead members are reminded of the next local U.S. meeting on Friday, April 30. (See Campaign.) With Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck and Mr. H. W. Nevinson for speakers, it is a splendid opportunity to bring friends. Meetings on the Heath continue on Sundays at 12. Miss L'Estrange and others have promised to sell votes on Fridays at the Hampstead Tube Station. Who will follow this excellent example?

LIVERPOOL U.S.

Hon. Sec., Miss Isabel Buxton, 111, Queen's Road

We held our initial meeting at Rushworth Hall on Friday, April 16, when we had the privilege of hearing speeches by Mr. John Scurr and Dr. Helena Jones. Miss Winifred Davies, of the Women's Freedom League, Chester, kindly came at very short notice to take the Chair. No one who listened to the speeches could have any shadow of doubt as to the advisability of keeping the purple, white and orange flag flying; and we now expect our members to come forward and get something done. One of our readers, Miss Mifne, has very splendidly volunteered as our first paper seller, but we want more helpers—paper sellers, poster inspectors, and financial helpers, if we are to make our branch a success.

We wish to put on record our appreciation of the help which has unstintingly been given to us by the local W.F.L. We hope that in May, when Mrs. Despard comes to Liverpool, we may be able to arrange a joint meeting; but, of course, without a great deal of work on the part of each individual member, this will not be possible.

We have three new members this week. Will those who have not already done so let the secretary have their donations towards the cost of Rushworth Hall at once?

STREATHAM U.S.
Hon. Sec., Mrs. Gregory, 7, Ambleside Gardens

Sunday meetings will be held on the Common during the summer, beginning next Sunday, 3 p.m., when the speaker will be Miss Mary Richardson. Will all who want to help please turn up early to form the nucleus of an audience?

A PROSPECTIVE BRANCH

A meeting will be held in Wendover after we go to press with a view to starting a branch of the U.S. there, if sufficient support is forthcoming. Miss Waltham (Perry Street, Wendover) will be glad to hear of any sympathisers in the district who would like to become members.

IN GLASGOW

A meeting in Glasgow is being arranged by Mrs. I. Kelsall (29, Queenborough Gardens, Glasgow) in May, and she would like to have the names of those willing to help in working it up.

CONTENTS

Our Cartoon	241
United Suffragists	242
The Outlook	243
Democracy Here and Overseas	244
The Discovery that Men Drink. By Anna Martin	245
Correspondence	246
Comparison of Punishments	247
Canteen for French Soldiers	247
Prohibition in Kansas	247

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

Parliament, having adjourned on March 16, reassembled on Wednesday in last week, and the Prime Minister at once gave notice of the Government's proposal that the House should sit only three days a week. This is an implication that there is no important business to be transacted, and in that implication women (whose money, by the way, is taken without their consent to pay the full-time salaries of these half-time legislators) cannot be expected to concur as long as they remain unenfranchised.

The Votes of Men

The votes of men are, however, considered to be worth the trouble of safeguarding, even in war time. Mr. Lloyd George, in answer to Mr. Samuel Samuel, said last Tuesday that the proposition to introduce a Bill granting the franchise to all soldiers of the British army (a far more revolutionary proposal than the mere extension of the franchise to all qualified women) is being considered, and the *Times*, speaking of the compilation of the register for the new year, which begins in July, says—

The preservation of the voting qualification of men fighting for their country on foreign soil must be quickly ensured, and there is little doubt that the Chief Whips of the parties will come to an arrangement for the passage of a Bill to effect this patriotic purpose.

We, too, have little doubt on this point. But what humbug it is to pretend that it is "patriotic" (which no one will deny) to ensue votes to men who are fighting for their country abroad, while it is "unpatriotic" to demand votes for the women who are keeping the country going at home.

Discovered—but Hardly Settled!

The discovery of woman proceeds apace. "This war has settled the woman question," says the *Daily Sketch* in explanation of—we had almost said in apology for—a series of pictures showing women at work as "butchers and bakers and candlestick-makers." It will be a blessed thing if, as the *Manchester Guardian* remarked recently in a leading article, out of the calamity of all civilisation some flotsam and jetsam of human good might be recovered; and we should naturally be the last to regret the realisation in war time by the man in the street of what every suffragist has always known about women's capacities and public spirit. But what is more important just now even than the employment of women as bank clerks (even in the Bank of England!), as railway porters, district messengers, tram conductors, station-masters, and engineers, is that the women thus employed should not be exploited, but should earn a man's wages for doing a man's work. On this point the Conference on War Service for Women, held in the Caxton Hall last Friday, and representing organizations holding on ordinary subjects widely divergent views, was unanimous.

The Suffrage Resolution

We wish it had taken an equally uncompromising line on the political rights of women. In our last issue, commenting on the resolution to be moved at the Conference calling upon the

Government to grant the overdue reform of universal suffrage, we anticipated with confidence that the word "woman" would be substituted for "universal," a word which, besides representing a mere academic formula (since there is no agitation on foot in the country for adult male suffrage) is commonly used to mean only manhood suffrage. An amendment to this effect, moved by the W.F.L. delegate and seconded by the U.S. delegate, was, however, lost by five votes, the representative of one Suffrage Society voting against the amendment, and the delegate of another being understood to say that, owing to her organization having suspended suffrage work during the war, she was unable to vote on the matter at all! It seems to us highly regrettable that so good an opportunity was lost of sending up a strong suffrage resolution to the Cabinet.

Suspension of the Factory Acts

The suspension of the Factory Acts which, it was alleged, had resulted in women working eighty-four hours a week in the making of munitions, was one of the facts laid before Mr. Runciman at the Board of Trade Conference on Women's War Service, last Tuesday week. In a case brought before the Leeds stipendiary, last Monday, it was shown that a girl under 16 worked from 6 a.m. on Friday until 7 a.m. on Saturday, when she had an accident, and an older woman worked from 6 a.m. on Friday until 11 a.m. on Saturday, both at making cartridges. The employers, who were summoned, said they had exhausted all the available labour in Leeds, they were working under military orders, and unless the girls worked overtime the minimum output demanded by the War Office could not be reached. On behalf of the Home Office, who brought the summons, it was represented that extensions of the Factory Acts had been granted to meet the present emergency, but that in the two cases in question the work had been beyond the extended hours. The magistrate dismissed the summons *sine die*.

Case for Immediate Enfranchisement

Several comments could be made on this Leeds case with regard to the conflicting powers of War Office and Home Office, distribution of labour (if it is true that numbers of women are still unemployed), and the refusal of the magistrate to convict. But what really concerns us is the glaring argument afforded for the case of votes for women *now*. If women's lives are to be at the disposal of the Government in order to ensure the successful prosecution of the war—we speak advisedly, for an actual instance of death from overwork occurred in the case of a man artificer in the Enfield Small Arms factory last week—then women must be given the power at once to protect their lives, safeguard their industrial position, and, above all, to make their voice heard in the next Peace Settlement. The last argument against enfranchising women—that it is men alone who give their lives in war—vanishes before the facts revealed in the Leeds case. Women never mean again to be excluded from decisions of peace and war.

Child Labour

The return of the number of children exempted from school attendance owing to war emergencies has just been issued by the Board of Education, and, besides being incomplete and dating to the end of January only, does not allay the natural anxieties of those who know the continual fight that has to be put up in a country where women are voteless against the exploitation of children. There is no indication that children have been taken from school to do farm work only when adult labour could not be procured; and there seems to be no proper supervision of the hours of the labour, or the kind of work given to these growing children. The wages vary considerably, and are generally below seven shillings a week, which is not only gravely insufficient for the work done, but is setting up a standard of low wages grossly unfair to the agricultural labourers now at the front.

War Babies

Various evil conditions are to blame for the fact, now being openly discussed on all sides,

that a very large number of illegitimate births are shortly to be expected as the result of the presence of troops in the neighbourhood of many of our large towns. Dr. Barbara Tchaykovsky quotes in a leaflet a woman patrol who knows of 400 of these fatherless children expected in one watering-place. The Bishop of Carlisle stated in his sermon last Sunday that many of the mothers are girls under sixteen years of age. Mr. Ronald McNeill, M.P., in a letter to the *Morning Post*, gives an instance of a county borough where 2,000 girls and women are said to be in this condition. The subject is wide and controversial, and many-sided. But we say unhesitatingly, and especially in regard to the Bishop of Carlisle's terrible statement, that the country would not be faced with this huge and difficult social problem if women had not been kept in a state of subjection, sealed by their lack of political power. We refer those who question our opinion to the evidence afforded weekly in our columns by our table of Comparison of Punishments and to the history of the failure in Parliament last summer of the Bishop of London's Age of Consent Bill.

Women's International Congress

We are carried back to the early days of the militant movement and to the abuse poured upon it by the newspapers when we observe the present attitude of the Press towards any attempt on the part of women to build up a public opinion that shall at least endeavour in the future to find a better solution than war for international differences. At two meetings held in London by women last week—one by the British Committee of the Women's International Congress, and the other in connection with the Union of Democratic Control—the speakers had to correct the many misstatements that have appeared about their aims in the daily papers, and to point out that their object was not to discuss the present war or to dictate terms of peace. This is especially true of the promoters of the Congress to be held next week at the Hague, where the presence of German women would naturally make it impossible to discuss peace on anything but general grounds. But those general grounds—the insistence, for example, on the need for the woman's voice in the Peace Settlement if this is to be really permanent—appeal particularly to Suffragists, and it is not surprising, therefore, that the British members of the Congress will include many well-known advocates of votes for women. Nor is it, perhaps, surprising that the Government, always so averse to the basic and progressive principles that underlie the demand for woman suffrage, should have refused permits to all but a handful of the large number of women from this country desirous of attending the Congress.

Items of Interest

The Suffrage cause has sustained a loss in the death of the Rev. Dr. Ambrose Shepherd, late of Elgin Congregational Church, Glasgow. It is not surprising that Dr. Shepherd, who began life as a half-timer at the age of ten, should have been a confirmed woman suffragist. The Oldham Education Committee decided by eleven votes to six to pay four shillings less per week at first to the woman school attendance officer appointed by them, than to the man she succeeded. Alderman Mrs. Lees protested against this inequality of treatment.

U.S. WOMEN'S CLUB

Secretary, Miss M. R. Cochrane, 92, Borough Road, S.E.

The Club was re-opened on Monday after its spring cleaning, and there were the usual good attendances at the Suffrage meeting on Tuesday and the entertainment on Thursday, the latter kindly given by the Misses Fox. During the Secretary's absence the following gifts have been received very gratefully:—Miss Crawford, 15s. for curtains; Mrs. Harben, butter and flowers; Miss McCall, books; per Miss Somers (for Easter party), 2s. 6d.; Miss Ursula Williams and Miss Burke, flowers; Miss Fox, books.



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INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB, FOR MEN AND WOMEN.

MEETINGS: Wed., 28th April, 8 p.m.—Women Patrons. Miss 14 S. Beaver. Chairman: Mr. Cecil Chapman, J.P. Wed., 5th May, 3.30 to 6 p.m.—Club Tea. (Lecture 4.30) Mrs. Kington-Parkes.

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for MEN AND WOMEN.

During the War, subscription reduced to One Guinea and no entrance fee.

MEETINGS: Friday, April 23rd, at 3.30 p.m.—Speakers: Mrs. Nevison, Miss Beadon. Chair: Mr. Eustace Miles.

Wed., April 29th, at 3.30 p.m.—Women's Freedom League. Speaker: Miss Margaret Douglas.

The Tariff at this Club, instead of rising with the War, is being lowered. Note the present 1. Lunch—SOUP, JOINT, TWO VEGETABLES, BREAD, SWEET OR CHEESE. Test it as the

BEST SWILLING LUNCH IN LONDON.

U.S. LONDON FIXTURES.

THURSDAY, APRIL 29: 8 p.m.

PUBLIC MEETING in the RED CROSS HALL (White Cross Street, Borough, S.E.). Speakers: Mrs. E. HAYES, The Rev. J. M. MAILLARD, Mrs. AYRTON GOULD. Admission Free. Some Reserved Seats 6d.

THURSDAY, MAY 13: 8 p.m.

PUBLIC MEETING in the ESSEX HALL (Essex Street, Strand, W.C.). Speakers: Rev. W. TUDOR JONES, Ph.D., Miss MARY RICHARDSON, Miss MARY NEAL, Mr. GERALD GOULD (Chair). Admission Free.

United Suffragists have kept the Suffrage Flag flying throughout the War.

COME TO THEIR MEETINGS AND BUY THEIR WEEKLY PAPER "VOTES FOR WOMEN."

(United Suffragists, 3, Adam St., Strand, London, W.C.)

VOTES FOR WOMEN

4-7, RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET

Telegraphic Address:—Votfowom, Fleet, London.

Telephone:—Holborn 5880 (2 lines).

FRIDAY, APRIL 23, 1915.

DEMOCRACY—HERE AND OVERSEAS

At the opening of the Session, Mr. Lewis Harcourt made an announcement in the House of Commons which has been rightly received with general applause. It was that when the time for discussing the terms of peace arrives, the self-governing Colonies will certainly be consulted as to their wishes and interests. After making this announcement, Mr. Harcourt went on to say: "I need hardly add that His Majesty's Government intend to observe the spirit as well as the letter of this declaration."

Just in passing, we might warn Colonial electors that when our present Ministers pledge themselves to observe the spirit as well as the letter of a promise, they are very far from increasing one's confidence in the fulfilment of their intentions. "In the spirit as well as the letter"—those were the very words used by Mr. Asquith in his written declaration to Lord Lytton (June, 1911) with regard to granting facilities for the Conciliation Bill. After the crisis of the Coronation was passed, we know how that pledge was broken in spirit and in letter. No Suffragist is likely to forget that breach of faith. It was one of the most flagrant acts of betrayal in our political history. And so Mr. Harcourt's talk about observing the spirit as well as the letter of the Government's declaration should rather shake Colonial confidence in the pledge than confirm it.

But, as we said, the announcement has been rightly received with general applause, especially in the Liberal papers. Let us take three examples from the comments of London Liberal editors. The *Daily News* and *Leader* writes:—

The honourable part which the Colonies, of their own free will, have taken in the struggle manifestly entitles them to be heard in its settlement. They have a right to claim that their own particular interests shall be adequately safeguarded when peace comes.

The *Daily Chronicle* writes:—

Everyone will read the statement with pleasure. The statement is really a landmark in the history of our Imperial relations.

As to the *Westminster Gazette*, it is hardly necessary to quote its words. One can hardly

imagine a Liberal Government's proposal, either in peace-time or war, to which it would not coo its approval, almost invariably beginning on the note, "This is as it should be." As we expected, we found it murmuring:—

This is quite as it should be, and we are sure that Mr. Harcourt's action will be warmly approved, both in this country and in our Oversea States.

We entirely agree with all those comments. We think that people who have taken an honourable part in any struggle are manifestly entitled to be heard in its settlement, and have a right to claim that their own particular interests shall be adequately safeguarded. The announcement only restates the ancient principle which our own Plantagenet king, the founder of Parliament, borrowed from Justinian: "What touches all, should be approved by all." Or, if one cannot hope for approval from all, at least those concerned should have the right of expressing their general approval or disapproval through representatives. That is the very basis of democracy. No better method of expressing the people's will has hitherto been devised. Even the *Times* appeals to "democracy," and our statesmen repeatedly tell us it is just for this kind of government that we are fighting.

But cannot our statesmen and Liberal editors see that the great principle which they thus maintain applies quite as much to the women of their own country as to the Colonies? Cannot the editor of the *Daily News*, for instance, perceive that the women of the United Kingdom are entitled to be heard in the settlement of this struggle? He would hardly deny that women of their own free will have taken an honourable part in it. To have taken an honourable part in it of their own free will, he says, manifestly entitles the Colonies to be heard in its settlement. Why, then, is it not equally manifest to him that the same service entitles women here to the same privilege? He says the Colonies have a right to claim that their own particular interests shall be adequately safeguarded when peace comes. Does he suppose that the women of this country have no particular interests to be safeguarded when peace comes, and before it comes? If he supposes that, he does not read the daily papers—not even his own. If he believes what he says, let him, then, come forward boldly and join in our demand for true justice and democracy here in our own country as well as in the Antipodes.

The population of our main self-governing Colonies (including the "natives," or black races) is about 19,000,000. The population of the United Kingdom is about 46,000,000. At a moderate estimate, therefore, there are far more adult women in the United Kingdom than adults of both sexes in all the Colonies put together. Yet not one of the women here is entitled to have a voice in any political settlement, or to have her particular interests safeguarded. And let us remind our democratic editors that the absurdity is increased because in two of our finest Colonies women enjoy political enfranchisement already. Their voice cannot be excluded from the settlement of peace, or any other political question, even by the most virulent "Antis," but the women of our own country remain gagged. So, for the sake of their own reputation for reason and justice, let these editors unite with us in our reasonable and just demand, and when they have helped us to win it, we shall agree with the *Daily Chronicle* that a landmark has been set in the history, not only of our Imperial, but of our human relations, and we shall agree with the *Westminster Gazette* for once, that "this is quite as it should be."

THE DISCOVERY THAT MEN DRINK

By Anna Martin

Certain people are genuinely surprised to find suffragists continuing to agitate for the vote during the present crisis. "Patriotic women," they declare, "should be straining every nerve to help the war, instead of dissipating force and energy over personal matters." Herein lies the mistake of the critics. After the war, social reconstruction will be a necessity, and experience has convinced most women that men by themselves are unable to establish satisfactory conditions. Witness the state of Europe to-day.

The damage done to the nation in the past by the subordination of women has recently been strikingly illustrated in another way. During March and April all sorts and conditions of men waxed eloquent over the drink question. A full-page advertisement appeared in the *Times* in the form of an impassioned manifesto which, with all the emphasis of enormous capital, demanded "Shall the Might of the Liquor Millions trample Right under foot? Shall the handful of Men who have Already Amassed Huge Fortunes out of the Liquor Traffic Dominate Legislation at a Crisis like this?" The advertisement proceeded to hold up to scorn the selfishness of men who, for their pockets' sake or for their appetites' sake, are willing to see the drink habit continue even at the cost of a prolonged war. Leading articles in nearly all the chief newspapers called out for restriction both in hours of sale and in the number of public-houses. Brewers suggested a higher tax on spirits; notable Labour leaders declared their readiness to endorse any measures the Government might see fit to adopt. The Churches solemnly declared that the time had come to deal adequately with the curse of alcoholism.

What Did the Women Think?

It is to be hoped, however, that few women found this newly-discovered zeal for sobriety either edifying or impressive. Beer and spirits are no more essentially baneful now than they have been at any time during the last hundred years. It is only that their effects are being felt by different people and in a different direction. At the present moment they are interfering with the supply of bullets and bombs for the forces; usually, they only interfere with the supply of boots and bread for the workers' children. To-day they are hampering the operations of the generals at the front; usually they only break women's hearts and poison the national stock. To-day they are lessening the profits of contractors and shipbuilders; usually they only destroy homes. Above all, to-day the men of the country recognise that their own vital interests are being endangered by the public-house. Hitherto, it has been possible to cast the chief burden of alcoholism on the wives and mothers of the masses. As long as this was the case politicians and others found it easy to argue that getting drunk was a self-regarding act with which legislation had small right to meddle; that alcohol was, on the whole, conducive to health; that it was impossible to jeopardise the vast capital sunk in the Trade; that no man had any right to be protected from temptation; that limiting the opportunities for drinking only drove the traffic underground. All these and similar contentions have now vanished like the snows of yesterday, and women are left gasping.

One does not for a moment forget the efforts and sacrifices of those devoted and heroic men who, in each succeeding generation, have struggled to deliver the nation from the curse of intemperance, nor fail to recognize that they succeeded in bringing about great reforms.

Nevertheless, it was possible for Mr. Lloyd George, the other day, to speak of alcohol as being at the present time a more deadly enemy to England than are her Teutonic foes. Now a prolonged and intimate study of many homes which have been ruined by the drinking habits of their heads, has convinced the writer that an important factor of most men's downfall (we are dealing here with the drinking habits of men only, as it is those which are under public consideration at the moment) is the low status of their wives. This provides a slippery incline for the feet of all those whose will is weak, or in whom the domestic affections are feeble. The former shortcoming is by far the more common. "He's not such a bad man as you think 'im," a woman will plead; "he's fond of 'is children and 'is 'ome, but he gets led away." "He don't really want to drink," another explains, "but 'is mates 'chip 'im if 'e won't 'ave a glass, and then it comes to treatin' all round, and he comes 'ome beastly." "If I can get 'old 'im afore 'is mates does," a third will say, "he brings his money 'ome all right, and he's glad of it afterwards."

The Law is no Deterrent

What gives the "mates" the pull is the fact that the law deliberately withholds from the tempted father the deterrent which it furnishes to other forms of dishonesty or of self-indulgence. Whatever cash finds its way into the publican's till, the man himself will incur no penalty, nor will he even feel its loss. He will simply deduct the amount from the housekeeping allowance, and the mother will either have to make good the deficiency, or bear the brunt of its results. If the children appear at school ragged and neglected, it is she who will be hauled over the coals, and not he. As regards a man's duty to his family, the law advocates its high function as the moral educator of the nation, and plays the part of tempter.

The following story is typical of thousands. "My husband had a good trade," said Mrs.

B—"and for seven years we were real happy. Then he got among bad friends, and began stopping three or four shillings of my money every week. I didn't say much, hoping he'd turn over a new leaf, and I pawned and sold my 'bits' to keep things going. But he gave me less and less, and I got into debt all round. One week when I'd promised faithful to pay the back rent he only gave me ten shillings. Then I rounded on him, and he knocked me down. The children were so scared that they jumped out of bed and ran screaming into the street. Now we're at the bottom, and I don't know what will happen."

Can a Husband be Prosecuted?

Yet our rulers express surprise that men habitually subjected to this moral debauchery do not at once turn round and overcome in a day the habits of half a lifetime. It will be objected that the law does provide a check for the defaulting husband, and that he can be prosecuted for failing to maintain his family. It would take too much space to expound in this article the practical iniquities of the situation, and it must suffice to say that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the woman's supposed remedy is nothing but a legal fiction, and both man and wife are perfectly aware of the fact.

For reasons of its own the Government is now about to carry measures which women have longed and craved for in vain, and which, hitherto, have always been declared to be inexpedient and impossible. So far, so good. Unfortunately, we have not the slightest guarantee that at the end of the war the male rulers of the country, "for their pockets' sake or for their appetites' sake," will not re-establish the drink curse in all its old evil dominance. They will then proceed, as heretofore, by pottering measures—such as free meals, baby clinics, special schools, and other such devices—to endeavour to escape the consequences of their own action—with the same result as heretofore. Oh! that women had votes!

"VOTES FOR WOMEN"

FROM OUR READERS OVERSEAS

In Zululand

Mrs. Arthur Matterson has kindly allowed us to publish the following extract from a letter received by her from a writer in Eshowe, Zululand:—

Thank you for the papers. I am keenly interested in the franchise question, my interest having been aroused by reading Mrs. Pankhurst's "Own Story." You asked me to tell you how I liked Votes. I think it a perfectly splendid little paper, and it made me think of a smart little terrier defying a very large, fierce bull. How fearlessly truthful it is! I don't think I have ever read in a man's paper convictions so fearlessly expressed. It seems to shout "Truth and Justice!" in the face of all odds. I do hope that these women who are so unselfishly and indefatigably struggling for the right to be recognised will realise their longings. But all reformers have disappointments and heartbreaks, and these are bound to come; but if only we persevere. Truth must prevail, as we know. If woman's weak little voice had only been able to rise above man's clamourings there would be no war.

1 Johannesburg

We have received a very interesting account from Johannesburg of the work that is being done during the war by the Women's Reform Club in that city. While we naturally regret that the W.R.C. should have suspended suffrage propaganda for the moment, we fully recognise that decisions of this kind must be made by our suffrage colleagues in other countries for themselves and with due reference to local conditions of which we have no knowledge. And we have nothing but admiration for the magnificent activities of the Johannesburg Suffragists since the war broke out, which include a scheme to teach expectant mothers to make their own baby clothes, another for Babies' Welcomes, where the mothers can take their babies for advice and help, a scheme for a children's convalescent home, not hitherto existent in Johannesburg, the support of plans for town improvement and better

housing, and the making and collection of warm clothing for the poor children of London and Belgium. This latter work, in which Mrs. Essen, Vice-President of the Club, has specially interested herself, has resulted in the forwarding of over 11,000 garments to Europe. VOTES FOR WOMEN, we are told by our correspondent, Miss Helen Fuller, is read with interest by the members of the Women's Reform Club, several of whom are now in this country engaged in relief work of various kinds.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FUND

Donations Received up to April 17

Already	£	s.	d.	Miss E. Slay.....	£	s.	d.
acknowledged,	716	14	5	Miss Somers ...	0	1	0
Anon	1	0	0	Per Miss Somers	0	3	0
Miss L. M. Dixon	1	0	0	South London			
Miss K. Ellison...	0	3	0	Campaign—per			
Mrs. B. Everett	0	5	0	Miss Phillips...	1	1	11
Miss J. F. Forbes	0	10	0	Mrs. A. Trigger	0	10	0
Mrs. Mansell-							
Moulin	0	2	0				
Miss							
Postlethwaite	0	13	0				
					£722	8	4

WOMEN'S CLUB FUND

Donations Received up to April 17

Already	£	s.	d.
acknowledged	235	19	8
Miss Bergman	0	1	0
Mrs. Fox-Strangways	0	5	0
Miss Joachim	0	2	6
Miss Louis	0	2	6
Mrs. Parkyn	0	10	0
Miss E. Slay	0	1	0
Miss Somers	0	1	0
Per Miss Walford	0	10	0
"A Well Wisher"	0	2	6
Miss Wilson	0	2	0
Miss Young	0	2	6

£237 17 8

CORRESPONDENCE

SUFFRAGE IN MADEIRA—AND HERE

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—When I went to Madeira in January to recover my health, I was told by my friends to leave suffrage behind me and get well. Little did such friends realise that they might as well have told me to leave the sun behind me! To tell me to "get well" by forgetting suffrage was to tell me to get well without sunlight. So I worked for suffrage in Madeira as I work for it now, even in war time, for the better suffragists we are, the better patriots we are. I feel more strongly than I ever felt that now, when men are heroically dying for the nation's freedom, women must heroically live for the nation's freedom, and by the spread of suffrage propaganda show their appreciation of this freedom, which has been fought for first by the women at home and now by the men who are fighting in Europe.

I found this idea prevailing also in Madeira, rather differently expressed, perhaps, for several Portuguese women said to me: "We are glad that some suffrage societies continue to work for the woman's vote, for it seems to us, as far as we can judge of the cause of woman suffrage in England, that it is a religious cause; and one does not change or drop one's religion in war time. On the contrary, one becomes more deeply religious."

I hope these words will mean much to all United Suffragists who have kept the flag flying during the war, for in so doing they have proclaimed this truth, that suffrage is as deep a faith as religion, and is founded on the same bedrock of conscientious conviction.

Finding the interest in our cause that I did in Madeira, I was not surprised when asked to speak at a suffrage gathering. My first meeting was held in the drawing-room of an ardent suffrage worker, Mrs. Muller, who always lends her rooms and organises meetings for any suffragist who happens upon Madeira. There were forty-three women present, many of them "anti," so we had a very intense little meeting indeed. The result, however, was satisfactory; and another meeting was planned on the spot, to be held a fortnight later, with promises from the "antis" to bring more "antis."

This second meeting was larger, and several men were present, who came presumably out of curiosity; but they were generous enough to say they had been enlightened and interested, and they proposed that they should bring together a group of young men some evening to hear more on the matter. So my second meeting was followed soon after by a round table gathering of young men, who questioned me closely on the suffrage. Some were won over; others remained doubtful; but as doubt is the first step to new ideas, I have hopes. Another result of the larger meetings was the request that we should send our best pamphlets to Madeira to be translated into Portuguese and distributed amongst Portuguese women in Portugal as well as Madeira; and I am hoping some time to organise a little Overseas literature department, if U.S. members are interested in this branch of our endeavour. I feel I must here mention the names of the two friends whom I visited in Madeira—Miss Janie Hinton and Miss Anne Erskine—for these two women, directly and indirectly, work for suffrage daily, and have done so for many years. It is not an exaggeration to say that they have, with Mrs. Muller, been the three women to keep the flag flying in Madeira, and they have never for one moment slackened their efforts in this direction. This is what I feel we must do at home now—work unceasingly for the spread of suffrage; for suffrage cannot distract or weaken the war service of women; it can but strengthen us all, and so strengthen the nation.

In closing I must mention a small meeting I had just before my return in one of the mountain villages in Madeira, my friend Miss Hinton acting as interpreter. These peasant women had

never heard the word suffrage or suffragette, and when they were told of our great movement in England, they wept for joy, one exclaiming brokenly in Portuguese, "It is wonderful, wonderful, that somewhere in the world women are opposing oppression. It must be that our children will live in a better world than we live in."

This phrase, "opposing oppression," is a very significant one; it greatly pleased me, and these women also. We must send some written word about suffrage, for they have accepted it so wholeheartedly, and they are helping us in return in the only way they can by praying for the success of our great effort to make the world better for their children and for all children.

It is my hope that suffragists may be encouraged when they read this, for when a cause can bring joy, as it did to these women, by the mere mention of it, what joy will not the fulfilment of our purpose bring them, and bring to us all who work, hope, and strive for it!—Yours, &c.,

Mary Richardson.

WAR BABIES

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors.—May I give a word of warning to Suffragists with regard to the question of "War Babies" now being so much discussed in the daily papers. We are being called upon as Suffragists for help, and in dealing with this demand we should be most careful how we reply to it. In my opinion, the right position for women Suffragists and Suffrage organisations to take up is to refuse to help in any way. Women are not responsible in the smallest degree for the terrible state of things which exists, and which can be traced to cause and effect: to the low standard of morality allowed to men, and the defective system of education and the utter want of moral training of both young boys and girls at an age when it is absolutely essential, if they are to grow up to be self-respecting and efficient members of the community. It is on men, and more especially on a Government responsible as it is to men alone and with only the man's point of view carried out on these vitally important questions, that the sole responsibility for this state of things rests, and it is just that those who brought it about should shoulder the whole burden of dealing with it. An attempt is now being made in the press to exploit women Suffragists' known desire to help other women, and it is most important to open their eyes to the danger of responding to this appeal.

Women Suffragists are the guardians of the future. It is for this they have, as militants, been ready to suffer, and if necessary to die, for their cause. Let them stand for the highest morality, and their power to help in the progress of the race will be unlimited. To consent to lower their standard and to relieve men of the consequences of the present low social conditions would be to make them a consenting party to those conditions, and I would warn all Suffragists to be on their guard in this matter, and to stand, as they have done in the past, for that high standard of morality which is the only guarantee for the elimination of the bad social conditions that have made this evil possible, and for the substitution of a higher and purer public opinion which will make for the elevation and progress of the race.—Yours, &c.,

CHARLOTTE E. IRELAND.

ARE SUFFRAGISTS SLAVES TO FASHION?

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—Are Suffragists slaves to fashion? Certainly not! I fear the vast majority of women who dress to suit every new mode do not care a pin for the vote—it is dress first and last for them, and those who are caring for the vote have not the time for fashions. Still, I think a great many of us who wish the vote are not tactful enough to humour those who do not care. But then, your paper does not profess to discuss dress; and therefore it would be better not to do so. Fine taste ought to lead all classes of women aright in this matter. There are so many reasons why the VOTES FOR WOMEN paper need not meddle with dress. One I have only recently seen in a shilling book, which tries to make out that the Suffragists are really inspired by Jesuitical teaching, and makes their great efforts

and sacrifices seem no better than those of Anarchists or Fenians. Truly, it is time that truths were told, and that people who affirm such things should be called upon for proofs. The work you have to do is great; the little frivolities of dress do not trouble you! With all good wishes,—Yours, &c.,

E. TENNANT.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON WAR SERVICE FOR WOMEN

(By the U.S. Delegate)

In connection with the Government's appeal for war service from women, a conference (at which delegates from the U.S. were present) of Woman Suffrage, Trade Union, and other organisations, and of men's Trade Unions likely to be affected, was held on April 16 at Caxton Hall. The Conference represented bodies of people who on many subjects hold widely divergent views, and it is instructive as a sign of progress to note that the delegates were unanimous on the vital point that the principle of equal pay for equal work, regardless of the sex of the worker, should be rigidly maintained as the only safeguard that the introduction of women into new spheres of labour should not depress the standard of working conditions. The Conference also demanded that representatives of the organised women workers should be included in the Advisory Committee appointed by the Committee to deal with war work. It also unanimously declared that it would be "illogical, inconsistent and most unjust" to delay unnecessarily the full rights of citizenship to women on whom such heavy duties and responsibilities were placed in time of war, though the resolution (which was carried) somewhat illogically went on to demand "a definite assurance" from the Government to deal at the earliest possible moment, not with woman suffrage, but with "universal" suffrage; and an amendment to substitute the word "woman" for "universal," proposed by the W.F.L. and seconded by the U.S., was defeated by five votes.



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COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES HEAVY SENTENCES

Assault on Little Girl Burglary

The *News of the World* (April 11) reports case of a grocer, charged before Mr. T. W. Lewis at Cardiff with assaulting a little girl of five in the room behind his shop. He pleaded guilty, and said he had lost his business and livelihood through it.

Sentence: Fined £40, or four months. Later altered to three months' imprisonment without a fine.

Wife-beating

The *Pioneer* (April 9) reports case of a labourer charged before Mr. Halkett at Woolwich Police Court with assaulting his wife. He came home drunk, knocked her down and kicked her, followed her into the next house, and punched her and kicked her down stairs. He also killed about fifteen chickens and threw them about the yard. The magistrate advised prosecution to take out summons for persistent cruelty.

Sentence: Six weeks' hard labour.

Thefts from Women

The *News of the World* (April 18) reports case of a deserter from the army, charged before Mr. Horace Smith at Westminster Police Court with thefts from young women. He took one girl to the theatre, left her there, and returned to her flat and stole clothing and jewellery. He took another for a walk, offered to carry her handbag containing £2, and made off with it. There were previous convictions.

Sentence: Six months' hard labour.

"FROG-MARCHING"

At an inquest held at Preston on the death of a soldier who, when drunk, had been "frog-marched" to the barracks, the medical evidence was that death had been hastened by the way the man was carried, and the jury added a rider that the military authorities should consider some more humane method of getting refractory prisoners to the barracks.

The Preston jurymen, like the public, are probably unaware that frog-marching is commonly practised on civilian prisoners as well as in military places of detention. It is also practised in women's prisons, as the history of militant Suffrage in this country can testify. Perhaps if men had denounced the prison treatment of Suffragettes in the past, the soldier at Preston would be alive still.

PROHIBITION IN KANSAS

Though women, like men, are probably divided in opinion as to whether total prohibition offers the best solution of the drink problem, the following extract from the *Ladies' Home Journal* (Philadelphia) of November, 1914, gives some figures which may interest our readers at the present crisis, with regard to Kansas, where prohibition has been in force for thirty years:—

"Few persons realise the wonderful record that Kansas shows at the end of her thirty years' Prohibition of the Sale of Alcoholic Liquors. A careful investigator, writing in the *Outlook* recently, showed that:—

"In 87 of her 105 counties Kansas has now no insane.

"In 54 of these counties there are no feeble-minded.

"Ninety-six of her counties have no inebriates.

"Thirty-eight of her county poor-houses are empty.

"Fifty-three of her jails were recently empty, and 65 counties had no prisoners in the State Penitentiary.

"The entire number of paupers in the State falls short of 600.

"Some counties have not called a Grand Jury to try a criminal case in ten years.

"Not long ago Kansas had 200 millions of dollars in her banks; her farmers owned livestock valued at 225 millions of dollars; and in one year the people have added 45 millions of dollars to their taxable property.

"Only 2 per cent. of the entire population is illiterate.

"The mortality rate has dropped from 17 per 1,000 to 7 per 1,000."

CANTEEN FOR FRENCH SOLDIERS

Women's Excellent Organization

The work of the Englishwomen in charge of the canteen sent out by the Women's Emergency Corps (8, York Place, Baker Street), to supply hot coffee, soup, and other comforts to the French soldiers on their way to and from the trenches, is greatly appreciated by the military authorities. The work of running the canteen, which is open all night, is strenuous. At four in the afternoon the workers arrive at the railway wagon, where the canteen is installed, to light the fires and prepare the coffee. From 7 p.m. to 2 a.m. the soldiers are passing through the station, and about 300 cups of hot, steaming coffee are given out every night. Then, at 2 a.m., when the last jug of coffee and milk has been poured out, all the cleaning has to be done—pots, pans, and jugs polished and stove cleaned, rubbers washed out, ready for the next day.

Gratitude of the Soldiers

The gratitude of the French soldiers is touching. The other day one of the ladies in charge of the canteen remarked to one of them that she had not heard the "Marseillaise" sung, and the reply was, "Our new 'Marseillaise' is this," and he hummed "It's a long, long way to Tipperary."

The devotion of the French army to everything English extends particularly to English cigarettes, which are a great joy. The Women's Emergency Corp is making a special appeal for cigarettes, or the money to buy them wholesale. Contributions should be marked "Canteen." Everything—clothes, cigarettes, chocolate, and so on—is taken out direct to the canteen by the French Red Cross Society.

WOMEN'S WORKROOMS

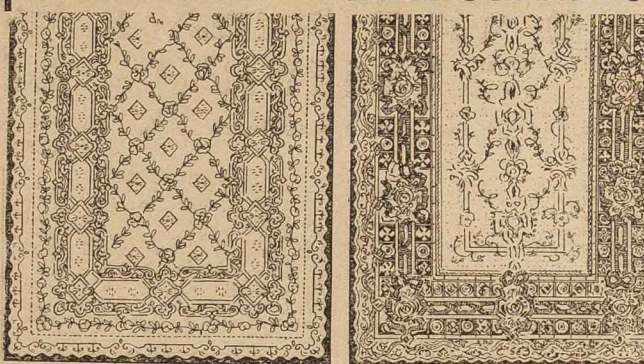
The Secretary of the New Constitutional Society writes:—

The committee of the New Constitutional Society for Women's Suffrage announce that, owing to the present demand for dressmakers' assistants, they are now closing their workroom, which was opened on August 17 for the relief of women thrown out of employment by the war. During thirty-two weeks the women employed have been kept from starvation, and the fact that they have been engaged on skilled work at a fair wage has ensured their return into the normal market at a wage not less than that which they were receiving before the war. It is proposed to continue the machine knitting, there being still a demand for this work. Women who have no trade and are obliged to learn will be taught, and it is hoped that orders and subscriptions will still be forthcoming.

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COMING EVENTS

The Women's Freedom League will hold a public meeting at the Suffrage Club, York Street, on Wednesday, April 28, at 3.30 p.m. Speakers: Miss Margaret Douglas, on "The Real Issue," and Miss Nina Boyle. Chair: Mrs. Huntsman. Admission free.

Mr. W. L. George will open a discussion on "Women and the Arts" under the auspices of the Women's Freedom League, at the Suffrage Club, on Friday, April 30, at 8 p.m. Tickets, 1s. and 6d.

The United Suffragists will hold a public meeting in the Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand, on Thursday, May 13, at 8 p.m. Speakers: The Rev. W. Tudor Jones, Ph.D., Miss Mary Neal, and Miss Mary Richardson. Chair: Mr. Gerald Gould. Admission free.

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THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE holds public meetings at the Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, Jermyn Street, Piccadilly, each Wednesday afternoon at 3.30. Speakers, April 23, Miss Margaret Douglas, "The Real Issue," and Miss Nina Boyle. Chair, Mrs. Huntsman. Admission free.

WOMEN AND WAR.—Service of Intercession (arranged by the C.L.W.S.), Saturday, April 24, 3 p.m., in St. Michael and All Angels', St. Leonard's Road, Bromley, E. Preacher, the Rev. G. N. Whittingham, Vicar of St. Silas the Martyr, Kentish Town. Social Gathering for members and friends, 4 to 6 p.m., St. Michael's Parish Hall (St. Leonard's Road, Bromley, E.). Chair, the Right Rev. Bishop Powell.

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